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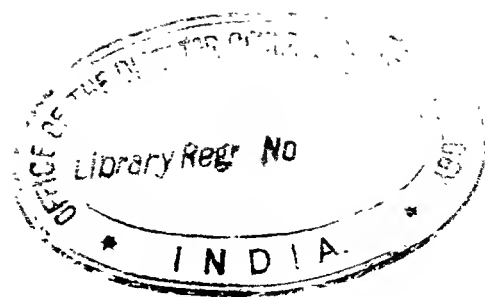
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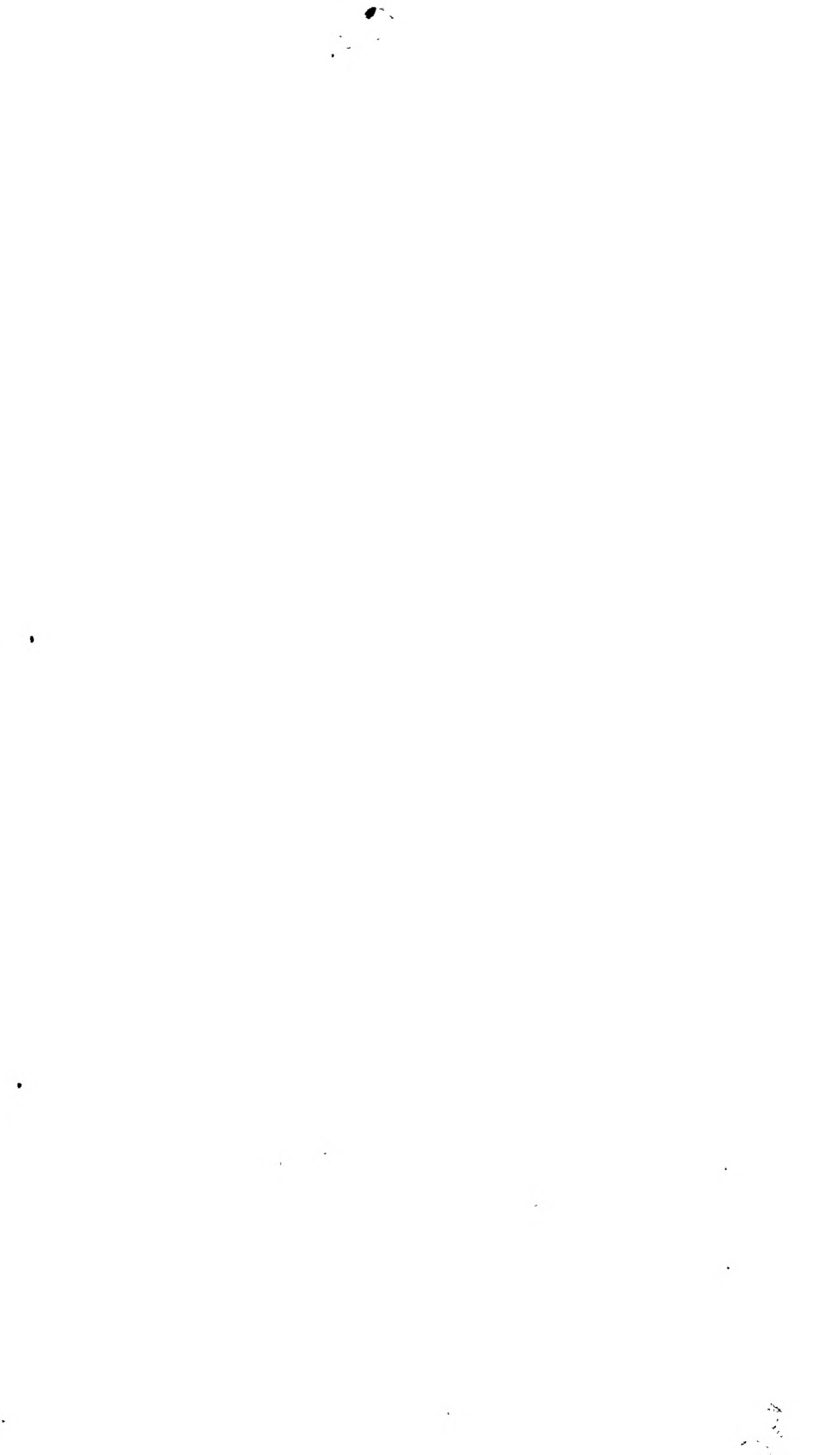
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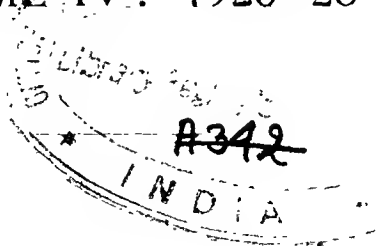


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CONTENTS OF VOLUME IV

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

	PAGE
A Corean Vocabulary. By S. OGURA	1
On the Adbhuta-Rāmāyaṇa. By Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON . .	11
Man as Willer. By C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS	29
The Mission of the Jesuit Fathers in China. Contributed by Sir ARNOLD T. WILSON	47
The Passive Voice of the Jñanesvari. By W. DODERET . .	59
The Government of "Prepositions" in Gujarati. By W. DODERET	65
Notes on "The Assyrian Tree". By SIDNEY SMITH . . .	69
Note on the Statical and some other Participles in Hindustani. By Lieut.-Col. D. C. PHILLOTT	77
Bengali Ballads. By W. SUTTON PAGE	89
A Selection from the Tung Shu. Translated by J. P. BRUCE .	97
Some Remarks on Indian Music. By S. G. KANHERE . . .	105
Kurdish Stories from my Collection. By BASILE NIKITINE . .	121
Notes on the Pronunciation of Kanuri. By IDA C. WARD . .	139
✓The Original Home of the Indo-Europeans. By JARL CHARPENTIER	147
De Voulton's Noticia. Translated by LAURENCE LOCKHART .	223
The Swahili Saga of Liongo Fumo. By A. WERNER	247
Deux residents mongols en Chine et en Asie Centrale. By E. BLOCHET	257
The Jungle Tribes of the Malay Peninsula. By P. SCHEBENTA .	269
Notes on some Sanskrit MSS. on Alamkāra. By SUSHIL KUMAR DE	279
Jānakīharāṇa XVI. Edited by L. D. BARNETT	285
Ajāmiḷa-mōkṣa-prabandha of Nārāyaṇa Bhattacha. By VENKATARĀMA ŚARMĀ ŚĀSTRĪ	295
A Prayer of Śaṅkarācārya. By S. G. KANHERE	301
Wāman Pandit—Scholar and Marathi Poet. By S. G. KANHERE .	305

	PAGE
✓ Stress-Accent in Indo-Aryan. By BANARSI DAS JAIN	315
The Development of English <i>t. d.</i> in North Indian Languages. By T. GRAHAME BAILEY	325
Śyām Sundar Dās's <i>Bhāṣā Vigyan</i> . Contributed by G. E. LEESON	331
'Omar Khayyam. By E. DENISON ROSS	433
An Arabic and a Persian metrical version of Burzoe's auto- biography from "Kalila and Dimna". By E. DENISON ROSS	441
A Chinese Treatise on Architecture. By W. PERCEVAL YETTS	473
Remarks on the Identification of some Jātaka Pictures. By JARL CHARPENTIER	493
A Burushaski Text from Hunza. By D. L. R. LORIMER	505
Notes on Dardic. By R. L. TURNER	533
The Grammar of the Jñāneśvarī. By W. DODERET	543
<i>Kodaḡu</i> Peda, <i>Tulu</i> Pudar. By EDWIN H. TUTTLE	575
The Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia. By J. KATS	579
A Study of the Oroha Language, Mala, Solomon Islands. By W. G. IVENS	587
Some Readings of Jānakīharṇa XVI. By S. K. DÉ	611
Notes on Japanese Literature. By S. YOSHITAKE	679
Some Mongolian Maxims. By S. YOSHITAKE	689
Yama, Gandharva, and Glaucus. By L. D. BARNETT	703
Fresh Light on Khawāṣṣ Khān. By E. DENISON ROSS	717
A Portrait of Abu'l Fazl. Communicated by T. W. ARNOLD	721
Taxation in Persia. By MOSTAFA KHAN FATEH	723
Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature. By H. A. R. GIBB	745
The Agastya Selection of Tamil Śaivite Hymns. By M. S. H. THOMPSON	761
Dravidian Gender-words. By EDWIN H. TUTTLE	769
The Gender of Arabic Infinitives in Urdu. By T. GRAHAME BAILEY	779
English Words in Panjābī. By T. GRAHAME BAILEY	783
The Pronunciation of Marathi. By A. LLOYD JAMES and S. G. KANHERE	791
Grammatical Sketch of the Jahai Dialect. By PATER P. SCHEBESTA	803
Chansons de Pagayeurs. By J. TANGHE	827
An old War Song of the Babemba. By R. O'FERRALL	839

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

PAGE

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN. The Kaveri, the Maikharis and the Sangam Age. By L. D. Barnett	171
JOHANNES HERTEL. Die Arianische Feuerlehre. By L. D. Barnett	174
HENRY DODWELL. A sketch of the History of India from 1858-1918. By William Foster	177
C. A. KINCAID and D. B. PARANIS. A History of the Maratha People. Vol. III. By H. Dodwell	178
G. E. HARVEY. History of Burma. By H. Dodwell	179
DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI. My Brother's Face. By H. Dodwell	180
BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA. The Indian Buddhist Iconography. By L. D. Barnett	181
B. N. and B. B. MEHTA. The Modern Gujarati-English Dictionary. 2 volumes. By W. Doderet	182
CHRISTIAN KEYSER. Wörterbuch der Kate Sprache. By Sidney H. Ray	184
ALICE WERNER. Volume VII (African) of the "Mythology of all Races". By E. Denison Ross	187
MARIA VON TILING. Somali-Texte und Untersuchungen zur Lautlehre. By A. Werner	189
E. TORDAY. Causeries Congolaises. By A. Werner	191
GERHARD LINDBLOM. Jakt-och Fångstmetoder bland Afrikanska Folk. Del 1. By A. Werner	192
MAURICE DELAFOSSE. La Culture Moderne : civilisations négro-africaines. By A. Werner	193
A. SALMONY. Sculpture in Siam. By C. O. Blagden	194
F. BALLOD. The Volga Pompei. By M. Kasanin	197
YUEN REN CHAO. A Phonograph Course in the Chinese National Language. By J. P. Bruce	197
The Mathnawi of Jalálu'ddīn Rūmī. Edited, etc., by Reynold A. Nicholson. Vol. I. By C. E. Wilson	200
A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads. By Jarl Charpentier	337
Vikrama's Adventures. Edited and translated by Franklin Edgerton. By Jarl Charpentier	346
Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien von A. von Le Coq. Fünfter Teil : Neue Bildwerke. By Jarl Charpentier	348
Further Dialogues of the Buddha. Translated by Lord Chalmers. By C. A. F. Rhys Davids	351

	PAGE
S. TACHIBANA. The Ethics of Buddhism. By C. A. F. Rhys Davids	354
LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. Nirvāṇa. By Th. Stcherbatsky	357
R. J. WALKER. Parnassus Biceps. By R. L. Turner	360
E. HULTZSCH. Inscriptions of Aśoka. New edition. By R. L. Turner	362
A. M. HOCART. Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of Ceylon. Vol. II. By R. L. Turner	365
BABURAM SAKSENA. The Verb in the Ramāyaṇ of Tulsī Dās. By R. L. Turner	365
DUNICAND. Panjābī aur Hindī kā Bhāṣā-Vijñān. By R. L. Turner	366
JULES BLOCH. " Voir " en Indo-Aryen. By R. L. Turner	366
JULES BLOCH. Le Nom du Riz. By R. L. Turner	366
G. MORGENSTIERNE. Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan. By R. L. Turner	367
JOHN SAMPSON. The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales. By R. L. Turner	371
BABURAM SAKSENA. Hindi and Urdu : The possibilities of their rapprochement. By R. L. Turner	375
Three Nepālī Reading Books. By R. L. Turner	375
G. A. GRIERSON. Bihar Peasant Life. Second edition. By R. L. Turner	376
L. A. WADDELL. Indo-Sumerian Seals Deciphered. By R. L. Turner	376
PRABHAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI. Linguistic Speculations of the Hindus. By Siddheswar Varma	376
ATIYA BEGUM FYZEE RAHAMIN. Music of India. By S. G. Kanhere	379
KEŚO VINĀYAK GODBOLE. Mahārāṣṭra Śākuntala. By S. G. Kanhere.	383
JOHANNES HERTEL. Die Methode der Arischen Forschung. By L. D. Barnett	385
ERNST DIEZ. Die Kunst Indiens. By L. D. Barnett	389
BINODE BEHARI DUTT. Town Planning in Ancient India. By L. D. Barnett	391
Travel and Travellers in the Middle Ages. Edited by A. P. Newton. By H. Dodwell	392

	PAGE
H. B. MORSE. Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834. By H. Dodwell	393
Memoirs of William Hickey. Vol. IV. By H. Dodwell	395
Sir DUNCAN CAMPBELL. Records of Clan Campbell in the Service of the East India Company. By H. Dodwell	397
S. H. LONGRIGG. Four Centuries of Modern Iraq. By H. Dodwell	398
W. A. J. ARCHBOLD. Outlines of Indian Constitutional History. By H. Dodwell	400
Sir GEORGE FORREST. State Papers of the Governors-General of India—Cornwallis. By H. Dodwell	401
J. D. B. GRIBBLE. History of the Deccan. Vol. II. By H. Dodwell	401
ARTHUR MAYHEW. The Education of India. By H. Dodwell	402
W. H. T. GAIRDNER. Phonetics of Arabic. By H. A. R. Gibb and A. Lloyd James	402
P. PAUL SBATH. Al-Mashra'. By H. A. R. Gibb	405
The Difnar of the Coptic Church. Edited by De Lacy O'Leary. By S. Gaselee	406
Rev. FRs. A. REICHART and Dr. M. KÜSTERS. O.S.B. Elementary Kiswaheli Grammar. By F. Johnson	408
BRUNO GUTMANN. Das Recht der Dschagga. By A. Werner	411
GERHARD LINDBLOM. Notes on the Kamba Language. By A. Werner	413
C. K. MEEK. The Northern Tribes of Nigeria. By A. Werner	414
Tanganyika Territory. Report of the Education Committee. By A. Werner	416
The International Review of Missions. <i>Special Africa Number</i> . By A. Werner	417
HANS COUDENHOVE. My African Neighbours. By A. Werner	418
The Śatapatha Brāhmana in the Kāṇvīya Recension. Edited by Dr. W. Caland. Vol. I. By A. Berriedale Keith	615
W. CALAND. Over het Vaikhānasasūtra. By A. Berriedale Keith	623
R. D. RANADE. A Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy. By A. Berriedale Keith.	624
TH. STCHERBATSKY. La Théorie de la Connaissance et la Logique chez les Bouddhistes tardifs. By A. Berriedale Keith	627
JAMES M. MACPHAIL. Aśōka. By L. D. Barnett	628

	PAGE
RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI. Harsha. By L. D. Barnett	628
Māgha's Śīśupālavadha. Ins Deutsche übertragen von E. Hultzsch. By L. D. Barnett	630
Āścaryacūḍāmaṇi. A Drama by Śaktibhadra. By L. D. Barnett	631
Gaekwad's Oriental Series. By L. D. Barnett	632
Further Dialogues of the Buddha. Translated . . . by Lord Chalmers. Vol. II. By C. A. F. Rhys Davids	633
MUKUNDA GANESH MIRAJKAR. Samaślokī Gītā. By S. G. Kanhere	637
JAGANNĀTH DĀS RATNĀKAR. Bihārī Ratnākara. By T. Grahame Bailey	637
GIRIDHAR DĀS. Jarāsādh Vadha Mahākāvya. Edited by Vraj Ratn Dās. By T. Grahame Bailey	638
Father PIERRE DU JARRIC. S.J. Akbar and the Jesuits. Translated by C. H. Payne. By A. Werner	639
GEORGES MARGOULIÈS. Le Kou-wen chinois. By Lionel Giles	640
GEORGES MARGOULIÈS. Le "Fou" dans de Wen-sinan. By Lionel Giles	640
CHARLES HOSE. Natural Man: A record from Borneo. By C. O. Blagden	643
L. A. MILLS. British Malaya. 1824-67. By C. O. Blagden	647
EDWARD GRANVILLE BROWNE. A Year amongst the Persians. By Wolseley Haig	648
Tayyibāt, the Odes of Shaikh Musliḥu'd-Dīn Sa'dī Shirāzī. Translated by Sir Lucas White King. By Wolseley Haig	652
MUHAMMAD YAḤYA IBN SIBAK. Dastūr-i-'Ushshāq. Edited by R. S. Greenshields. By Wolseley Haig	654
The Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Report . . . By Arnold J. Toynbee	655
FRANCIS RENNELL RODD. People of the Veil. By P. P. H. Hasluck	658
A. MORET and G. DAVY. From Tribe to Empire. By H. Dodwell	659
Sir JAMES GEORGE FRAZER. The Worship of Nature. Vol. I. By H. Dodwell.	659
DONALD A. MACKENZIE. The Migration of Symbols. By H. Dodwell	660
WILLIAM CROOKE. Religion and Folklore of Northern India. By H. Dodwell	661

	PAGE
FRANÇOIS LEXA. <i>La Magie dans l'Egypte antique, de l'ancien empire jusqu'à l'époque copte.</i> 3 tom. By A. Werner	661
NĀNĀLĀL CHAMANLĀL MEHTA. <i>Studies in Indian Painting.</i> By T. W. Arnold	663
P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D. <i>Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erde.</i> By C. O. Blagden.	664
CLEMENT M. DOKE. <i>The Phonetics of the Zulu Language.</i> By Liliās E. Armstrong	670
W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ. <i>The Tibetan Book of the Dead.</i> By H. Lee Shuttleworth	845
TH. STCHERBATSKY. <i>The Conception of Buddhist Nirvana.</i> By C. A. F. Rhys Davids	852
JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY. <i>The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life.</i> By C. A. F. Rhys Davids	853
HEMCHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI. <i>Political History of Ancient India.</i> By C. A. F. Rhys Davids	855
RYŪKAN KIMURA. <i>A Historical Study of the terms Hināyāna and Mahāyāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.</i> By C. A. F. Rhys Davids	856
Barhut Inscriptions. Edited by Benimadhab Barua and Kumar G. Sinha. By C. A. F. Rhys Davids	857
<i>The Book of the Cave of Treasures.</i> Translated by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge. By L. D. Barnett	858
ERNST SCHIERLITZ. <i>Die bildlichen Darstellungen der Indischen Göttertrinität in der älteren ethnographischen Literatur.</i> By J. Charpentier	859
ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. <i>Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Part V: Rājput Painting.</i> By J. Charpentier	861
<i>The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615-19.</i> Edited by Sir William Foster. By J. Charpentier	862
<i>Warren Hastings' Letters to Sir John Macpherson.</i> Edited by Professor Henry Dodwell. By W. Foster	865
SIR WILLIAM FOSTER. <i>The English Factories in India, 1668-9.</i> By H. Dodwell	867
G. H. L. PITT-RIVERS. <i>The Clash of Cultures and the Contact of Races.</i> By H. Dodwell	868
CHEIKH MOHAMMED ABDOU. <i>Rissalat al Tawhid. Exposé de la Religion musulmane. Traduite de l'arabe . . . par B. Michel et le Cheikh Moustapha Abdel Razik.</i> By A. S. Fulton	869

	PAGE
A. J. TOYNBEE. Survey of International Affairs, 1925. Vol. I : The Islamic World. By A. T. Wilson	872
MUHAMMAD SHARAF. An English-Arabic Dictionary of Medicine, Biology, and Allied Sciences. By H. A. R. Gibb	876
G. R. DRIVER. A Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine. By H. A. R. Gibb	880
Commandant JUSTINARD. Manuel de Berbère Marocain. By P. P. H. Hasluck	881
SIDNEY H. RAY. A Comparative Study of the Melanesian Island Languages. By C. O. Blagden	882
JAMES BAIKIE. The Amarna Age. By C. J. C. Bennett	885
Université de Paris: Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie	889
EM. G. WATERLOT. Tome I: Les bas-reliefs des bâtiments royaux d'Abomey. By A. Werner.	
RENÉ MAUNIER. Tome III: La construction collective de la maison en Kabylie. By A. Werner.	
RENÉ TRAUTMANN. Tome IV: La Littérature populaire à la Côte des Esclaves. By A. Werner.	
ARTHUR S. CRIPPS. An Africa for Africans. By A. Werner	892
DIEDRICH WESTERMANN. Die westlichen Sudansprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu. By A. Werner	893
M. HEEPE. Jaunde-Wörterbuch. By A. Werner	896
The late E. JACOTTET. A Grammar of the Sesuto Language. By A. Werner	897
G. MURRAY-JARDINE. Abridged Swahili Grammar. By A. Werner	899
AUGUST KLINGENHEBEN. Die Laute des Ful. By A. Werner	900
S.P.C.K. Publications. By A. Werner	900
NOTES AND QUERIES	207, 421 673

OBITUARY

Edward Granville Browne, M.A., M.B., F.B.A., F.R.C.P.	217
Nawab Imadul Mulk Bahadur Sayed Husain Bilgrani	431
Professeur Maurice Delafosse	675
William Ernest Taylor	903

BULLETIN

OF THE

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PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

A COREAN VOCABULARY

By S. OGURA

1

WHEN, in the beginning of last May, I visited Professor Sir E. Denison Ross, of Oriental Studies, he showed me a book entitled *Ch'ao hsien Kuan i yü* (朝鮮館譯語). It was of great interest to me, as I had not seen it before, and I asked permission to examine it. He willingly complied with my request, but at the same time asked me to write some explanatory notes on the book. Being only on a visit to the country, I am unable to refer to Corean books of reference, and for the explanations, etc., which follow, can only trust to my memory.

The above-mentioned book is indeed a part of *Ko Kuo i yü* (各國譯語) in which are found the vocabularies of a number of nations, viz., Ouigur, Malay, Annam, Siam, Japan, Loo-choo and others, numbering ten in all. It is the work of a Chinese who collected the Corean vocabulary. Corean is a language that has been studied by Chinese, Mongolians and Japanese for a fairly long period. The Chinese as early as the first or second century A.D., wrote in their histories descriptive accounts of Corea, and in these books many Corean words are to be found. Besides this we especially find many collections of Corean words in the *Chi lin lei shih* (鷄林類事), a book written by Sun-mu (孫穆) of the Sung dynasty, about the eleventh century A.D. This book supplies our material for knowledge of ancient Corean.

VOL. IV. PART I.

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and is highly valued by present-day scholars. Since the time of Sun-mu the Chinese have done little towards the elucidation of the Korean language, and this work is unique in its wealth of Korean vocables, and is indispensable to the study of Korean.

Ch'ao hsien kuan i yü is divided into nineteen heads—astronomy, geography, meteorology, botany, etc., and in these are found 596 Korean words. In the vocabulary which follows, the arrangement adopted is to place—

In the first column Chinese words ;

In the second column Korean written with Chinese characters used phonetically regardless of meaning ;

In the third column the pronunciation of the first column is given by a different Chinese character.

What I have in view here is chiefly of course the Korean contained in the second column, and from its contents to show the value of this work.

2. INITIALS

1. In Korean *u* is a close vowel, and sometimes is pronounced rather like *u*, and the Chinese occasionally express it by the character with the initial *p*.

CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	KOREAN IN CHINESE.	KOREAN.	ENGLISH.
本 (pên)	酒	數本	sul ¹ (su-ul)	wine
	酒飯	數本把	sul ¹ -pap	wine and food
	黃酒	努論數本	nurun-sul ¹	yellow wine
	涼酒	燦數本	ch'an-sul ¹	unwarmed wine
	鄰舍	以本直	i-ut-chip	next door
賁 (pên)	熱酒	得賁數本	tö-un-sul	heated wine
	江心	把刺憂噴得	paräl-ka-un-tai	mid-stream
必 (pi)	紙	著必	cho-eui ²	paper
	妹	餒必	nu-ui	younger-sister
	瘦	耶必大	yö-ui-ta ³	to be thin
卜 (pu)	二	覩卜二	tul ⁴	two

¹ "Sul" is pronounced "su-ul" and the character pên is used to express "ul".

² 必 equals "eui", but is supposed to have been used to express "h" in the word "cho-heui".

³ In some dialects this is pronounced "yo-pui-ta".

⁴ "Tul" is pronounced "tu-ul" and the character "pu" is used to express "u".

2. In Korean *r* is never used as an initial; but in the second or following syllables it may be so used; and in this book the Chinese use the character 勒 to express the *r*.

CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
勒 (lei)	日短 水凍 郊急 水急 雁	害迭勒大 我稜額勒大 得勒 閔迫勒大 吉勒吉	hai ccha-reu-ta ō-reum ō-reu-ta ten-reu mul ppa-reu-ta ki-rō-ki	the days are short to freeze uncultivated land the stream is swift wild goose

3. In Korean, words of two syllables when the second syllable begins with *r* are often written by only one Chinese character.

CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
(pên)	青山 青李 青馬 青	噴磨 噴外亞吉 噴墨二 噴必	p'u-reun moi p'u-reun o-ya-ji p'u-reun-mal p'u-reun pit	green hill green plum bay horse green

3. FINALS

1. In Korean *-k*, *-t*, *-b*, when final, are implosive and not accompanied by an explosive. As in modern Chinese this kind of finals has ceased to exist, such words cannot be expressed by one Chinese character. Therefore in this book, when the author wishes to express *-k*, *-t*, *-p*, he uses a Chinese character in which somewhere the desired sound is contained.

	CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
-k	古 (k'ou)	郊外	得勒把古	ten-reu-patk	suburb
	格 (ko)	果熟	刮世你格大	koa-sil nik-ta	to ripen
-t	思 (ssũ)	有雲	故論以思大	ku-reum it-ta ¹	to be cloudy
		有雨	必以思大	pi-it-ta ¹	it is raining
		有露	以沁以思大	i-sil it-ta ¹	dew falls
		花	果思	kot ¹	flower

¹ in these words "t" is also pronounced as "s".

CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
	松子	雜思	chat ¹	cone
	面	赧思	nāt ¹	face
	衣服	臥思	ot ¹	clothes
自 (tzū)	天邊	哈嫩格自	hanāl kat ¹	horizon
	江邊	把刺格自	parāl kat ¹	river-bank
-p 迫 (po)	山前	磨阿迫	moi a(l)p	front of the mount
	春前	播妹阿迫	pom a(l)p	before the spring
卜 (pu)	冷	尺卜大	ch'ip-ta	to be cold

2. In Korean when the liquids *-m*, *-n*, *-l*, are used as finals, and it is desired by the writer to express them distinctly, as in the above case of *-k*, *-t*, *-p*, he often uses some character in which the sound is somewhere contained.

CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
-m 妹 (mei)	春	播妹	pom	spring
門 (mên)	虎	半門	pōm	tiger
	熊	果門	kom	bear
-n 奈 (nai)	村裏	吞阿奈	tong-an	within the village wall
那 (na)	夏至	呆論卧那大	nyōreum on-ta	summer is here
	冬至	解自卧那大	Kyōjil on-ta	winter is here
-l 勒 (lei)	開田	把耶勒大	pat yōl-ta	to plough
略 (liao)	月圓	得二朶略大	tāl tun-keul-ta	moon is round
二 (êrh)	天	哈嫩二	ha-nāl	sky
	月	得二	tāl	moon
	星	別二	pyōl	star
	河, 水	悶二	mul	river
	石	朶二	tol	stone
	土	黑二	hālk	earth
	路	吉二	kil	road
	馬	墨二	māl	horse
	寺	迭二	chyōl	temple
	弓	萊二	hoal	bow
	箭	洒二	sal	arrow
	碗	洒擺二	sa-pal	porcelain bowl
	正旦	色二	sōl	New Year's Day

¹ In these words "t" is also pronounced as "s".

3. As explained above, modern Chinese has lost the implosive force of the finals *-k*, *-t*, *-p*, they, the Chinese, pronounce *kak*, *kat*, *kap*, nearly as *ka*, making the difference in tone. Therefore, even when they hear the different Korean sounds, they cannot distinguish the difference between *-k*, *-t*, *-p*, *-l* final. They show no regularity in expressing these finals, e.g. 卧, which originally ended with a vowel, is used for Korean words which end in *k*, *l*, etc.; again, 色, which originally ended in *k* implosive, is now used to express Korean words which end in the vowels *a*, *o*, etc., and is also used in Korean words which end in *-k*, *-l*, *-p*. I will now give some examples.

CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
戶 (hu)	九	阿 戶	<i>a-hop</i>	nine
以 (i)	露	以 沁	<i>i-seul</i>	dew
	鵝	格 以	<i>kö-ui</i>	goose
	口	以	<i>ip</i>	mouth
那 (na)	樹	那 莫	<i>na-mo</i>	tree
	畫 長	那 吉 大	<i>nat kil-ta</i>	the days are long
	山 高	磨 那 大	<i>moi nop-ta</i>	mount is high
	申	那	<i>nap</i>	monkey
你 (ni)	興	你 憂	<i>ni-kö</i>	to rise
	齒	你	<i>ni</i>	tooth
	七	你 谷	<i>nül-kop</i>	seven
把 (pa)	風	把 論	<i>pa-räm</i>	wind
	筵 宴	以 把 底	<i>i-pa-chi</i>	banquet
	田	把	<i>pat</i>	rice-field
	花 園	果 把	<i>kot-pat</i>	(flower)-garden
	飯	把	<i>pap</i>	boiled rice
世 (shih)	碟	迭 世	<i>chöp-si</i>	dish
	醫 士	額 世	<i>eui-sä</i>	doctor
	果	刮 世	<i>koa-sil</i>	fruit
	十 一 月	世 義 卧	<i>sip-i-uol</i>	November
打 (ta)	五	打 色	<i>ta-sa(t)</i>	five
	答	大 打	<i>tai-tap</i>	answer
朶 (to)	石	朶 二	<i>to-l</i>	stone
	豬, 亥	朶	<i>to-t</i>	wild-boar
	石 橋	朶 得 屢	<i>tol tãri</i>	stone-bridge
自 (tsü)	弟	阿 自	<i>a-(j)ä</i>	younger brother
	紫	自	<i>chä</i>	purple

CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
	秋	格自	ka-(j)äl	autumn
	冬	解自	kyö-(j)äl	winter
卧 (wo)	五 月	卧卧	o-uol	May
	正 月	整卧	chyöng-uol	January
	玉	卧	ok	jewel
我 (wo)	明 年	我嫩害	o-n'in-hai	next year
	今 年	我害	ol-hai	this year
额 (ê)	冰 凍	我稜額勒大	öreum ö-reu-ta	to freeze
	母	額密	ö-mi	mother
	醫 士	額世	eui-sä	doctor
	無 雨	必額大	pi öp-ta	drought
直 (chih)	州	大額	tai-eup	large town
	茄	憂直	ka-chi	egg-plant
	房	直	chip	house
	妻	結直	kyöi-chip	woman
尺 (ch'ih)	冷	尺卜大	ch'i-p-ta	to be cold
	皮	憂尺	ka-cheuk	skin
哲 (chê)	襖	哲谷立	chö-ko-ri	smock
	小 風	哲根把論	chö-keun pa-räm	breeze
	星 少	別二哲大	pyöl chok-ta	stars are rare
谷 (ku)	鼻 孔	課谷母	ko-ku mong	nostrils
	洞	谷莫	kol-mok	street
	七	你谷	nil-kop	seven
吉 (ki, chi)	兔	吐吉	t'o-ki	rabbit
	雁	吉勒吉	ki-rö-ki	wild-goose
	肉	果吉	ko-ki	meat
	路	吉二	ki-l	road
	日 長	害吉大	hai-kil-ta	the days are long
	河 深	悶吉大	mul kip-ta	the river is deep
	絹	吉	kip	silk
憂 (ka, chia)	出 城	雜那憂大	chat na-ka-ta	to go out of the castle
	茄	憂直	ka-chi	egg-plant
	烏, 鴉	憂罵貴	ka-ma-kui	crow
	鍋	憂罵	ka-ma	saucepan
	路 近	吉憂憂大	kil kat-kap-ta	the way is short
	甲	憂	kap	armour
	甲 第	憂底	kap-chyöi	to pass (an exam- ination)

CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
墨 (mo)	頭	墨立	<i>mō-ri</i>	head
	山頂	磨墨立	<i>moi moi-ri</i>	summit
	月明	得二墨大	<i>tāl māl-k-ta</i>	the moon is bright
	水清	悶墨大	<i>mul-m'ilk-ta</i>	the water is clear
	菜	餒墨	<i>na-māl</i>	vegetable
別 (pieh)	路遠	吉墨大	<i>kil mōl-ta</i>	the way is long
	雷	別刺	<i>pyō-rak</i>	thunder
	陽	別	<i>pyōt</i>	sunbeam
卜 (pu)	扇	卜冊	<i>pu-ch'ai</i>	fan
	桃	卜賞	<i>pok-sang</i>	peach
	鼓	卜	<i>pok</i>	drum
	筆	卜	<i>put</i>	(writing)-brush
	冷	尺卜大	<i>ch'i-p-ta</i>	to be cold
必 (pi)	雨	必	<i>pi</i>	rain
	父	阿必	<i>a-pi</i>	father
	段	必膽	<i>pi-tan</i>	silk
	白	害必	<i>hai-pit</i>	white
迫 (po)	水急	悶迫勒大	<i>mul ppa-reu-ta</i>	the stream is swift
	賣	迫刺	<i>p'a-ra</i>	to sell
	民	迫升	<i>paik-syōng</i>	people
色 (sê)	霜	色立	<i>sō-ri</i>	frost
	四月	色卧	<i>să-uol</i>	April
	二十	色悶二	<i>seu-meul</i>	twenty
	眉毛	努色	<i>nun-si-uk</i>	eye-lash
	煮	色罵刺	<i>sal-mo-ra</i>	boil
得 (tê)	習禮	色立	<i>seup-ryōi</i>	etiquette
	星稀	別二得莫大	<i>pyōl teu-meu-ta</i>	the stars are rare
	郊	得勒	<i>teu-reu</i>	uncultivated land
	橋	得屢	<i>ta-ri</i>	bridge
雜 (tsa)	江心	把刺戛噴得	<i>pārāl ka-on-tai</i>	mid-stream
	日煖	害得大	<i>hāi tōp-ta</i>	the day is warm
	臥房	雜嫩直	<i>cha-nan-chip</i>	bedroom
	城	雜	<i>chat</i>	castle

4. As in modern Chinese nasal finals *-m*, *-n*, have lost all distinction, and are pronounced alike, although in Corean the distinction is always strictly observed, the Chinese usually express *-m* by the *-n* final; and sometimes *-ng* is used to express *-m* or *-k*.

CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
昏 (hun)	壕	所 昏	<i>so-kom</i>	salt
論 (lun)	風	把 論	<i>pa-rām</i>	wind
	雲	故 論	<i>ku-reum</i>	cloud
	夏	呆 論	<i>nyō-reum</i>	summer
	貧 人	夏 赧 撒 論	<i>ka-nan sa-rām</i>	poor man
根 (kên)	錦	根	<i>keum</i>	brocade
	金	根	<i>keum</i>	gold
	金 黃	根 謊	<i>keum hoang</i>	gold
半 (pan)	夜 短	半 迭 勒 大	<i>pam ccha-reu-ta</i>	the night is short
孫 (sun)	嘆 氣	罕 孫	<i>han-sum</i>	sigh
傘 (san)	三 月	傘 卧	<i>sam-uol</i>	March
貢 (kung)	君	臨 貢	<i>nim-keum</i>	sovereign
	朝 廷	臨 貢	<i>nim-keum</i>	imperial court
稜 (lêng)	水 凍	我 稜 額 勒 大	<i>ō-reum ō-reu-ta</i>	to freeze
孟 (mêng)	墨	孟	<i>mōk</i>	Indian ink

5. To express the Korean words with final *-m*, the Chinese sometimes use the characters which originally did not contain the final *-m*.

CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
磨 (ma)	身	磨	<i>mom</i>	body

6. Because the final *-l* has ceased to exist in modern Chinese, Korean words with a final *-l* are sometimes written in Chinese with final *-n* instead.

CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
按 (an)	眼 珠	嫩 按	<i>nun-al</i>	pupil
根 (kên)	讀 書	根 白 昏 大	<i>keul pai-hon-ta</i>	to study books
	寫 字	根 沁 大	<i>keul sseun-ta</i>	to write characters
閔 (min)	蕎 麥	莫 閔	<i>mo-mil</i>	buckwheat
閔 (mên)	井	五 閔	<i>u-mul</i>	well
	河 深	閔 吉 大	<i>mul kip-ta</i>	the river is deep
	大 河	措 閔	<i>k'eun mul</i>	big river

CHINESE.	CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
嫩 (nên)	天 上	哈 嫩 五 會	ha-nāl u-heui	heaven
	今 朝	我 嫩 阿 怎	o-nāl a-ch'im	this morning
本 (pên)	紅 花	本 根 果	pul-keun kot	red flower
	紅	本 根 必	pul-keun pit	red

4. OBSOLETE WORDS AND DIALECTS

In this book there are many ancient words now obsolete and varieties in dialect which are not in use to-day in Seoul. I will give a few examples.

CHINESE WORD.	COREAN IN CHINESE.	COREAN.	ENGLISH.
江, 海	把 刺	pa-rāl ¹	sea, river
海 闊	把 刺 那 大	pa-rāl ¹ nōl-ta	the sea is broad
江 心	把 刺 憂 噴 得	pa-rāl ¹ ka-un-tai	mid-stream
江 邊	把 刺 格 自	pa-rāl ¹ kat	river-bank
去 去	你 格 刺	nyō ² -kō-ra	go
早 去	阿 怎 以 你 格 刺	il-chiki nyō ² -kō-ra	go early
秋	格 自	ka-jāl ³	autumn
冬	解 自	kyō-jāl ³	winter
弟	阿 自	a-jā ³	younger brother
心	墨 怎	mā-jām ⁴	heart
知 心	墨 怎 按 大	mā-jām ⁴ an-ta	to be intimate
早 起	阿 怎 以 你 格 刺	il-chiki il-kō ⁵ -ra	get up early
坐	阿 格 刺	an-kō ⁵ -ra	sit down
立	捨 格 刺	sō-kō ⁵ -ra	stand up
見 朝	間 朶	kyōn-to ⁶	to go to the imperial court
好 人	朶 根 撒 論	to ⁶ -heun sa-rām	good man
好 心	朶 根 墨 怎	to ⁶ -heun ma-jām	good heart

¹ "Pata" or "patang" is now the word for sea; but anciently it was "pa-rāl".

² "Nyō" is the old word for "ka".

³ 自 represents the old word "jal" or "ja".

⁴ 怎 (chen) represents the old form "jam" now known as "am".

⁵ The imperative "kō" is now only used in some dialects.

⁶ These examples of "to" etymologically are spelled "tyō", and now pronounced "cho", and in the dialect of Western Corea "tyō" is even now pronounced "to".

5. CONCLUSION

In *Chi lin lei shih*, of the Sung dynasty, the Chinese characters make clear the difference between the finals *-k*, *-t*, *-p*, *-m*, *-n* *-ng*; but in this book these distinctions are entirely absent; which is evidence that this book is by a later author than the former. On the other hand, in *Ko kuo i yü* we find the Japanese and Malay vocabularies as above mentioned, with the same arrangement as in this book. And at the end of the Japanese vocabulary, we find the date "Chia ching" (嘉靖) 28 year, 11th month. This date is by a later hand. We find the same date after the Malay vocabulary, viz., A.D. 1549. Therefore I believe this book under discussion was compiled about the middle of the sixteenth century. If we consider the various vocabularies contained in this book, we are led to the same conclusion. In fine, as there is little material from foreign sources for the study of the Korean language, the acquisition of this book at the present time is not only a great benefit to scholars, but also, for the historical study of Korean, is of inestimable value and throws light on a difficult study.

ON THE ADBHUTA-RĀMĀYAṆA

By Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON

BESIDES the well-known Vālmiki-rāmāyaṇa, three other Sanskrit poems entitled “ Rāmāyaṇa ” are current in northern India, and are highly esteemed. They are (1) the *Yōga-vāsiṣṭha-mahārāmāyaṇa*, (2) the *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa*, and (3) the *Adbhuta-rāmāyaṇa*. Of these the first and the last claim to have been composed by no less a person than Vālmiki himself ; but the *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa* forms a section of the *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*, and does not suggest any pretension to his authorship.

The *Yōga-vāsiṣṭha-mahārāmāyaṇa*¹ is devoted, not to describing the Rāma-saga, but to an explanation of the means for acquiring final emancipation. It is said to contain 32,000 *ślōkas*, and purports to be the instruction conveyed to Rāma by Vasiṣṭha before he was taken away by Viśvāmitra on the tour which ended in his marriage. It is divided into six *prakaraṇas*, entitled, respectively, the *vairāgya*-, *mumukṣu*-, *utpatti*-, *sthiti*-, *upaśama*-, and *nirvāṇa-prakaraṇas*. Their contents can be gauged from their titles.

The *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa* is a work of an altogether different kind. It closely follows the Vālmiki-rāmāyaṇa in its main incidents, but explains them from a sectarian Vaiṣṇava point of view. It may be taken as having for its text V.-Rām, VI, cxix, 11 (Calc. Ed.), where Rāma states his ignorance as to who he really is :—

आत्मानं मानुषं मन्ये रामं दशरथात्मजम् ।
सोऽहं यद्य यतश्चाहं भगवांस्तद् ब्रवीतु मे ॥

In the *Adhyātma-rām*² (I, ii, 13), Pārvatī asks Śiva how it was that Rāma, influenced by his own *māyā*, did not know his own self as the Supreme Deity. Śiva recites the whole work in order to explain that Rāma, as a human being, had limited intelligence, while, as the Infinite Deity, his intelligence is absolute.³ As Lālā Baijnāth, in the Introduction to his translation³ of the work, says, “ Where there is a difference [between the two poems], it is due to the fact that, whilst the *Adhyātma* starts with the theory of Rāma’s divinity, and tries to

¹ A full account of the contents will be found in Eggeling’s Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of the India Office (Nos. 2407–14).

² Compare the Christian arguments as to the meaning of *kenōsis*.

³ Pāṇini Office, Allahabad, 1913.

explain away all failings of humanity, whenever they come into the narrative, by resorting to the *anādi avidyā* (beginningless error) of the Vēdānta, the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmiki describes Rāma as the best of men, and tries to show how, in spite of the few failings of humanity, one can rise to godhead by setting before him the noble ideal of truth and duty as Rāma did." To the author of the Adhyātma, Rāma is identical with the Supreme Brāhman, and Sītā is his Prakṛti, also called *avidyā* and *māyā*. She is the Creator of the universe, and (I, ii, 35), from her proximity to him, what is created by her (c.g. human nature) is imputed to him by the ignorant.

The Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa marks an important stage in the history of religion in India, for the theology of the different Vaiṣṇava sects is largely based on it, and Tulasī-dāsa owed much to its inspiration. One fact may be mentioned here, which is common to the Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa, the Tulasī-kṛta-rām°, and the Adbhuta-rām°. All the three recoil from the idea that Sītā was abducted by Rāvaṇa. They have therefore evolved the doctrine that Rāvaṇa carried off only an illusory form of Sītā, the real Sītā having previously, under Rāma's instructions, disappeared in fire. It was this illusory Sītā who suffered all the sorrows of abduction in Laṅkā, who was rescued by Rāma, and who entered the fire as a test of her purity. She then disappeared, and it was the real Sītā who issued from the fire and who was taken by Rāma to Ayōdhyā.

The Adbhuta-rāmāyaṇa is different from either of the preceding. It is also called the *Adbhutottara-kāṇḍa*, and professes to be an additional, or eighth, *kāṇḍa*, or a supplement to the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa. Vālmiki is said to have composed two Rāmāyaṇas,—one in a thousand million *ślokas* for the use of the gods, and one in twenty-four thousand *ślokas* for the use of mankind. The latter is the well-known Rāmāyaṇa generally current at the present day. The Adbhuta-rām° professes to consist of extracts from the former, and to give accounts of episodes that find no place in the latter. Thus, although the frame-skeleton is the same in both works, the actual contents of each are very different. For instance, in the Adbhuta, while long and minute accounts are given of the respective origins of the incarnations of Rāma and Sītā, the building of the causeway, the taking of Laṅkā, and the destruction of Rāvaṇa, are all dismissed in a single *śloka* (xvi, 17).

As a religious document, while, of course, Vaiṣṇava, it is also Śākta, and the later *sargas* are a frank imitation of the *Dēvī Māhātmya*, in which Sītā performs the actions of Dēvī in that work. She,—

the tender, gracious Sītā of Vālmīki,—is in this section of the poem even given Dēvī's attributes. She is pictured as famished, hollow-eyed, loud-shouting, wearing a garland of skulls, four-armed, with lolling tongue, matted hair, and so on, with all Dēvī's accompaniments of grisly horror, including even her *mātṛkāś*. The poem is thus a mixture of Bhākta-teaching with Śaivism, in which the salient features of both schools are combined. The attitude towards Rāma and Sītā is carefully worked out in a long conversation between the former and Hanumat (Sargas xi–xv), in which, after discourses on *sāṅkhya-yōga* and *bhakti-yōga*, Rāma declares that he himself is the Supreme Brāhman, the *sanātana-sarvātman* (xiv, 1), in whose *Śakti* everything that exists (xiv, 9). Elsewhere, Sītā repeatedly appears as this *Śakti* (e.g. xxv, 5).

The work is also valuable on the score of the folk-legends relating to Rāma and Sītā that are contained in it. The first thing that strikes the reader is the extraordinary power attributed to Indian saints such as Nārada. If a saint gets angry, without any hesitation he will curse even the Supreme Deity or his Spouse (Nārada does it twice) to undergo some humiliating calamity, and, as a saint's curse can never be in vain, the Deity has to accept the consequences with a smile. In fact, in those mythical times, it must have been much safer to be a saint than to be a god. A god only granted petitions, while the greatest and most pious of saints could curse every whit as successfully as Balaam. The only inconvenience to which a saint was liable was being cursed by another saint. In such cases we have instances of, say, an uncle and a nephew cursing each other, and in later ages being sadly put to it to undo the consequences.

The earlier *sargas* of the poem are devoted to stories explaining why Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī consented to become incarnate as Rāma and Sītā, respectively. This was not,—as elsewhere explained,—to relieve the earth of the burden of sin, but in each case as the direct consequence of a saint's curse.

In Rāma's case we begin with the story of Ambariṣa, to which are supplied additions and embellishments. When Nārada and his nephew Parvata were rival suitors for the hand of his daughter Śrīmatī, they cursed Viṣṇu, who interfered with their plans, to become incarnate as a descendant of Ambariṣa, and Śrīmatī, whom Viṣṇu had carried off from both, to be born as Sītā (ii–iv).

Another, and quite different account of Sītā's origin is next given. Nārada, while attending a concert in heaven, is hustled aside by

Lakṣmī's attendants, who are conducting her to her seat. He promptly curses her to become incarnate as the daughter of a Rākṣasī. This is a long story (v-viii), and begins by telling of two pious Brāhmaṇas, who, with their disciples, sang hymns in praise of Viṣṇu. They cut off their tongues and pierced the drums of their ears rather than sing or hear the praises of an earthly monarch. When they died, they went straight to heaven, and it was at the concert given in their honour that Nārada conceived himself insulted. The chief singer at the concert is a Gandharva named Tumburu. Nārada tries to emulate him, but failed. He then goes off to a singing-master,—an owl, named Gānabandhu,—and studies under him for a thousand years; but as, even then, his songs are not full of *bhakti*, or devotional love, he mangles all the musical modes, who, maimed in hand, foot, eye, nose, or what not by Nārada's attempts at harmony, crowd round Tumburu's house for repair. After many adventures, Nārada is at length taught true music by Kṛṣṇa, and then, finding himself filled with *bhakti*, he no longer desires to emulate Tumburu.

In the meantime, Mandôdarī, believing Rāvaṇa to be unfaithful to her, drinks certain poison that Rāvaṇa had put into her keeping. By an accident, this, so far from being poison, was milk impregnated with Lakṣmī, and she straightway becomes pregnant of the goddess. She hurries to Kurukṣētra, where she privately gives birth to the child, and buries it. It is subsequently ploughed up by Janaka, and the rest of the story follows the familiar lines. It is well known that Jaina legends also make Sītā Mandôdarī's daughter, but that they make Rāvaṇa her father. This association with the Rākṣasa Queen more than once turns up in Indian folklore, and is even adopted by the Kāshmīrī poet Divākara-prakāśa Bhaṭṭa in his epic entitled the *Rāmāvatāra-carita*.¹ The Buddhist version of the saga, as contained in the *Dasaratha Jātaka* (461), is even more strange. According to it, Sītā was Rāma's uterine sister, and became his wife after his return from exile.

Except for the contest with Paraśu-rāma, the events of Rāma Dāśarathi's life are not given in detail, nor is the palace intrigue that resulted in his banishment referred to. The story is broken by the long philosophical conversation already referred to, and then hastens over the conquest of Laṅkā and the return to Ayôdhyā.

In the concluding *sargas* (xvii-xxvii) we are confronted by an entirely new aspect of the Rāma-legend, in which Sītā is represented

¹ See *JRAS.*, 1921, p. 422.

not only as Rāma's Śākti, but even as more powerful than Rāma himself. The pair are happily established at Ayōdhyā, when she tells him and the assembled court that to her the killing of Rāvaṇa does not appear, after all, to have been so very great an exploit. Rāvaṇa, it is true, had ten heads, but he had a brother with a thousand heads, who is infinitely more powerful than was Rāvaṇa, and who has conquered Brahmán's and Indra's heavens. At her words Rāma sets out with her to conquer this thousand-headed Rāvaṇa, who, however, heavily defeats his army, and slays Rāma himself. Sītā then, as already stated, takes the form of Dēvī. Herself she slays the thousand-headed Rāvaṇa and destroys his army. Brahmán then resuscitates Rāma, who obtains the resuscitation of his own army as a boon from Sītā. They then all return in triumph to Ayōdhyā.

It is evident that the Adbhuta-rāmāyaṇa is a comparatively modern work. It is distinctly Śākta in character, exalting Sītā above Rāma. It is also an attempt to introduce the terrible cult of Śaiva Śāktism into the altogether alien soil of Vaiṣṇavism. Its chief value is as a storehouse of folk-legends, and, as such, I offer the following abstract to the reader.

SARGA I

The Framework of the Poem

The work begins with four introductory verses praising Nārāyaṇa, Nara, and Narōttama, Dēvī Sarasvatī, Vyāsa, Vālmīki, and Rāmācandra. It then describes the circumstances under which it was narrated by Vālmīki, making a sort of framework for the whole. The rest of the framework is given at the end of the last Sarga.

(1) Bharadvāja approaches Vālmīki, whose abode is on the bank of the river Tāmasa. He states that Vālmīki had composed a Rāmāyaṇa in a thousand million ślōkas for the Brahma-lōka, and one of twenty-five thousand ślōkas for the earth. He now asks to hear the former, which has hitherto been concealed from the world of men. (8) Vālmīki explains that the account of Rāma's exploits in twenty-five thousand ślōkas is sufficient for mankind. He will nevertheless now tell the Māhātmya of Sītā, which has hitherto not been told in detail therein, and has been hidden in the abode of Brahmán. He goes on to explain that Sītā is Prakṛti,—the origin of everything, from whose sport everything moveable and immoveable takes its being. She is one with Rāma.

The colophon of this Sarga runs—' So, in the Ārṣa Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, in the Adbhuta Uttara-kāṇḍa, in the Ādi-kāvya, ends the

first Sarga.' [The colophons of the other Sargas are the same, except that occasionally there are also given a few words indicating the contents. They will not be repeated.]

SARGA II

The Cause of Rāma's Incarnation. The Story of Ambarīṣa

Vālmiki promises to tell Bharadvāja the reasons for Rāma and Sītā becoming incarnate. He begins with that of Rāma.

The Story of Ambarīṣa.—Padmāvatī, the wife of Trisāṅku, is devoted to Nārāyaṇa. He appears to her in a dream, and promises her a perfectly devoted son. Ambarīṣa is born to her, and, in process of time, succeeds his father as king. He makes over his throne to his ministers, and performs austerities in honour of Nārāyaṇa for a thousand years. At the end of this period, Nārāyaṇa, disguising himself as Indra, appears to him, and promises him protection. Ambarīṣa refuses to acknowledge Indra as the Supreme, and states that all his austerities were in honour of Nārāyaṇa only. Nārāyaṇa then assumes his proper form, and grants him the boon of perfect devotion (*bhakti*), of protection, and of victory over his enemies. Ambarīṣa resumes his kingdom in Ayōdhyā, and rules prosperously over happy subjects, ever protected by Nārāyaṇa's discus, *Sudarśana*.

SARGA III

*Continuation of the Story of Ambarīṣa*¹

Ambarīṣa has a fair daughter, Śrīmatī. One day the saints Nārada and Parvata visit him. Each sees the girl and asks for her in marriage. He promises to give her to whichever she may prefer. They agree. Nārada then hastens to Viṣṇu and begs him to put a monkey's face on his rival. Viṣṇu smiles and consents. Parvata also hastens to Viṣṇu

¹ This part of the story is not in the Vālmiki or in the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa, IX, iv, has a story of how Ambarīṣa was protected from Durvāsas by Viṣṇu's discus. But the saint's wrath was caused by a quite different reason. In *Mbh.*, VII, lxxv, we are told how Nārada and Parvata quarrelled over Śrījaya's daughter, and cursed each other. The story is repeated in X, xxx. There we learn that the two saints cursed each other "like a couple of infuriated elephants". Parvata cursed Nārada to have the face of an ape, and Nārada retorted by cursing Parvata to the effect that he should never succeed in getting to heaven. In after years they became reconciled and mutually revoked the curses. Parvata was Nārada's sister's son. In Tulasī-dāsa's *Rāma-carita-Mānasa* (Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā's Centenary Ed., I, clvii ff.) we find a story much nearer our text. Nārada becomes intoxicated with pride. To bring him to his senses, Viṣṇu sends forth his Māyā, or spirit of delusion, to create a phantom city. Nārada falls in love with Viśvamōhanī, the daughter of its king, Śīla-nidhi. A *śrayaṇavara* is held, but the princess sees Nārada with an ape's face, and refuses to marry him. As in the text, Viṣṇu carries her off himself. Nārada then curses Viṣṇu, as in the text, but there is no mention of the discus episode. The *Bhakta-māla* (JRAS., 1910, 281 ff.) connects the discus episode with Durvāsas, not with Nārada.

and asks him to give Nārada the face of a "cow-tailed" monkey. Viṣṇu consents to this also, and the two suitors hasten to Ayōdhyā, where they find the city decorated, and a magnificent court assembled to witness the maiden's choice.

SARGA IV

Continuation of the Story of Ambarīṣa

The two saints arrive, and are received with honour.¹ Śrīmatī is told to throw her garland on the saint of her choice. but she replies that neither Nārada nor Parvata is there. She can see only two monkeys; but between them is seated a glorious youth of sixteen years, who is also a claimant for her hand. The unknown suitor is not visible to the rest of the crowd. Ambarīṣa, fearing that the saints will become angry at the delay and curse him, urges Śrīmatī to throw her garland round the neck of one or other of the two. She advances, and, at the last moment, throws it over the neck of the mysterious third suitor. Immediately on doing this she disappears, for Viṣṇu, it being no other than he, has carried her off to Vaikuṇṭha.

(29) The saints, who by this time have discovered that they have each a monkey's face, and are full of angry shame, hasten to Vaikuṇṭha. Viṣṇu, seeing them approach, conceals the girl, and receives them. He explains that they were both devoted to him, and that he can never refuse to grant a prayer made by a devotee. Each had petitioned that the other should have a monkey's face, and so it was not his fault. He pretends that he had had nothing to do with the disappearance of the girl, and that it must have been done by some magician.

(44) They conclude that it has been some device of Ambarīṣa's, and return to earth to curse him to perpetual darkness. Viṣṇu's discus opposes the curse, and the two saints, followed by the darkness, run away before it. They flee to Viṣṇu for refuge from the darkness and the discus. He stops the pursuers, and explains that Ambarīṣa was his devotee, and that he must protect him. They now perceive that the whole affair has been an example of the working of Viṣṇu's delusion (*māyā*), and, in wrath, they curse him to be born as a man in Ambarīṣa's line of descent. Śrīmatī is also cursed to be born again from the earth, and to be brought up as Janaka's daughter. She is to be again carried off, but this time by a vile *Rākṣasa*, just as Viṣṇu has acted in carrying her off himself. He is to suffer much sorrow on her account, just as they have sorrowed owing to Śrīmatī's abduction.

(65) A saint's curse can never be in vain. So Viṣṇu accepts the destiny imposed upon him. He promises to become the son of Daśaratha. His right arm shall be born as Bharata, and his left as

¹ As in Tulasī-dāsa's version, the ape-like faces are visible only to the girl. To the other spectators, Nārada and Parvata preserve their ordinary appearance, and no one knows that there is anything wrong with them.

Śatrughna, while Śēṣa shall become incarnate as Lakṣmaṇa. The darkness (being the result of the saint's curse) cannot be destroyed ; so Viṣṇu agrees to take it on himself when he shall become incarnate, and commands it to leave Ambariṣa. He also commands his discus to desist from the pursuit of the saints.

The two saints depart full of grief, declaring that so long as they live they will never marry. They engage in spiritual contemplation, and at length regain their proper forms.

SARGA V

The Cause of Sītā's Incarnation

The Story of Kauśika.—In the Trēta Yuga there was in Dvārakā a Brāhmaṇa named Kauśika, devoted to Bhagavān. He had seven disciples of Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, and Vaiśya castes, and they used to receive alms from two pious Brāhmaṇas named, respectively, Padmākṣa and Mālava. The wife of the latter was named Mālātī. Kauśika and his disciples became famous as singers of hymns to Viṣṇu.

(15) The king of Kaliṅga asks Kauśika to sing songs in praise of him (instead of Viṣṇu). Kauśika and his disciples refuse, on the ground that their tongues can sing, and their ears can hear, only the praise of Bhagavān. The king makes his own servants sing his praises before them, but they make themselves deaf by piercing each others' ears, and dumb by cutting off each others' tongues. The king, in a rage, banishes them, and they wander off to the north, where, in due course, they die.

(28) After death they are carried off to the Brahma-lōka. Thence Brahmān and the other gods escort them to the Viṣṇu-lōka. Viṣṇu appoints Kauśika to be the chief of his *gaṇas*,—he, with his disciples, to be ever near him (Viṣṇu). Mālava and Mālātī are to abide near him, and Padmākṣa is transformed into Kubēra.

SARGA VI

Continuation of the Story of Kauśika

A great festival is begun in honour of Kauśika, at which Gandharvas sing and play instruments. Lakṣmī, the spouse of Viṣṇu, comes to hear the music. In order to make way for her, her attendants hustle to one side with their staves the assembled Gods and Munis. The finest singer is the Gandharva Tumburu, who is handsomely rewarded by Viṣṇu. (12) Nārada,—who is one of those that have been hustled to make way for Lakṣmī,—on seeing how Tumburu has been rewarded, becomes filled with rage and jealousy. He hastily curses Lakṣmī for the insult offered to him. “As Lakṣmī, like a Rākṣasa, has made her attendants smite me with staves, and has hustled me aside, so shall Lakṣmī be born among Rākṣasas, and a Rākṣasī shall cast her away upon the

ground." No sooner has Nārada uttered these words, than he recognizes their enormity, and is filled with remorse. (21) Lakṣmī and Nārāyaṇa accept the position. She admits that a Brāhmaṇa's curse cannot be voided, and resigns herself to the consequences ; but she asks that she may be conceived in the womb of a Rākṣasī, who has drunk the blood of forest saints (*munis*) which has been collected little by little in a jar, and that she may be the offspring of that blood and of no one else. Nārada consents.

(27) Nārāyaṇa explains to Nārada that he loves hymns of praise far more than austerities, sacrifices, or visits to holy places. "For this reason Tumburu is more dear to me than you." He directs him to repair to an owl named Gānabandhu, who lives in a mountain to the north of the Mānasarōvara, and to learn how to sing from him. Nārada hastens thither, and finds Gānabandhu surrounded by Gandharvas, Kīrṇaras, Yakṣas, and Apsarases, whom he is teaching to sing. He tells Gānabandhu why he has come to learn singing, as he has found that all the austerities he has undergone, all the gifts he has made, all the sacrifices he has carried out, all that he has heard, and all that he has read, are not worth the sixteenth part of the hymns sung by Kauśika and Tumburu. Viṣṇu has sent him to Gānabandhu to learn the method. Gānabandhu tells the following story :—

The Story of Bhuvanēśa.—(47) There was once a pious king named Bhuvanēśa. He worshipped Bhagavān with thousands of sacrifices and other pious acts ; but he stopped the singing of hymns in praise of Hari. Only in his (Bhuvanēśa's) honour were songs to be sung. A certain pious Brāhmaṇa named Harimitra was found singing a hymn to Hari, while engaged in worship. Bhuvanēśa confiscated all his property and banished him. In course of time Bhuvanēśa died and came before Yama. Yama sentenced him to continue eating his own corpse for a whole Manvantara (4,320,000 years), then to become a dog, and finally a human being. He thereupon first became an owl, with the corpse of his former body before him, from which he was compelled to satisfy his hunger. One day Harimitra came by on a heavenly chariot and saw the owl. The latter told him his story, and craved his forgiveness. Harimitra granted it, and conferred upon him the power of song, so that his tongue might become pure by singing Viṣṇu's praises. He further promised that he should become the singing master to Vidyādhara, Gandharvas, and Apsarases, and thus earn pure food in place of the horrid banquet to which he had been condemned. "So, in fact, it turned out, and I, Nārada, am that owl."

SARGA VII

Nārada gains the Power of Singing

The Story of Nārada and Tumburu.—Nārada passes a thousand years in learning to sing from Gānabandhu, and masters the technique of the art. As a fee he promises Gānabandhu that in a future age he

shall become Garuḍa. He then sets out to conquer Tumburu in singing. When he arrives at Tumburu's house he finds it surrounded by a crowd of maimed men and women, wanting hand, foot, nose, eye, breast, or so on. These turn out to be the various musical modes (*rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*) who have been mangled by Nārada's bad singing. Nārada, thus put out of countenance, repairs to Mādhava (i.e. Bhagavān) in the White Continent (*Śvētadvīpa*). Mādhava explains to him that he has not yet assimilated all Gānabandhu's powers of song, and that he is still not the equal of Tumburu. He goes on "in the Dvāpara Yuga I shall be born as Kṛṣṇa. You must then come to me and remind me. I will complete your musical education, and make you sing better than Tumburu. In the meantime continue your studies among the Dēvas and Gandharvas". Thereupon Nārada applies himself to learning the lute. Devoted to Vāsudēva, he wanders over all the worlds with his lute.

(39) In the Brahma-lōka, he meets two Gandharvas named Hāhā and Hūhū, who are skilful in singing the praises of Brahmān. Nārada begins to sing in praise of Hari, and Brahmān honours him. He wanders on and reaches Tumburu's abode. He finds in attendance there the *śadja* and the other primary notes of the scale (*svaras*). On seeing them he is filled with shame and hurries off, learning more and more music wherever he goes. (45) At length Kṛṣṇa becomes incarnate, and Nārada hastens to Dvārakā. He reminds Kṛṣṇa of his promise, and Kṛṣṇa makes him over to his third wife, Jāmbavatī, for instruction. He studies with her for a year, and is then sent to the second wife, Satyabhāmā, who teaches him further. He is then sent on to the first wife, Rukmiṇī, but her attendants complain that he sings out of tune, so he studies with Rukmiṇī for two years. Finally Kṛṣṇa takes him himself. In this way music comes to him in perfection; and, simultaneously, all hatred departs from him, and all jealousy of Tumburu disappears.

SARGA VIII

The Conception and Birth of Sītā

Rāvana, the ten-headed, performs terrible austerities, and through them he becomes as fiercely radiant as the sun, so that the earth itself takes fire. Brahmān and the gods entreat him to desist, and offer him a boon if he will do so. He demands that he should never die at the hand of any God, Asura, Yakṣa, Piśāca, Nāga, Rākṣasa, Vidyādhara, Kinnara, or Apsaras, and also that if ever he should look on his own daughter with lustful eyes, and she do not yield to him, that then he should die. He does not mention men in demanding his first boon, as he looks upon them as mere straws. The boons are granted, and the gods depart.

(14) Through the power conferred by his first boon, Rāvana enters upon a career of conquest. On one occasion he comes to the

Daṇḍaka forest, and, on seeing the Ṛṣis, considers that until he has overcome them he cannot be looked upon as having conquered the three worlds. On the other hand it would not be right for him to slay them. He therefore summons them to submit without resistance, and, with this demand, draws from each with the tip of an arrow a little blood, which he collects in a jar.

(18) One of the Ṛṣis is Gr̥tsamada,¹ the father of a hundred sons. His wife has begged from him that she may have a daughter, and that this daughter may be Lakṣmī herself. In order to fulfil her desire, the Ṛṣi has been day by day sprinkling, with appropriate *mantras*, milk from a wisp of kuśa-grass into a jar, so that thereby it may become inhabited by Lakṣmī. He does this, as usual, on the morning of the day on which Rāvaṇa appears, and, before the latter's arrival, goes out into the forest. It is in this same jar that Rāvaṇa collects the Ṛṣis' blood. He takes it home with him, and gives it to his wife Mandôdārī to take care of, telling her that the blood in it is more poisonous than poison itself. She may on no account taste it, or give it to anyone to taste.

(24) Rāvaṇa again goes forth on his career of conquest, and in Mount Mandara debauches the daughters of the Gods, Dānavas, Yakṣas, and Gandharvas. Mandôdārī, seeing them preferred to her, determines to kill herself. With this object, she drinks the contents of the jar of Ṛṣis' blood, which Rāvaṇa has told her is a deadly poison. Instead of dying, she immediately becomes pregnant with Lakṣmī, who has been installed in the sprinkled milk by the power of Gr̥tsamada's *mantras*.

(30) When she finds herself pregnant in the absence of her husband, in fear of his reproaches, she sets out for Kurukṣētra under pretence of making a pilgrimage. There, freeing herself from the fœtus (*garbham niṣkṛṣya*), she buries it in the ground and returns home, keeping the whole affair a secret.

(36) Shortly afterwards Janaka comes to sacrifice at Kurukṣētra. In order to prepare the ground for the sacrifice, he ploughs it with a golden plough, and while doing so turns up the fœtus,—a girl-child. Being warned by a voice from heaven, he adopts her and names her Sītā. After completing the sacrifice, he takes her home, and brings her up.

SARGA IX

Jāmadagnya Granted a Vision of the Universe

The story now omits all account of the boyhood of Rāma-candra, of the journey with Viśvāmitra, of the breaking of Śiva's bow, and of the marriage with Sītā. The narrative is resumed with the departure of Rāma-candra's and Sītā's wedding party from Janakapura. (2)

¹ I have not met this particular story about Gr̥tsamada either in the *Mahābhārata* or in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

They are met by Paraśu-rāma (Jāmadagnya), who displays the bow with which he has destroyed the Kṣatriyas. He challenges Rāma-candra to string it and to draw the magic arrow up to his ear. Rāma-candra reproves him. "You owe your might to Brahman. Now see me in my proper form." Rāma then gives him divine sight, so that in Rāma-candra he sees the whole universe [(18 ff.) list of details, cf. *Mbh.*, iii, 8673]. Rāma then discharges the arrow. The usual portents follow. Paraśu-rāma is struck senseless. On his recovery he worships Rāma-candra, and retires to Mahendra. There he abides, devoid of all might for a year. The *Pitṛs* then direct him to go to the Dīptōda Tirtha¹ on the Vadhūsara river, where he will regain his might. His ancestor Bhṛgu performed austerities there.

After the encounter with Paraśu-rāma, Rāma-candra goes on to Uttara Kōsala.

SARGA X

The Vision of Rāma's Celestial Form

The story then takes up the narrative of Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, and Sītā in the forest. (1) They go to the Daṇḍaka forest for some unmentioned reason (*kēnāpi hētunā*). Rāma builds a hut on the bank of the Gōḍāvarī, and passes the time in hunting. One day Rāvaṇa, under the influence of delusion (*mōhāt*), carries off Sītā to Laṅkā. Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa set out in search of her. A river is formed from the flood of Rāma's tears, and because a tear quickly accomplished (*vyatarati*) the origin of the river, it is called Vaitaraṇī. It has also this name, because, after the due performance of oblations, the *Pitṛs* pass over (*tarāṇa-*) it. From the rheum of Rāma's eyes, mountains were formed. (7) He and Lakṣmaṇa go to R̥ṣyamūka in order to form a friendship with Sugrīva, who lives there with five *mantrins* out of fear of Vālin. Hanūmat (*sic passim*) meets them. Rāma amazes him by revealing to him his celestial form.

SARGAS XI-XV

The conversation between Rāma and Hanūmat. XI, Rāma instructs Hanūmat in the esoteric nature of the Supreme (*Sāṅkhya-yōga*). XII, Continuation of the same (*Upaniṣat-kathana*). XIII, Continuation of the same (*Bhakti-yōga*). XIV, Continuation of the same (*Bhagavad-dhanumat-saṁvāda*). XV, Hanūmat praises Rāma (*Hanūmat-kṛta-stava-rāja*).

SARGA XVI

Rāma succeeds to the Throne

Rāma explains to Hanūmat that Rāvaṇa has carried off Sītā. Hanūmat replies that, just as the whole universe is illusion, so the

¹ *Mbh.*, iii, 8685 ff.

abduction of Sītā has been illusive.¹ Nevertheless, he will do all he can to help. He sets Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa on his shoulders and carries them to Sugriva, who also promises his assistance. (7) Rāma kills Vālin, makes Sugriva king, (8) and then, riding on Hanūmat's shoulder, while Lakṣmaṇa rides on Aṅgada, goes off with Sugriva to the sea-shore, accompanied by the army of monkeys. (10) Lakṣmaṇa orders the sea to allow the army to pass over. The sea refuses. Lakṣmaṇa leaps into the sea, and fire issues from his body, so that all the water in it is dried up. The inhabitants of the water are afflicted, so Rāma reproves Lakṣmaṇa, and refills the ocean with his tears of grief for Sītā. (17) The Sea sings Rāma's praises, and he builds a causeway over it, enters Laṅkā, and destroys Rāvaṇa with his family. (18) With Vibhīṣaṇa's help, Rāma takes Sītā in the Puṣpaka chariot, and, accompanied by Sugriva, Hanūmat, and the rest, returns to Ayōdhyā, where he is joyfully welcomed, and reigns in peace and happiness.

SARGA XVII

Sītā's Story

Viśvāmitra and other Ṛṣis, with their disciples, come to Ayōdhyā from the East, South, West, and North. [List of these Ṛṣis, with the point of the compass from which each came.] They are honoured by Rāma and Sītā and the others. (9) Song of praise by the Ṛṣis, led by Agastya. (15) They express their grief at Sītā's having suffered so much. Sītā returns thanks, but remarks, with a laugh, that, although Rāvaṇa was wicked, his slaying does not deserve such high commendation. The Ṛṣis are astonished. (27) Sītā explains :—

Sītā's Tale.—"When I was a girl in Janaka's house, a certain Brāhmaṇa came as a guest for the four months of the rainy season. Janaka appointed me to wait on him, and he diverted me by telling me stories of the various holy places that he had visited. One day he told me a wonderful story. Beyond the Sea of Curds, there is a fresh-water lake surrounding the Puṣkara-dvīpa. Brahmān's lotus throne is in Puṣkara. The Mānasōttara Mountain, of huge extent, forms the boundary between Puṣkara and the Continent (*varṣa*). Round the mountain are the cities of Indra and the other gods.

The Two Rāvaṇas.—(40) Sumālin, the chief of the Rākṣasas, had a daughter named Kaikāsī. She became the wife of Viśravas and bore him two sons, both named Rāvaṇa.² One of these had a thousand heads, and the other had ten heads. The gods, by a voice from the sky, named them "Rāvaṇa", because they would cause wailing (*rāvaṇa*)

¹ According to the Adhyātmā Rāmāyaṇa (III, vii, 2 ff.) it was only an illusive form of Sītā, not Sītā herself, that was carried off.

² It is hardly necessary to point out that the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa contains no reference to these two Rāvaṇas. Similarly the Adhyātmā Rāmāyaṇa. According to them, Kaikāsī's children by Viśravas were the Ten-headed Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa, Sūrpaṇakhā, and Vibhīṣaṇa.

of the peoples (*lōkānām*). By the favour of Mahādēva, the Ten-headed Rāvaṇa lived in Laṅkā, which had been built by Kubēra. Having obtained a boon from Brahmān, he despised the universe.

(44) The Thousand-headed Rāvaṇa forcibly took possession of Puṣkara. He tossed the sun and moon about in play like balls, and did the same with the (seven) chief mountain ranges of the continent. He captured the cities round the Mānasōttara Mountain, and lives there happily with his mother's relations. He himself lives in Indra's city and has greatly beautified it. [49–60, description of its beauties.] There he has imprisoned Indra and the other deities, and plays with them as a child plays with toys. Mount Mēru he looks upon as a grain of mustard, the Ocean as the puddle in a cow's footprint, all the worlds as bits of straw, and the continents as clods of mud, although Brahmān, Pulastya [Viśravas's father], and Viśravas [his father] have remonstrated with him in affectionate terms.

(68) Telling stories such as this, the Brāhmaṇa passed his four months with Janaka, and then departed after giving us his blessing.

SARGA XVIII

Continuation of Sītā's Story

Sītā continues.—"Up to now my husband has slain only the Ten-headed Rāvaṇa, and, although Laṅkā has been destroyed, that, so long as the Thousand-headed Rāvaṇa is still alive, is not so very great a deed. It is for this reason that I laughed when you all addressed me."

(7) The saints approve of Sītā's remarks. Rāma shouts an order from his throne, collects an army, and sets out against the Thousand-headed One. He takes them through the air to the Mānasōttara. On arrival they roar a challenge. The Thousand-headed Rāvaṇa [from this place called simply "Ravaṇa"] issues forth raging, with his two thousand arms, and two thousand eyes, fierce as the sun, armed with clubs, barbed darts, javelins, and other weapons. (33) He threatens Rāma, and boasts of his might and wondrous feats. (43–71) Names of his chief warriors and generals, with descriptions of them.

SARGA XIX

The Sons of the Thousand-headed Rāvaṇa

(1–9) List of the Thousand-headed's sons. (10–42) Their appearance.

SARGA XX

The Armies join in Combat

The Thousand-headed Rāvaṇa wonders who the attackers are. A voice from heaven informs him that it is Rāma, who had killed Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā, accompanied by his army of monkeys, etc. Infuriated, he attacks Rāma. (7–31) Description of the battle.

SARGA XXI

The Scattering of Rāma's Army

At length Rāvaṇa, despising these men and monkeys, and considering that they are too mean to kill, discharges his Hurricane-blast (*vāyavya*) arrow, the effect of which is to blow Rāma's entire army of men, bears, and monkeys back, by a mighty gust of wind, to the particular country from which each has started. Only Rāma and Sītā in the chariot Puṣpaka, together with the Mahārṣis who accompanied them, remain. Everyone else,—including Rāma's brothers, Bharata and Lakṣmaṇa, Hanūmat, Sugrīva, etc.,—is blown away with the army. The Mahārṣis and the gods are dismayed; for, ever since this Rāvaṇa in sport once threw Viṣṇu riding on Garuḍa into the Salt Ocean,—just as a jackal hates the smell of a tiger,—they have been unable to endure even his smell. Uttering the hope that, for their own sakes, Rāma may be victorious, the gods make themselves scarce and disappear. Rāvaṇa, despising Rāma, rushes at him with a roar, but before his blazing lotus eyes, finds himself unable to strike him.

SARGA XXII

Rāma Struck with Insensibility

Rāma, watching the troops of the Thousand-headed One rushing at him, draws his bow, and, pouring arrows into the midst of the Rākṣasas, cuts them up. Rāvaṇa orders his generals to stand back and watch him, as he alone destroys Rāma and, after him, the rest of the universe. He challenges Rāma. The two join in combat. (13-45) A terrible fight, magic weapons being employed on both sides. (45) Rāma discharges at Rāvaṇa a fiery arrow that had been given to him by Brahmán, but Rāvaṇa catches it in its flight with his left hand and breaks it across his knee. He then aims a razor-edged arrow at Rāma. It pierces Rāma's chest, passes on through the earth, and enters hell. Portents in the Universe, as Rāvaṇa dances in joy.

SARGA XXIII

The Slaughter of the Thousand-headed

The Munis lament to Sītā. She grasps Rāma's bow and arrow, and assumes the terrible form of Dēvī (famished, hollow-eyed, with whirling glance, long-legged, loud-shouting, wearing a garland of skulls, anklets made of bones, fearful in speed and might, harsh-voiced, four-armed, long-faced, with blazing ornaments round her head, lolling tongue, matted hair, bristling down, black as the Ocean of Universal Dissolution, carrying bell and noose). She dismounts from the chariot armed with sword and shield, and, like a hawk, pounces upon Rāvaṇa.

In an instant she cuts off his thousand heads. (14-23) With her talons she tears off the heads of his champions, and so on. She adorns herself with a necklace made of their entrails and heads, and tosses about Rāvaṇa's heads as if they were balls, while from her pores issue a thousand *Mātrkāś* to join in the sport. (26-55) Names of the *Mātrkāś*. (56-65) Description of them and of their grisly sport. (66) The earth, unable to bear the weight of Sītā's trampling, and the worlds, imagining that this is the universal dissolution, prepare to descend into hell. The gods address Mahādēva, who hastens to the battlefield, and helps the earth to support the burden by taking the form of a corpse and placing himself under Sītā's feet. Nevertheless, the worlds that are above her cannot endure the sound of her trampling or of her roaring. The heavens shake from the wind of her breathing. The gods are terrified at the prospect of destruction.

SARGA XXIV

Brahmān's Remonstrance

(1-21) Brahmān and the gods praise Sītā as the *Śakti* of Viṣṇu, and entreat her,—seeing that Viṣṇu is the Protector of the Universe,—to desist. (22) She refuses, because Rāma is lying dead in the Puṣpaka. Brahmān resuscitates Rāma, who, unaware of what has happened, when he misses Sītā from his side, and, instead, sees a second Kālī dancing on the battlefield, prepares to resume the fight. (30-7) Description of the furious Sītā. Brahmān explains to Rāma what has happened, and entreats him to recall Sītā to her proper self.

SARGA XXV

The Tale of the Thousand Names of Sītā

Rāma, full of sorrow, entreats the Dēvī to say who she is. She replies: "I am the Parama-śakti (5-7, epithets)." Rāma sees her in her true nature. He praises her in her 1000 names (List, 18-152). Benefits of reciting them.

SARGA XXVI

Rāma Triumphant

Rāma asks Sītā, as Paramēśvarī, to abandon her terrible *Aiśvara* form, and to assume another. She (Dēvī) assumes her own gracious and lovely form. Rāma praises her as Dēvī, and as the *Parā Gatih*. (10-37) "You are the origin of all creation and of dissolution. Some people call you Prakṛti, and others Śivā, whose abode is Śiva. In you are contained the *Pradhāna*, *Puruṣa*, *Mahat*, Brahmān, and Īśvara. In you are *Avidyā*, *Niyati*, *Māyā*, the *Kālas* in their hundreds. You are the *Paramā Śakti*", and so on, with further attributes.

(39) Sītā explains that the form which she has assumed for the slaughter of the Thousand-headed Rāvaṇa is that in which she dwells on the Mānasōttara Mountain. (41) "Your colour is naturally dark blue (*nīla*), but you have become red through the pain inflicted by Rāvaṇa. For this reason I dwell with you in a dark blue and red form." She invites him to ask a boon from her. He asks for the return of his brothers and the army, who had been blown away by Rāvaṇa. Sītā grants it, and he determines to return with her to Ayōdhyā.

SARGA XXVII

The Return of Sītā and Rāma to Ayōdhyā

Rāma embraces Sītā, and they set out in the Puṣpaka for Ayōdhyā. They are received there with warm welcome. The Ṛṣis who had accompanied him on his return, bid him farewell. Rāma, with Sītā and his brothers, continues to reign happily. He rules for more than eleven thousand years.

(11) [Vālmīki continues:] I have now told some wonderful occurrences in the story of Rāma. In order to avoid repetition, I have not told the whole story, and I have also not been able to tell that portion which has been kept concealed by Brahmān. That which has been told in this Adbhutōttara-kāṇḍa is equal in value to the Vēda. In the benefit which it confers, a single verse of it is equal to the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa in 25,000 verses [referred to in Sarga I].

(20) I received this from Nārada, and Nārada from Brahmān. We three are the only individuals who know the whole of it from end to end. There is no fourth individual who knows it all. The whole of it is preserved in the Brahma-lōka; a part of it is in this world; a part is in Pātāla; and a part is in Svarga, with Indra.

(23) Summary of the contents of the work, and benefits gained by reading and hearing it.



MAN AS WILLER

By C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

WE know that in the Pali and Jain scriptures we find, as we do not find in other early Indian scriptures, the triplet: action of mind, action of word, action of body. We know that the triplet is a feature in the ancient Persian thought which we associate with the work of Zarathustra. And we may or we may not have noted as significant, how three great founders of creeds which were primarily concerned with the importance of man's will and man's actions or conduct, should be credited with the wording of this triplet, while the intermediate development in India of the creeds of the rite and the ritual, the priest and the sacrifice, left the triplet unstressed. When this threefold wording of thought, word, and deed as modes of action (*kamma*) came into use in Buddhist teaching we do not know. It does not appear everywhere in the Pali scriptures. In many books it scarcely appears at all. It attains its chief prominence in the fourth, or Anguttara Nikāya. But wherever it does occur, it occurs as an unquestioned and accepted way of wording.

There is one important branch of Buddhist literature where it is not brought to the front—a branch where we should expect it would have been brought to the front. This is in the field of the analysis of man *as expressing himself in body and mind*. As such he is not scheduled under the category of mental action, vocal action, overt or bodily action. He is analyzed under other categories, chiefly under (i) the twofold one of “name” and “shape”, and (ii) under the fivefold one of the material and immaterial groups (*khandhas*), and again, later (iii) under the threefold category of material qualities, mind, and “mentals”.¹ But when conduct and the consequences of conduct, either in the past, or here below, or hereafter, come to be considered, then it is that the triple category of action or the deed is worded.

It was no small achievement, in man's early attempts to word and worth himself as man, to sum up himself, in this threefold activity. Wherever it began, it was a notable vantage-ground. For it presents man to men as chiefly and as always not a static beholder, nor a passive creature of destiny, but as actor, as doer, and, as such, as willer,

¹ *Rūpa, citta, cetasikā*.

a chooser and a “becomer”. It looked behind, it looked forward. It saw how man, as agent, is no creature only of the hour that now is. It saw him in the perspective of the worlds. It saw him in a state of perpetual becoming. As were his actions, so was he now, so would he be. He was not just played upon. He was actor, maker, *Werdender*.

Now it is because we of the West have come to realize this in our own way and our own wording, that we have found a place, in our summing up of the man, for the words “will” and “willer”. It has taken us long to get even only so far as we have got. And India never got so far.

But she felt early and much after what we have somehow come to know. We have come to know, because we have, at least, to some extent, learnt what it is that we mean by “will”. And that which we have come to learn in a very vital, very general way, we have named. India did not word “will” as Latins and Teutons and other Aryans worded it. The root of the word was in her Aryan heritage as it was in ours. That which we developed as *WAL*, she held, but did not equally develop, as *WAR* :—choice. It is not likely that the very different fate of these two forms of a common root—if common indeed it was¹—has been a matter of mere accident. The history of this very pregnant word has yet to be written. When it is, much of the history of Indo-Aryan and European Aryan will be involved.

India used her word *var-* in narrow, ineffective ways. It was used for one or two modes of choice : for a boon, for marriage-custom ; and again as meaning “of chosen, choice, or elect quality”.² It appears much in compounds and in these both Jain and Buddhist worded the importance of self-restraint. But we cannot point to any words in which *var-* has attained to a force and worth approaching that of *val-* in, for instance, *uelle*, *uolo*, *uoluntas*, or *will(e)*.

We of to-day cannot imagine a literature where occasion for wording what we will to be or to do does not arise. Man expresses himself in many ways both then and now, but if a literature reveals him as expressing himself without it being often necessary to word that self-expression as some form of will, we should not in such

¹ Cf. Skeat, *English Dictionary*, Aryan roots.

² *Kaushitaki Up.* ii, 1. To him said Indra : “Choose a boon (*varam vrn̄śvreti*) !” “Do thou thyself choose for me that which thou deemest most well-working for mankind.” To him Indra : “Nay, verily, the elect (*rara*) for the unelect (inferior) chooses not. Choose thou !”

documents get man as we ever find him. * Indian literatures must contain substitutes for worded will. And they must attach more or less emphasis to that aspect of man which we have come to call will and willing and willer. Else there is something wrong with man in India, something lacking. The restricted use of the variant forms of *var* is not enough to make out, in that literature, a normal man.

But whereas in every collection of human documents we look to find expression of man as willer, we may, in any given collection, find more or we may find less of such worded expression. And I find that in Buddhist literature and in early Upanishad literature the ideas—will, willing, willer—are not made so articulate as we might well, *especially in Buddhist thought*, have expected.

We have in the Upanishads a storehouse of highest value for what we seek. We have in them teachers expressing themselves, without the pre-occupations of the hymn or the sacrifice. We are, it is true, never far away from the rite and the ritual. But the quest is chiefly man and the whence and whither of him. And there is a certain amount of unorthodox freedom, inasmuch as opinions are put forth varying in many points. Here, if anywhere, we should find how man as a willer, and how his will are severally worded.

The harvest to our inquiry is curiously meagre. The default may lie in the present writer, whose hunting-grounds the Upanishads are not. But they whose hunting-grounds the Upanishads are do not help us much. Not only were they not competent psychologists; as writers on man, they had no convictions as to the profound significance of will. Deussen, for example, gives us plenty of good indexes, but in not one of them¹ does he mention the word *Wille* or any equivalent, save in one passing allusion to Schopenhauer! This may be due to want of psychological interest, yet it is inconceivable that a writer so sympathetic to most of his subject-matter and so humane should have ignored this great side of man's nature, had the literature itself worded that side with any emphasis. So far as I have been able to discover, the only use he made of "Wille" was to suggest it as an alternative to "Verstand" in one or two places where the text has *manas* (e.g. Brih. U., i, 2, 1; 3, 6).

¹ *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie (India); Sechzig Upanishad's; Philosophische Texte des Māhābhārata*. In the last work the index is expressly said to be of "noteworthy names and ideas". Hence he has found nothing "noteworthy" on will!

Regnaud, on the Upanishads,¹ gives us no index, but under “Diverses facultés psychologiques” he distinguishes *saṃkalpa* as *manas* acting, hence we may take it, he says, to mean desire (*kāma*) or volition.

Now *saṃkalpa* is certainly a term involving will. The root of it (*klp*), according to Whitney, means “be adapted”. And if we found it meeting us wherever, in the context, we should look for some reference to man as *willing*, the point of this article would be weakened. But it is precisely the very rare and the irregular use which is made of the term both in the Upanishads and in the Piṭakas that does not weaken but sharpens my point.

Taking the older Upanishads, we find *saṃkalpa* occurring in nine contexts. Judging by the renderings given of it in these, we cannot conclude that translators have made out for it so unambiguous a meaning as Regnaud does. A comparative table of the ways in which four of them have Englished the word will best show this:—

<i>Saṃkalp-</i>	M. Müller. ²	Deussen. ³	Tatya Cowell & Rōer. ⁴	Hume. ⁵
1. Ait. U. 5, 2	conceiving	Vorstellung	determination ⁶	conception
2. Kau. U. 3, 2	conception	Erkenntniss	resolve	„
3. Kena U. 30	imagination	vorstellen	ascertained	„
4. Chhā. U. vii, 4, 1	will	Entschluss	will	„
5. „ viii, 2, 1	„	Wunsch	wishes	„
6. Brh. U. i, 5, 3	representation	Entscheidung	determination ⁶	imagination
7. „ ii, 4, 11	percepts	Strebungen	„	intentions
8. Svet. U. 5, 8	thoughts	Vorstellung	„	conception
9. Katha i, 10 (<i>śāntas</i>)	pacified	beruhigten	appeased in	intent
		Gemüths	thought	appeased

We can sympathize with the translator's need, in using equivalents that do not coincide, of varying his renderings to suit the context. We could humour the alternatives: will, Entschluss, wishes, intentions, resolve, etc. But there must be a limit to alternatives, and we cannot justify a tether so loose that it brings in, with these, percepts, conception, ascertaining, representation, imagination, thoughts, Vorstellung, etc. We can only conclude, either that the translators were uncertain as to the meaning, or that precision in terms of mind was not a part of their mental equipment. If so, they falter in notable company. No one thrust the potency in the idea of will upon dormant European philosophy as did Schopenhauer, yet how slovenly he is in psychology one needs not much reading of him to find out.

¹ *Matériaux*, ii, 93.

² *Sechzig Upanishads*.

³ *Thirteen Principal Upanishads*.

² S.B.E. i, ii.

⁴ *Twelve Principal Upanishads*.

⁶ I.e., definition, not resolve.

Not only do translators here and there camouflage in this way the word *saṃkalpa* as a makeshift for will, but, as we see, the word itself is not used to express any very fundamental aspect of man, much less the most fundamental aspect. Thrust for one moment into relief, in the reference No. 4,¹ as "greater than *manas*", it is dropped forthwith into the series as less than *cittaṃ* and as, *a priori*, less than many other aspects. It was not an indispensable, a constant in Indian thought on man. And this is equally true of the phase of Indian thought termed Buddhist, as we shall see.

Was there then any other word, were there any other words, by which the early Indian literature expressed man as willer? May we perhaps judge, as Oldenberg suggests, that the inner activity we word by will was implied in the word *manas*, but was as yet undifferentiated? Oldenberg, in his last work,² has nothing about *saṃkalpa* (which barely occurs in the *Brāhmaṇas*), but is more concerned with *kratu*, a word also of active import, and occurring frequently in Vedic works. Here, he judged, we have a word bound up with *manas*, and meaning both insight how to act and will to act. Such a meaning is implied in *manas* itself, e.g. in the passage "when he desires with *manas*".

If then we are discussing a stage of wording "man" prior to such differentiations, we need not judge that we are considering the records of an abnormal section of humanity. But let us not forget this—it is the very gist of what I have here to say—if the ancient Indian worded both mind and will by words belonging to the category of mind, leaving will to be implied, it is evident that, for him (assuming we translate truthfully), man was mainly minder, not willer. Willing was an adjunct of thinking.

It is possible, too, that among the European branches of the Aryans we should not find, at so early a date, the notable developments of the *WAL* stem. Of those other branches, the Greeks, in their greatest thinkers, came nearer than India to a worthy conception of all that is really implied in our own words will and willer. They too earnestly worded the "man"; they earnestly worded man as both seeking the good, and as capable of becoming better. They conceived his inner world as "movements". And among these movements of the psyche they reckoned the will-word *boulē*, *boulesthai*. Plato even saw *boules* in his conception of the Divine. But they

¹ See table above.

² *Die Weltanschauung der Brahmanatexte*, 69, n. 2.

did not raise the notion of will to that true worth which still is lacking even in our own outlook. A thoughtful writer, Miss Mary H. Wood,¹ has laid all the works of Plato under embargo to show that, while a definition, a doctrine of will—she adds “hypostatization of will”—is not in him, the real thing is there, in that his whole philosophy treats man as exerting self-activity.

This is, I hold, most true. And Aristotle herein followed in Plato's wake. Miss Wood, as a special pleader, forces the note occasionally, over-emphasizing a “principle of growth” in *phusis* and “process of becoming” in *kinēsis*, but both thinkers were feeling out after a view of man as willer. It was only the heavy hand of tradition shaping the view of man as mainly thinker which hindered them from a truer perspective.

Professor Bloomfield finds the equivalent, for ancient India, to our “will” in the Indian “desire”.² He quotes the notable passage from the Upanishads: “Man is wholly formed from ‘desire’³ (*kāma*); as is his desire, so is his ‘insight’⁴ (*kratu*); as is his ‘insight’, so does he the deed (*karma*); as he does the deed, so does he experience.”

This is well said. *Kāma* undifferentiated serves here for will, and might have continued worthily to do so. But it underwent that specialization which usually connotes depreciation. And with regard to this poor, over-driven word “desire”, here it is the modern translators who (with the exception of the more discerning Deussen) have failed to differentiate. As I have pointed out long ago, “desire” has been fitted by various translators to no fewer than sixteen Pali words, all conveying varying meanings of, as we might say, feeling, with some co-efficient of will, or conversely.⁵ It is here that *kāma*, in noun and verb, does play a fairly large part in the Indian's inner world emerging in action. It is even placed at the back of the all-creator's fiat in creating (*akāmayata*), both in Vedas and old Upanishads, as the wish of God.⁶ On the other hand, we find the word, in the troubled conscience of the Buddhist, restricted, I think without exception, to the world of man's sense-desires and sense-pleasures. But, for the desires stirring in the man of the Buddhist

¹ *Plato's Psychology in its bearing on the development of will*, 1909.

² *The Religion of the Veda*, p. 259 f.

³ So also Tatyá and Hume; Deussen: “Begierde” = craving.

⁴ M. Müller: “will”.

⁵ E.g., *J.R.A.S.*, 1898, “The Will in Buddhism,” p. 47.

⁶ *Olenberg, op. cit.* 179, n. 3.

literature towards the Best—now worded as *sammā* or *brahma*-, not as *ātman*—we come upon very different terms.

Here the wordlessness I have commented upon becomes more marked and less explicable. The older literature is in its way as “religious” as is the Buddhist and the Jainist. And it is more closely concerned with the “man” than are these. But this older religious thought did not concern itself searchingly with man’s *choice of conduct*, with man’s will to righteousness as *the* essential in religion. Nor did it systematically analyze and define man as an outer and inner microcosm. Hence that older thought was not so travailing as were its successors with the *springs* of action, nor with the analysis of man. *as willing or not willing* to walk in a Way towards the Best. It could therefore use more lightheartedly, less anxiously, all available words bearing on its goodly, brave world of warrior and priest, of thinker and worker. It could mean much in little; or it could, as it willed, deploy some word here and there, especially if a little entertaining word-play were possible. And so we get a pleasant if incidental sing-song wording on *kā*-alliterations about wishing, enjoying, working, on *kalp-kṛp*-alliterations about planning and uniting; on *var*-alliterations about boons and rank, and so forth. The authors make out their “gods as loving cryptic speech”,¹ but that was because early man himself loved the oracular and the pun.

But in the Buddhist books, while we have yet oracle and pun, we are in a world that has been changing. Attention is fixed on the plastic nature of man, on his being in a “way” of becoming better or worse, on his composite nature, on his serial life. Here, if ever or anywhere, was the world, one would think, where man’s somehow innate tendency to become “better”, to live up to the best (*sammā*)—which the whole Buddhist teaching sought to develop—called aloud for a distinguishing, called aloud for a wording of what it was in man which could express that tendency. For *what was it* in man that sought after the best, the “right” in thought, word, and deed? What was it in man that responded to the teacher’s monitions herein? *Manas* the mind, *citta* the observer, would never “seek”, would never “move towards”. What was it but “will” that moved, that sought?

Yet in this world we no more find that clear distinguishing, that adequate wording than we did before Buddhism arose. Some wording

¹ Ait. U. iii, 14, etc.; Brh. U. iv, 2, 2; Kau. U. ii, 1.

we do get. In the teaching, initiated (in wording in a dialect largely lost) by Gotama, and developed in "Pali" by the church, which acknowledged him as its supreme teacher, we get a wording of human nature that plays all round the will, assumes it, evokes it in such words as *chanda*, *virīya*, *vāyāma*, *padhāna*, etc., regulates and "tames" it. We get a wording of amity (goodwill) to men, of quest for one's own and of others' welfare. We get a wording of man's composite personality. Yet we never get a wording of, a name for, man's tendency to seek his good as a bed-rock factor in his nature, nor any grasp of it as that on which his salvation depends.

I have tested the worth attached to will by indexes. Let us do so once more. In his valuable Coda to the Sacred Books of the East, the *General Index*, Dr. Winternitz has had eight volumes of Buddhist classical works before him. Yet his articles on Will and Volition are *entirely unaffected by this increment*. The articles are of the briefest, and not one reference to those eight volumes is in them. The only references are to Pahlavi and Vedāntic texts. (The articles on Desire and Taṇhā are almost equally meagre.) Such a silence is impossible had a clear wording of will been forced from the pen of the translators by their subject-matter.

But while there is no clear word for that in man which could worthily respond and react to the Buddhists' system of *sikkhāpada* or training, they were not without makeshifts, else neither could they have formulated nor could we read of such a system.

In the first place, as with the Vedic wording so with them, the words *citta*, *ceto*, *cetanā*, all wording what we express by mind or thinking, awareness or consciousness, are now and then used in such an active or volitional sense as we convey by the words intent, purpose, or will, when the speaker wishes to express this aspect of mind. This is true also of *mano*. *Manokamma* "action of mind" can mean "will-to-act", notably in the Upāli-Sutta.¹ In it, as has been said, mind is viewed as active process. So is *cetanā* which, in one Sutta² (but in one only) is stated, like *mano*, to be action (*kamma*):—

"I say, monks, that *cetanā* is *kamma*. When we have *cetayitā*, then we make action of deed, word, and thought."

Manasikāra, again, "work of mind," is another word, unspecialized in the early literature and possibly used with volitional implication.³

¹ *Majjhima-Nikāya*, i, 375 f.

² *Anguttara*, iii, p. 415.

³ Cf. *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 95 n. 1, and Mr. Aung's note, p. 282.

Again, we read of Gotama being made to say, he forced his *citta* by *ceto*,¹ albeit *ceto* is nowhere, early or later, defined, distinctively or otherwise.

Citta is even used to cover the four well-known Suffusion-sentiments called Brahmavihārā, or divine states, a meditative rite of aspiration ascribed to brahmins, but adopted by Buddhism. They are spoken of as the love-*citta*, pity-*citta*, sympathy-with-joy-*citta*, equanimity-*citta*. In each of them, starting with a person, a house, a street, and so expanding, one suffuses (*pharati*) the whole world with these *cittas* in turn. We should call this "willing" or "wishing" the welfare of others with love, or pity, etc., there being of course present the thought or idea of those others. We ought not, as we now tend to do in treating of the subject, to lose sight of the will in the feeling. If Buddhists did not word will in them, neither did they word them as emotion. The whole inner man was engaged in these *citta*'s. And if we were to translate *citta* here by "will", we should be psychologically correct, but we should be historically wrong. Oldenberg discusses them—without psychological insight—as "a psychic gymnastic for a man of feeling". This is again historically (as well as psychologically) wrong. The Buddhist uses no emotional terms save in naming three of the *cittas* as amity, pity, joy (with others' joy). But he speaks of a "radiating"²—admirable and true word!—whereby his *thought* spreads and spreads till the very world is warded by (the goodwill in) it. And he speaks here of "the mother"³. But he is not referring merely to her sentiment towards her only child, but to her warding of him, her work for him. Her love is but the reverberation of her very synergy.

In the second place, Pali tried to make good its want of a worthy word for the strenuous and systematic mental and moral training it so commended, by certain adjunct words, some of which are strong and lusty. We find *samkalpa* again as *sankappa*. This is both raised to a factor in the Eightfold Path of the Middle Course of the "best" living, and it has a definition peculiar to itself and one other term in Abhidhamma. It is defined (and so is *vitakka*) as lifting the mind on to its object, disposing or adapting or applying it.⁴ Hence, it is what we should now be disposed to call attention. And the

¹ *Majjhima* i, 242.

² *Pharati*. Lord Chalmers is the first so to render the word in this connexion.

³ *Khuddakapāṭha*, *Sutta Nipāta*, Vis. *Magga*, ch. ix.

⁴ *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, §§ 7, 21.

word is often rendered intention. Corresponding to the *sānta-samkalpa* or “appeased intentions” of the Upanishad term, we get twice the compound *paripuṇṇa-sankappa* “fulfilled” or “satisfied aims”.¹ We have here, as in attention, mind active, alert, purposive. To that extent a will-word is found. Yet nowhere is any use made of the term in the structure of the fivefold or *khandha* summary of man as body and mind. No factor or factor-group of this is reserved for will-terms. In the Abhidhamma analyses, where the group called *sankhāras* or “plannings” is specified under some fifty items, *sankappa* and *vitakka* are both included, as is also *cetanā*. But they are defined as always, more intellectually than volitionally. And they are classed in a list in which will is less represented than is either cognition or emotion. It is indeed curious that a term so suggestive of will, of *mano-kamma*, of man’s inner world as movement, activity, as is *sankhāra* should have been thrown away as effective for will-classification, and have served as a dumping-ground for whatever did not fit under the other three mental groups: feeling, perception, mind (consciousness, cognition). If I have rendered the term by “synergies”, it is merely to give a literal Englishing of the Pali. It has no more reference to the miscellany classed under the term, than has *sankhārā*. The only old definition we have of *sankhārā*,² enforced by the Commentary, is that of a prepared complex. Yet among the 50 are items such as “calm”, “rapture”, “mindfulness”, which we should not so describe. I am inclined to think that when those 50 items came to be specified, *sankhārā* had lost its old quasi-volitional force, and that the Buddhist teaching was virtually considering the items more as just *cetasikā*, mental adjuncts, “mentals,” which were even then in use,³ and were soon after to supersede the *Khandha* classification.

Other noteworthy substitutes are three words of vigour: *iddhi*, literally “effecting”, “having wrought”; *virīya* “energy”, “effort”; *padhāna* “effort”, “endeavour”. Of these *iddhi*, as a mode of supernormal will-power, meets us throughout Pali literature. Yet it seems to be nowhere intelligently defined. Nor was it a faculty of the normally human. It was “psychic”, abnormal, and as such to be found in the morally worthy and the morally unworthy. As

¹ *Majjhima Nikāya*, i, 192, 200; iii, 275 (mistranslated by Neumann).

² *Saṃyutta* iii, 88. Cf. *Buddhist Psychology*, p. 50 f. In the Suttas there are only three *sankhāras* spoken of; those of deed, word, and thought, meaning pre-requisites. (*M.* i, 54, 301).

³ *Buddhist Psy. Ethics*, § 1,022, and note.

now, quite a small minority then possessed or developed it. It was not the will of the average man.

Viriya on the other hand and *padhāna* are both practicable, and should be practised, by every man who is morally earnest. *Viriya* is "mental inception of energy, striving, onward effort, exertion, endeavour, zeal, ardour, vigour, fortitude, unfaltering verve, sustained desire, unflinching endurance, and firm grasp of the burden. one's best *padhāna*."¹ *Padhāna* is nowhere so defined: its modes are described in terms of moral training;² it is used to describe four modes of moral *iddhi*,³ but it is not included in the factors distinguished under the mental group *sankhārā*. *Viriya* is so included. And whereas, for all the fine earnestness shown in the teaching as to the importance of energy, endeavour, and "ardour in effort", no sign betrays that herein the most fundamental factor of mind itself (*citta*, *mano*, *viññāṇa*) was being laid hold of, we can at least say, that Buddhists in these terms just missed stumbling upon a notable doctrine of will. They were all the nearer not only to a doctrine of will, but to a truer doctrine than any psychology has yet put forward, in that, for them, *virīya* and *padhāna* were bound up with growth, with progress. To the world the saintly "almsman" may have appeared a Quietist, but his inner world was seething with energy.

*O see my forward strides in energy!*⁴

is a recurring note in the anthology. The brotherhood was

Of strenuous energy and resolute,

*Ever advancing strongly . . .*⁵

For the conception of the believer's remainder of life as a path, a way, was a transformed one. It was no longer the endless round of *samsāra* which we have re-named "transmigration". It had become a progress in holiness. It was a way of growth. Here is a notable growth-word: "Growing by the five growths the Ariyan woman-disciple grows with the Ariyan growth: she becomes one who lays hold of the real (*sāra*) and of the excellent (*vara*) things in her person, to wit, faith, morals, learning, giving up and wisdom."⁶

The books hover in this way about this vital notion of growth

¹ *Bud. Psy. Ethics*, § 13.

² *Ibid.*, § 1363 (v).

³ *Bud. Psy.*, 2nd ed., p. 299 f.

⁴ *Psalms of the Brethren*, ver. 224 and others.

⁵ *Psalms of the Sisters*, ver. 161.

⁶ *Samyutta Nikāya*, "Mātugāma," § 10 "Person" = *kāyassa*, lit. group, i.e., either body or the whole person.

(*vadḍhi* or *ruddhi*, and *anubrūheti*, cf. Dhp. Comy, ii, 107), but just miss gripping the truth, that their central tenet of the Way is just that: growth of the *man* (not only of body or mind) along the age-long way of the worlds.

Still nearer was Buddhism to a worthy theory of will in yet another word, the word *chanda*. Abhidhamma early and late has been psychologically sound enough to save the term from the monastic associations which often lowered it to the level of *kāma*. The Sutta usage wavers. Now *chanda* ranks with *virīya* and its equivalents *vāyāma*, *ussolhi*, *ussāha*, *padhāna*; ¹ now it named as that the suppression of which is the aim of the holy life. There was righteous desire, *dharmacchanda*. And later *chanda*, as such, is described as an un-moral "desire-to-do" (*kattukamyatā*). I have sought for many years ² to do justice to this distinction, not without some special pleading. It was impossible without a hot sense of injustice to read the many fine calls in the *Nikāyas* on what we call the will, the earnest exordiums to energy, to noble quest (*ariya-pariyesanā*), to progress in the way, the lovely "faith in what we may become", ³ and then to note how translators and narrators glossed over it all and emphasized only "extinction of desire".

Yet after all Buddhism has been its own worst enemy. When the eminent disciple Ānanda told a brahmin that elimination of *chanda* was the object of the holy life ⁴—that the saint did but exercise *chanda* to gain his saintship and then needed it no further—"just as you, brahmin, exercised *chanda* to come and find me, and have it now no longer"—we begin to see why it is that Buddhism had no worthy conception of will. For it the perfected man is a will-less man. He is not without intellectual or emotional powers. But he is depicted as using these for joyful retrospect over victory won in past struggle. He is conceived as so near the final mysterious change, past birth and death, of *parinibbāna*, that he is already *nibbuta*, "in" *Nibbāna* "the goal". He has "done what was to be done". ⁵ He can no longer become. And so he has ceased to will. Will is therefore not of the nature of man; it was not as were *citta* or even *vedanā*.

When we read such vigorous will-words as these—"When a man

¹ E.g., *M.* i, 480; *A.* ii, 194 f.; iii, 108.

² *JRAS.*, 1898, 49 f.; *Bud. Psy. Eth.*, 1900, p. lxv; *Bud. Psy.*, p. 125, 158, 167; *Compendium*, 244.

³ Wordsworth, *Prelude*.

⁴ *Saṃyutta*, v, 272: *Chandapahānathāṇa*.

⁵ *Katāṇ karaniyaṇ Bhagavati brahmacariyaṃ russati*.

is not thoroughly aware of some blemish, he will not bring *chanda* to birth, he will not strive, he will not set energy afoot to get rid of it,"¹ we ask, how can we say there is no wording of will in Buddhism? When we read such words as Ānanda's we realize that, for Buddhism, such activity was not of the very life of the complete man, but was only an episode, was only the writhing of the learner.

Nearer still to a really worthy theory of will was Buddhism (as was Jainism) in the frequent use, in the training, of the causative form of the word "to become" *bhavati*, namely, the form *bhāveti* "to make-become". In our poverty of words for this notable expression, we render the term by meditation, practice, cultivation. These by no means coincide with *bhāvanā*. *Bhāvanā* is not a learning by intellect, which also requires practice, cultivation. It is a developing-one's-self-into, a re-creating-one's-self-according-to an ideal. For example, the difference between *viññāṇa* and *paññā*, both words being forms of "to know", is that the former is to be understood, the latter is to be made-to-become.²

Is it not a little singular, that with such a view of religious training, in which the disciple is expected to concentrate with utmost *vim* and *verve* on growing into, on becoming what he was not before, and which is figured as a way or road strenuously, unfaltering pursued towards a goal, we should not find man *conceived as a willer* putting forth will—that we should only find man conceived as a minder, or as mind, set in body,³ and having certain mental adjuncts or co-efficients of energy, endeavour, desire, intention, which were to be discarded with maturity, with perfect attainment? How was it that the Buddhist *dhamma*, finding no worthy form of *var-* to hand, did not look on man as essentially using *virīya*, or *chanda*, or as essentially *becoming* in his Way to Well? Why is there not even a *bhāvanā-* or *virīya-khandha*? How was it that Buddhists made shift with these terms as merely incidental in the life they held most worthy, and not as fundamental in man's nature?

It is not enough to say that they did not find wording corresponding to ours ready to their hand. They were so far pioneers in wording, that they brought into use, brought into high relief, brought into recreated use words which we do not find employed

¹ *M.* i, 25. Lord Chalmers, in his admirable translation of the *Majjhima* renders *chanda* by will-power, but this is a reading too rich for the Pali.

² *Majjhima Nikāya*, i, 293; *pariññātabbā . . . bhāvetabbā*.

³ *Dīgha*, i, 77; *M.* ii, 17.

as Buddhists employed them. Where once men "will" strongly about anything not covered by the day's wording, they will find a name for it. Language old and new is strewn with these increments.

It is an interesting problem and not to be solved in a sentence. To some extent, I repeat, they were their own hinderers. They felt after the truth that man, as he becomes better, is not as it were dressing or painting himself with something external, but is undergoing an inner *change*. Yet they feared the idea of change. Never are the words "transient", or impermanent, otherwiseness, or change used in any sense save as ushers-in, or guarantees of ill. They pictured spiritual progress as a *making to become*, *bhāvanā*, yet they strained every nerve to suppress the tendency "to become", i.e. be reborn (*bhava*). They spoke of saintly advance, yet they aspired to cut short vital progress by a cessation of that way of life in the upward way of the worlds, and by hustling on a final change for which not a single man on earth was ready. And in resisting rightly the Brahmanic conception of the real man as unchanging, and as, even now, if he knew it, Very God, they emptied the flux of man's activities, bodily and mental, of the man. Nay, thereby they emptied the stream itself, and spoke of the banks as the river.

Now we cannot get very far in an adequate notion of will without the willer. We may cheat ourselves by figuring thought as a world of impressions and ideas, and by figuring feeling as waves of somatic resonance or what not. But we cannot get on thus with will. Because will is a self-directing. And the Buddhist, with his excellent emphasis on the "taming of the self" and self-reliance, had inherited a protest against self conceived as God. This he came to interpret as meaning there was no self at all. So he barred the way to a clear view of all that *bhāvanā* implied.

In such considerations as these there may lie material to account for Buddhism, with no word for will in its word-heritage, finding or annexing any adequate term for that self-directed activity which it so zealously and admirably fostered.

Other considerations too we must take into account, considerations of world-currents, where Buddhism itself is merged in Aryan history, nay, is but a ripple in the world-growth of man himself. The laying hold and developing of the root-word for choice as *wal*, *wol*, *uel*, *wil*, instead of leaving its form *war* in relative atrophy, belongs to most of those Aryans who took, not the southern (possibly the earliest) trek into India, but who went westward by the longer trek and spread

over Europe north, west, and south. And of these it is at least noteworthy that the branches most potent and effective in moulding Europe by common action of each were the Latin, the worder of *uolo, uelle, uale*, and the Teuton, the worder of *Wahl, Wille, Wohl*. There would seem never to have been any such consensus of a race in action in Indo-Arya as to be driven to word itself by such ways. Nor of the Hellenic world, galvanized briefly into patriotic action, though it was, by Persia.

But the stage of Indian thought we have been considering is older by a little than these developments of European Arya, old enough to be the more overshadowed by the prior world-wording, in terms for thought and mind and action as compared with words otherwise expressing man. Man was first and foremost a beholder, a namer, once he tried to word himself. He was as we see Adam represented, looking at and naming a procession of interesting beasts. He could *do* very little with his world. His will was very limited. He was a child of fate and the unseen. What he feared therein, and what he sought help from, was Will, yet he pictured it as power and as the To-be-placated. In course of time he figured it as Mind, like himself.

In these ways too, then, the sons of Indo-Aryans were kept, by obstacles not of their own making, from developing a self-expression of man as willer no less than of him as minder.

In conclusion I would say, that to render Pali words in our own Western wording of will-terms is to let *traduttore* become to some extent *traditore*. I write this with a guilt-stained pen, which cannot be washed white. In changing the English of *cetanā* from thinking to volition,¹ I have consented to use the meaning read into the word by the Burmese scholar *of to-day*. That there was some notion in the Abhidhamma editors' mind of distinguishing it from *citta*, such as we get implied here and there in the *manas* of the old Upanishads, is possible. Why else are we given both *cetanā* and *citta* side by side in e.g. the Dhammasangani? But to say "volition", weak form of will as it is, is going too far. Again, the responsibility of "will" for *ceto* in *Kindred Sayings*, III, is, I fear, mine. It also goes too far. So does "will-power" used in Lord Chalmers's translation of the Majjhima for *chanda*. It puts something there which the Buddhist editors had not. It is a little like translating the "wooden horse of Troy" by "camouflage". It is part of our duty, as translators,

¹ *Buddhist Psychological Ethics*, 2nd ed. *passim*.

to our readers *to make them realize* that India had no word equating "will".

It is true that, when we review the muddled way in which "will" is used in general literature, and the boycotting (with furtive reinstating here and there) of the word "will" in current psychology, it may seem to matter very little where or how the word is made to serve in work on Buddhism. But for me that is not so. I see in the word "will", now under a passing shadow, or in the dust of misuse, a most precious legacy, a word pregnant with a great future. I will try to say why I see this.

We have the heritage which Buddhists had not. We have the word "will", and its daughter "well"—for "well" is just what we "will"-to-be. And we are freed, as the Buddhists were not, from a call to protest against a morbid use of the word "self", that is, "the real man", and also from the strangle-hold on life of a monastic ideal. In other words, we can believe that both God is spirit (*πνεῦμα ὁ θεός*) and we are spirit, and we do believe in life; we hold that the words: "I am come that ye might have life and that ye might have it more abundantly"¹ is a bigger, truer gospel than that man should renounce all substrates of rebirth. Like the Buddhists we hold that everything is in a state of change, that we *are* not so much as we are *becoming*. Unlike the Buddhists we do not view this world-fact *as a whole* with deprecation. We believe, with them, that there is a becoming worse in this or that aspect of life. But, unlike them, we believe that becoming better is, that the *whole* man and the complete man should progress, not the man or woman who has renounced the betterment of the race in the family, the community, the nation, and has simplified his or her life to a segregated, a-sexual wrestling against human nature. We do not believe that man's progress, as man, is assured, aloof from that great laboratory of experiment in good will, life in the world. We believe, more consistently than the Buddhists, in the necessity and value of "making-to-become" (*bhāvanā*), for we believe in education, in training, in culture, in development, in evolution, in reform. We believe, theoretically, that we cannot stand still; we must go on, if we would not stagnate, rust, fall back, become Rip van Winkles. Actually we are not so consistent. We still hold there are traditions, "instincts"—oh! the word-fetter there for man!—tendencies we shall ever follow unchanging.

Here it is, that our psychology, no less than that of the Buddhists,

¹ John's Gospel.

is a creaking, still primitive vehicle. And we have not their excuse. We are still, as we ought not to be, over-shadowed by the primitive domination of the old attitude: that man's inner world is fundamentally a beholding, a naming. We have not got to the bottom of what that inner world fundamentally is. When we shall have taken right home this thing, that the living man's fundamental self-expression is a radiating movement, an activity from within, after something felt to be "well"—whether we call it life-preserving, or "better", or well-being, or welfare matters little—that in exercising this *he is "becoming"* (and in "becoming" is making to become), that in "becoming" he is finding a way (*magga*) towards what he deems is "well"—when, grasping this, we shall call that radiating movement of becoming:—"will to well"—then at length our psychology will become fit both for the great legacy it has in these two words and also for the new heritage it holds in awareness of what they imply. Not ours should it be to rest contented with the saying of Kant: "You can for you ought". More fit for us is it that we say: "We will because we become".



HISTORY OF THE MISSION OF THE FATHERS OF THE
SOCIETY OF JESUS IN CHINA AND OTHER KINGDOMS
OF THE EAST

Contributed by Sir ARNOLD T. WILSON

IN a previous number of the Bulletin, I submitted a translation of a little known work¹ describing the history of the Mission of the Society of Jesus in Persia. I now propose to supplement this history by giving a short abstract, and translation of a part, of an interesting work which appeared in 1681, bearing on the earlier and wider activities of the Society in the East, including Persia.

The work bears the full title of : Divers | Voyages | de la Chine, | et autres Royaumes | de l'Orient. | Avec le retour de l'Autheur en Europe, par la | Perse et l'Armenie. | Le tout divise' en trois parties. | A Paris, | chez Christophe Journal, au dernier Pillier | de la Grand' Salle, vis-à-vis les Requestes | du Palais. | MDCLXXXI | Avec privilege de Sa Maiesté.

The book contains an account of a Jesuit missionary, whose name is not given on the title page but, from a reference at page 144, is clearly Father Alexandre de Rhodes, in India, the Malay Peninsula, Malacca, China, the Philippine Islands, Java, Celebes, Persia, and Armenia.

In the preface he mentions that he has already published a brief account² of his travels, the reception of which has encouraged him to publish a fuller account, but he emphasizes the evangelical character of his mission, and disclaims any intention of writing an interesting book of travel. He states that his journeys cover a period of thirty-five years.

In the first part of the book, he mentions that he joined the Jesuit Community primarily because it was his ambition to go to India, to convert the heathen there. He left Rome for Lisbon in October, 1618, when 18 years of age. He visited his relations at Avignon, not without coming to blows with some militant Calvinists on the way, and he left Lisbon in April, 1619, in one of three fine ships, along with five other Jesuits.

¹ Vol. III, Pt. IV, 1925, pp. 675 ff.

² Endeavour to trace this publication has hitherto been unsuccessful, but attention must be drawn to the *Relation de la Mission des Pères de la Compagnie de Jesus. Etablie dans le Royaume de Perse par le R. P. Alexandre de Rhodes*, by Père Jacques de Machault (*vide* p. 115), published in Paris in 1659, which gives a full account of a further journey of the author to Persia. Father Alexandre died at Isfahan in 1660.

The Cape of Good Hope was rounded on 20th July, 1619, and he reached Goa in October of the same year. After three months at Goa he fell ill and was transferred for reasons of health to Salsette Island, where he remained for three months, and then returned to Goa where he was employed in giving religious instructions in the prison and in the galleys to the slaves of the Portuguese. He relates how, having by chance visited the prison where gunpowder was made on a Saturday, instead of as usual on a Sunday, he narrowly escaped death as, on the Sunday morning, an explosion occurred which wrecked the prison, killing three hundred and maiming many.

In 1621, during his stay at Goa, news was received of the beatification of Francis Xavier, now the patron saint of Goa.

In April, 1622, he embarked for Japan. Passing the pearl fisheries of Ceylon, he refers to the pearls as "beautiful tears from the sky, which are collected and hardened inside the oysters" and mentions that the divers are such good Christians that, after the pearling season, they often place great handfuls of pearls on the altar: he was shown at Tuticorin a chasuble, covered with pearls, valued in that country at 200,000 crowns. He refers to the fine citadel built there by the Portuguese, and to the Jesuit College founded by St. Francis Xavier. From Ceylon he went to Negapatam and thence to Malacca, arriving in July, 1622: here also he refers to the Portuguese citadel, and to the magnificent Christian monasteries; he praises the Christian spirit and earnest devotion of the people and mentions the fine Jesuit college established there.

Our author remained nine months at Malacca waiting for a favourable wind for his onward journey to China, during which time he—with another Father—baptized at least 2,000 idolaters.

He refers to progress made in converting the Siamese to Christianity, and to the judicial murder of Father Margico by the King, who was annoyed by the false preaching of some Spanish soldiers in his service.

He went to Macao, in constant danger of capture by the Dutch, arriving in May, 1623, living for a year in the Jesuit College there, and then passing on to China.

He writes enthusiastically of this country—"the greatest and richest Kingdom in the world": he estimates the population of China at twice that of Europe and he describes Canton in detail. He enlarges on the riches of China, its good bread, its rice, and the habit of drinking hot rice-water, and not "fresh water, like Europeans". He

describes "l'usage du Tay"—tea drinking—giving details of its preparation in China and Japan respectively. He highly approves of tea as a healthful beverage, because, he says: "Since I have returned to France I have had the honour of meeting some persons of high rank and great merit, whose life and health are very essential to France, who derive advantage from drinking tea, and who have asked me to tell them my own thirty years' experience of this great remedy."

In the second part, he describes Cochin China and Tonking. He enlarges on the indiscretions of one of his brethren who tried to abolish all the ceremonies practised by the people—in particular ancestor worship—and he adds, "though there are some practices which Christians cannot rightly indulge in, most of them are very innocent and we have judged that they may be retained without prejudice to true religion." Wise sentiments, too often forgotten even to-day.

He notes, among other customs, that children are marked with the sign of the cross in charcoal or ink immediately after birth, by their parents, "to chase away the devil and to protect the child from harm"—and he thinks that this may be a relic of some earlier preaching of Christianity in this kingdom, the origin of which is lost in obscurity.

In March, 1627, he went to Tonking where he had much success as a preacher, and he speaks of the favour shown him by the King, and the opportunity which fell to him of baptizing a rebel just before the latter lost his head, "whereby I believe his soul went straight to Heaven." His successes increased to such a point that the anti-Christian elements started an active campaign against him and, in 1630, he was forced by the King to leave Tonking: but, as he says, he left his heart there. He returned to Macao in May of that year, where he met an old man aged 150 who had been baptized by St. Francis Xavier himself.

From Macao he went, in February, 1640, to Cochin China, which was then under a Japanese ruler. He quotes, from personal experience, the efficacy of a remedy for sea-sickness which he learnt from the Christians of Cochin China, viz., "to take, when going on board ship, one of the little fish which one finds inside the stomach of larger fish, to roast it well, to put a little pepper on it, and thus to eat it."

In chapter xix, he describes a visit to the Philippines which he was forced to make by the Governor of Cochin China. He returned to Cochin China in 1642, where he found his old flock not less devoted than before to the Christian Faith. He returned to Macao, but visited Cochin China, for the fifth and last time, in 1644.

The King of Cochin recommenced a violent persecution, which his flock sustained with wonderful constancy. He was condemned to death and cast into prison, but delivered—to his sorrow, for he desired martyrdom—by the intervention of a friend, and banished, in July, 1645, to Macao.

In the third part, the Father describes how he left Macao for Malacca in December, 1645, arriving in January, 1646. Malacca was now in Dutch hands, and he remarks on the bigotry of the Dutch, who refused to allow Catholics a place of worship, though they countenanced a heathen temple at the gate of the town. He passed on to Java and was imprisoned for three months in the port of Jacquetra (Jokyakarta) by the Dutch, who broke and burnt his crucifixes under a pile, on each side of which they hanged a thief.

From Jacquetra he went to Bantam where he was well treated by the English Governor-General, Aaron Becza, who openly regretted the breach with Rome and the recent religious troubles in England which, he said, prevented him from sending our traveller on his way by an English ship; so he left Bantam by a Portuguese ship for Macassar in October, 1646.

He left Macassar in an English vessel, on which he was very well treated, and again visited Bantam where he was once more treated by the English Governor with a courtesy and kindness which ashamed and astonished him, he offering to put him up and send him home at his own expense, explaining that it was through the Goa Fathers that an accommodation had been made between the Portuguese and the British. He stayed a month with the English at Bantam, saying Mass daily, at a distance from their houses, so as not to annoy them, in view of the kindness he had received at their hands. He left in August, by an English vessel, on which he was most civilly treated, reaching Surat at the end of September: here also he was warmly received by the British, and remained four months.

He then left for Comoran (Gombrun), where he arrived in March, 1648. He gives the old name of this town as Bandelké. Here he fell in with a Frenchman and a Fleming—both Calvinist, but otherwise very honest people—and with them set out for Isfahan. The text of chapters xiii-xvi, part 3, describing his doings whilst in Persia, is set out, in full, below.

On the 29th June, 1648, he left Isfahan with a caravan of Armenians, and reached Tabriz a month later. Thence he journeyed to Erivan—at the foot of “the great mountain which is said to be

that on which Noah's Ark reposed after the deluge. Certain it is, that it is so high that no one can go to the top without endangering life owing to the great cold: the mountain is called 'No'. The snows remain all the year round. They say that, on the top, there still remains a part of Noah's Ark, but I have difficulty in believing it, as they say that no one can reach there."

At Nakhshivan, he left his Chinese companion, whom he had baptized at Macao, to be sent on to Rome by the Archbishop of this city sixteen months later—he dared not take him at the time through Turkey lest he should be mistaken for a Tartar and a Muhammadan and be retained in Turkey; but, six months later, he had learnt to speak Armenian so well that, though suspected of being a Tartar, he was always able to satisfy the Turks that he was an Armenian. He himself returned to Erivan and describes, with admiration mingled with regret, the customs of the monks of the celebrated monastery of this city: their midnight devotions lasting five hours, and their long fasts, which have procured for them much reverence from Muhammadans and from the Shah. There was a fine carillon at Erivan, the only place where bells were permitted by the Persians. Here he fell seriously ill, but was cured by the delight he felt at unexpectedly meeting four Carmelite Fathers. Thence he journeyed to Rome, by way of Tokat and Smyrna, arriving on the 27th June, 1649, after an absence of over thirty years.

TRANSLATION

CHAP. XIII.—MY JOURNEY FROM SURAT TO PERSIA

I waited four whole months in Surat until the English ship was ready to take me to Persia, from whence I had determined to travel overland to Smyrna,—across the whole of Persia, Media, both parts of Armenia, and Anatolia—for, being unable to find any vessel prepared to sail round the Cape of Good Hope, I made up my mind to return to Europe by a route which, though more difficult, would be shorter.

After taking leave of the Reverend Father Zenon, to whom I expressed my deepest gratitude, and of Father Torquato Parisiano, who was awaiting an English ship for Suakin, we embarked on the third of February for Persia. This was the second time that the English received me on their ships and they treated me, as before, with the utmost civility that I could possibly expect or indeed desire. The

voyage lasted exactly a month: we passed in sight of Hormuz and came to land two leagues further on, at Comoran (Gombrun).¹

Hormuz, as everyone knows, is a small island at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, where the earth is all burnt up, and on which nothing grows owing to the excessive heat. Only salt is found there, and the sun's heat immediately burns up everything. Great mountains shelter this island from the wind, so that the air is so stifling that it feels like an oven.

Yet, notwithstanding the barrenness of the soil and the discomfort of the climate, this island was exceedingly prosperous at the time when the Portuguese held it. The harbour there was so good and so convenient and commodious that people used commonly to say that, if the world were a ring, Hormuz would be its precious stone. The number of merchants who called there was unbelievable, for they came from China, the Moluccas and all parts of the East Indies. Merchandise was sent there from all parts of Persia, Arabia, and Armenia. The English Dutch and Portuguese used to gain great advantage from this trade, which provided them with all the most precious products of the earth. But since the King of Persia, with the help of the English, took this island from the Portuguese, about thirty years ago, it has been entirely deserted, as the Persians preferred to transfer the trade to a neighbouring port called Gombrun, formerly called Bandelké. It was there that we arrived at the beginning of March in the year 1648.

I stayed there a few days and then, by good luck falling in with a Frenchman and a Fleming who were going to Isfahan, I started my overland journey in their company. They were both Calvinists, but in other respects very honest folk, and I lost no occasion during the journey of pointing out their error, but was not so successful over this as I should have wished.

After travelling several days on the way to Shiraz, I had a chance encounter for which I have since thanked God a thousand times. I was on foot, saying my office at some distance from my companions, when I saw on the road a man of prosperous appearance, well mounted and dressed in Persian costume with turban, loose robe and scimitar; his beard was long and cut square, and I took him for a Persian or Armenian nobleman.

Observing my hat and black gown and realizing that I was a priest from Europe, he greeted me most civilly in Latin, and his pronunciation told me that he was a Frenchman. I thereupon replied

¹ Bandar Abbas.

in our native tongue, at which he was overcome with joy, descended from his horse, and we embraced and conversed for about half an hour so pleasantly that during that short time we formed a friendship which I shall treasure very dearly all my life.

He is a gentleman of Anjou, by name Monsieur de la Boullaye, and has recently published an excellent book ¹ relating his travels, in which he gives a faithful and lucid account of his doings in many different countries. He has traversed the greater part of Europe, Asia and Africa, has been among Turks, Arabs, Persians, Armenians, Indians and other nations, some the most barbarous in the world; and has everywhere acted with such prudence and virtue as to keep inviolate both his Religion and his conscience, winning the hearts of all and sundry, and showing that a good Christian and a Frenchman can traverse the whole world without making a single enemy.

I have since met him in Rome, where Cardinal Capponi paid him the same honour as he would render to one of his equals. He arrived in Paris at the same time as I did and, by a further piece of good fortune, I have reason to hope that I shall have the consolation of having him as a companion on the long journey to China which I intend to undertake at the earliest opportunity.

Our road took us past a large and beautiful town called Shiraz, where it is said that the Persian Court was held for a long period. Here I had the happiness of being able to say Mass in a little chapel belonging to the Barefooted Carmelite Fathers, after being two whole months without being able to celebrate it.

CHAP. XIV.—OUR ARRIVAL AT ISFAHAN, THE CAPITAL OF PERSIA

We continued our journey from Gombrun by long stages without break each day, yet it took us thirty days to reach Isfahan, the capital of Persia, where we arrived on the 13th April, 1648. I may say that it is one of the largest and finest towns that I have ever seen. It is so thickly populated that the streets are always crowded. The King was at that time at war with the Great Mogul from whom he wished to take a stronghold called Kandahar on the frontier of the two kingdoms. He had an army of four hundred thousand men, a large part of which had come from Isfahan. Nevertheless the crowds in the streets were so great that I should not have been able to cross them if I had not been escorted by a servant who walked in front, to make way for

¹ *Les Voyages et observations du sieur de La Boullaye Le Gouz, gentilhomme angevin*, etc., Paris, 1653.

me through the throng. All the streets are straight and very broad and the buildings are magnificent. In the middle of the town is a fine square, not unlike the Place Royale in Paris but very much larger : it is twice the size of the Piazza Navona which I saw at Rome. All the houses there are well painted or gilded on the outside, and a broad gallery runs the whole way round.

But the most magnificent feature of all is a great road extending for at least a league, along which are many fine houses, leading from Isfahan to the new town of Julfa, where the King has caused the Armenians to reside, as I shall presently relate. The gardens of the King of Persia, said to be very beautiful, are to be seen there, but I did not feel the curiosity to go and see them, any more than I did to see his palace, which is situated in the centre of the town of Isfahan.

In this great meeting place of all the nations on earth, I found so few Catholics, that among these there were almost as many in holy orders as there were laymen. I had the pleasure of seeing three fine monasteries belonging to religious orders, who enjoy complete liberty in the exercise of their faith, without being molested in any way. The liberty which the King guarantees them is as complete as they could enjoy in France.

There is a fine monastery belonging to the Reverend Augustinian Fathers, which the King of Portugal caused to be built, together with a very beautiful Church ; the Barefooted Carmelites have one also, where there are ten Brothers who labour with much zeal. A third belongs to the Capuchin Fathers, then numbering five, all French—it is the King who maintains them in this country. They entreated me to lodge with them and I should gladly have accepted their kind offer, had I not been aware that one of their number would have to go out of the house in order to make room for me, and I would not put them to any such inconvenience. The Augustinian Fathers, who had more accommodation, received me with open arms ; and I had the consolation of their company until my departure, and of profiting by their good examples.

CHAP. XV.—HOPES WHICH WORKERS FOR THE GOSPEL MAY ENTERTAIN OF REAPING SUCCESS IN PERSIA

The greatness of the Kingdom of Persia has long been so well known, that it constitutes indeed one of the finest pages of History. I am convinced that many people, who are filled with that zeal which burned in the hearts of the Apostles, will be glad to go to this fair

land and spend their strength and their very life in preaching Jesus Christ who was driven therefrom by Muhammad, and cause the Christian faith to live again in this country, watered as it has been by the blood of so many martyrs.

It is supposed, however, that nothing is to be gained among these people ; that it is impossible to exhort anyone to follow the way of salvation without being instantly impaled—this being, it is thought, the unpleasing method employed by Muhammadans to bar the way to those wishing to show them the light of the Gospel ; and that, therefore, all that could be expected by anyone who went to Persia would be to live in constant fear or to meet immediate death.

I must therefore state my own views on this matter, and disabuse those who, owing to this false idea, are missing the opportunity of winning great glory by enlarging the Kingdom of Jesus Christ. Let it be known then that I have seen, in the capital of Persia, members of six different religious orders walking about in public each wearing his peculiar garb, and that these enjoy liberty to celebrate Mass, say their Office, or preach just as they would have done in the most Catholic cities of Europe.

In the large towns of this country there are a very great number of foreigners who are not Muhammadans, and these can be converted without any danger at all. It is true that the King of Persia does not permit those of his own sect who have reached the years of discretion to embrace our Holy Faith openly ; he does not however exercise the same rigid severity as the Turks ; he allows religious discussions and nobody is blamed or ill-treated for condemning the superstitions of Muhammad. This makes easy the conversion of a certain number who leave their country and go to Goa or other Portuguese territories.

Moreover, the Muhammadans, when their children are seriously ill, can be easily persuaded even to have them baptized. I knew a Flemish Carmelite in Isfahan, called Father Denys, who was able in this way to send forty little children, who died shortly after he had baptized them, to Paradise. I ask you to consider whether this good Father had laboured in vain when he had delivered from purgatory forty innocent creatures, who will be eternally indebted to him for their salvation.

They not only do this for their children but, when ill themselves, they ask to be brought to the Churches, where they offer candles. They wish our priests to read the Gospel to them, and God has often restored these to health who, without really knowing Him, have asked

Him to do so. Those whom one can help the most, however, are the poor Armenians who are Schismatics and followers of the heresy of Eutyches. They may be induced to renounce their error without any fear. Persia is full of them, they are indeed almost as numerous there as the Persians themselves; for when Shah Abbas, King of Persia, was waging war against the Grand Turk, fearing that the Armenians might join his adversaries, and in order to prevent them from so doing, he drove them from their own country and made them settle in his territory, where he gave them towns. I said just now that he had caused the new town of Julfa to be built near Isfahan and, here, there are a great number of Armenians, who have beautiful Churches and enjoy entire liberty in the practice of their religion.

It is true that they are very badly treated as regards both their persons and property. They are ruined by the tribute levied upon them and, if they are too poor to pay this, they are tortured by being beaten with rods until they either die or renounce the Faith of Jesus Christ, which, alas! they do only too often. Their tyrants inflict a still more cruel outrage on these poor slaves; they select the most beautiful among their children and shut them up in the King's palace, so that they can never know their parents nor profess any religion other than that of Muhammad.

It must be confessed that these Armenians are most worthy of compassion, in their errors as in their misfortunes. Most of them have never heard of the Pope and are totally ignorant of the fact that they are in error. They are scrupulous in saying their prayers and in keeping their fasts, from which they will not dispense themselves for anything on earth, though these are incomparably more rigorous than our own. They eat neither meat, eggs, milk-foods, nor even fish or oil, and drink no wine during these times; they fast the whole of Advent as well as Lent, and are not content with fasting merely on the day before the festivals of certain saints, but keep vigil for a whole week. They observe the same abstinence on Wednesdays and Fridays, except during the time between Easter and Whitsuntide when lay-folk are not obliged to abstain from ordinary food. It is reckoned that even the laity are compelled to fast six months and three days in the year. Those in holy orders have many more fasts which are observed with such rigour that, if anyone chances to break them, he is punished severely by the priests. It is true, as I have related, that their fasting consists merely in abstaining from certain kinds of food, for they are allowed to eat several times in the day.

They accustom their children, even the very young, to this rigorous fasting, and sick people are rarely dispensed from it, as I observed myself. They say that it is the best medicine that the doctor can prescribe.

This is what I saw of the fasts of the Armenians. I have thought it well to tell this in order to warn those who feel desirous of converting them, that they will gain nothing from the Armenians unless they are resolved to observe a similar abstinence. Let no one imagine that he can win any Armenian for God without showing his convert that he has the courage to fast in a like manner.

CHAP. XVI.—HOW WE LEFT PERSIA AND TRAVELLED ACROSS THE WHOLE OF MEDIA AND UPPER ARMENIA

I was obliged to remain about three months in Isfahan to await an Armenian caravan without which I could not have travelled in safety through the kingdoms which I still had to cross; and even so my friends wished me to discard my clerical dress and disguise myself as an Armenian, lest the Turks should molest me while passing through their territory. The day of my departure was the 29th of June, the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. I was indeed in need of their protection, being the only Catholic in this company of five hundred travellers. However, we pursued our journey very happily and, after a month's travelling, arrived at the fine city of Tabriz, which is said to be the ancient Ecbatana, capital of the Kingdom of Media.

THE PASSIVE VOICE OF THE JNĀNESVARI

By W. DODERET

THREE forms of the Marāṭhī passive are found in the Jñāneśvari or Jñānadevī, a commentary on the Bhagavadagītā in the *ovī* metre, written by the poet Jñāneśvara or Jñānadeva in the year A.D. 1290. These may be termed the “*ij*”, “*p*”, and “*pij*” forms. The “*ij*” form is the one most frequently employed. It occurs on almost every page and frequently more than once on the same page. Its derivation has been discussed by Beames, Bloch, Grierson, and others. It is employed with any verb, whether used transitively or intransitively. The subject of the sentence, if expressed, is put into the instrumental case. The object is generally in the nominative (subjective), but the dative also occurs, especially where there are two objects. The use of the dative is especially noticeable when the construction with the postposition *lāgī* “with reference to” is employed. *Lāgī* eventually became the modern “*lā*” termination of the dative. In this connexion the use of the dative in the Karmaṇi construction may be noticed. The Aorist (old Present) is the tense most frequently employed and is often used as an Imperative, to which the precativè termination “*o*” is added, e.g. *audhārijo* “let it be heard by you” (cf. the *je, jo* forms of the Gujarātī honorific Imperative). Several examples of the future (*jel, jail, jaṭil*) and past tenses (*jele, jelē*) occur. This form of the passive does not occur in the modern language, except in the case of *dīje* “let it be given” and *kīje* “let it be done” in formal documents, and of *mhaṇaje* “let it be said”, “that is to say”, “then”, and *pāhīje* “it is necessary”, “must”. In the Jñāneśvari *pāhīje* generally means “it is seen”, “let it be seen” (e.g. in xi, 594), but the extended use in the sense of “it is necessary” occurs very occasionally (e.g. x, 261).

Adverting to the “*p*” form, which appears to require more definite consideration than has been given to it, it is to be noted that the use is common in the case of four verbs, namely *ghe* “take”, *ghāl* “put”, “place”, “throw”, *mhaṇ* “say”, and *har*, or *hār*, “deprive”, “conquer.” Stray instances, to be noticed hereafter, occur of the employment of the “*p*” form with other verbs. This “*p*” form appears to have been derived from the Sanskr̥t *pya* passive of the causal, through the Prakṛt *pp*, but all sense of causality has disappeared from the stems occurring in the Jñāneśvari. The sense yielded by the limited

number of passages, in which the “*p*” forms occur, is that of a pure passive. Not only so, but the “*ij*” and the “*p*” forms occur in juxtaposition ; they are occasionally interchanged according to the twelve different texts ; the grammatical construction is the same and the use as an exhortative or Imperative is, in certain contexts, identical.

Taking the four stems in their order and commencing with *ghe*, it is found that *ghep* occurs forty times—*ghe-i-je* is but rarely met with, some half-dozen instances occurring in the 9,033 *ovis*.

Jarī vedē bahuta bolilē | vividha bheda sucavile | tarhī āpaṇa hīta āpulē | tēci ghepē || ii, 260.

“ Although many matters have been propounded by the Vedas and various philosophical doctrines have been alluded to, still let that only, which is advantageous to us, be selected by us.”

To Kāmanāmātrē na ghepe | mohamaḷē na limpe | jaisē jalī jalē na śimpe | padmapatra || iii, 71.

“ Even as a lotus-leaf growing in the water is not besprinkled by the water, so he is not assailed by the element of desire, nor is he defiled by the foulness of illusion.”

Āthileni dehē | jo na ghepe dehamohē | deha gelayā nohe | punarapī to || xiii, 1034.

“ That man is not reborn after the body dies, who, while the body exists, is not overcome by the illusions of the body.”

Pāi śilā kā sidoriyā | dātaṇē eka Dhanañjayā | parī jē vāhatā viśavayā | milīje tē ghepe || xviii, 938.

“ A stone and victuals for the journey may weigh the same, oh Arjuna ! but let that be chosen, in carrying which, refreshment (at our camping place) may be attained.”

Kā bāvanē āṇi dhurē | hā nivādu tañvaci sare | jāiva na ghepatī vaiśvānarē | kavalūni donhī || xviii, 1253.

“ The distinction between Malabar sandalwood and a (common) wheelshaft persists only as long as neither have been seized by the fire in its embrace.”

Hā gā sākhara āṇi dudha | hē gauliyē kira prasiddha | pari kṛmidoṣī viruddha | ghepe kevī || iii, 226.

“ Yes, indeed, sugar and milk are celebrated, it is true, for their sweetness, but how can they be taken as an antidote for worms ? ”

Ghāp occurs only twenty times. The verbs *sūṇē*, *sūdanē*, and *bāṇanē* are employed as synonyms of *ghālanē*.

Pari ghetalā svāsu ghāpe | yetulenahi māpē | viśāvā tayā nāṭope | durjanāśī || xvi, 411.

“ But those wicked ones do not obtain rest even for the space of time required for the intaken breath to be breathed out.”

Dekhāi agni māji ghāpati | tiyē bījē jarī virudhati | tarī aśāntā sukhaprapti | ghaḍō sake || ii, 346.

“ Behold ! if seeds, which are cast into the fire, will sprout, then a man ill at ease can acquire happiness.”

Yerhvī cāndinē pikaviyata āhe cepaṇī | kī vārayā ghāpata āhe vāhanī | hāho gaganāsi gaṇvasaṇī | ghālije keṇī ? || ix, 20.

“ Else are moonbeams set to ripen in a frame, or is motion conveyed to the wind ? Look you, how can a covering be placed over the sky ? ”

Taisē gā saṇnyāsē yeṇē | mūla avidyesicē nāhī jīnī | mā tiyecē kārya koṇē | ghepe dīje || xviii, 266.

“ Thus the root is not to be kept alive for ignorance by such asceticism ; then by whom is its fruit taken and given ? ”

Pūrṇacandrācī koḍī | vaktvā ghāpe kuraṇḍī | taisī āṇī goḍī | akṣarātē || xv, 11.

“ Let a waving of countless full moons be made to his eloquence, such sweetness does he impart to his speech.”

Jarī ātmā tū ekasārā | hēhī mhaṇatā dātārā | tarī āntulā tū bāherā | ghāpatāsī || xviii, 23.

“ If I, oh my benefactor, address Thee without more ado as the Soul of the World, then Thou, who art now within me, wilt be placed outside me.”

Tēṇē dehātmadṛṣṭimulē | ātmā ghāpe dehacē jālē | jaisā ābhāḷācā vegu kolhē | candrī mānī || xviii, 391.

“ The snare of the body has been cast by him over the soul by reason of the body being regarded by him as the soul, just as the jackal attributes the velocity of the clouds to the Moon.”

Jñānc'svara has the root *paḍighā* (*pratighā*) in the sense of “ to seize ”, “ hold down ”, “ overcome ”—*maraṇārācē āṅga | paḍighātī avagheci roga | kā kumuhurtī duryoga | ekavaṭaṭī || xvi, 258*—“ All manner of diseases lay hold of the dying man's body, and inauspicious combinations gather together on an inauspicious occasion.”

Other passages in which *paḍighā* occurs in a similar sense are xiii, 51 (*Paḍighāyilē*), 588, and xiv, 185. He uses the root *ghāl* in the aorist, future, and past tenses, and one instance of *ghālije* occurs (ix, 20). He has also *ghal*, the intransitive form of *ghāl* in two passages in the sense of “ being immersed ”, “ to plunge into ”.

Pāi āgīmājī na righave | athāvī na ghalave | dhagadhagīta nīgare | śūla jevī || xviii, 711. “ Forsooth just as fire cannot be entered,

nor a plunge made into deep water, nor a red-hot spike laid hold of."

The other passage is xv, 69. Sten Konow refers the root *ghāl* to a Prākṛt form *ghallaī* (*JRAS.* 1902, p. 421). Perhaps the derivation is *ghal* > *ghaḍ* > *ghaṭ* on the analogy of *celo ceḍa ceṭa* or *golī* > *guḍī*. But *ghā* and *ghāp* appear to be connected with *ghāta* (c.f. *ghā* "a wound" in Gujarati, *ghāva*, Marāṭhī) and hence it would seem preferable to keep the derivation of *ghāl* and *ghāp* separate, though the matter is not free from doubt.

The instances of *mhaṇipe* are more numerous than those of *ghāpe*. Thirty-nine have been detected. On the whole *mhaṇipe* appears to be commoner than *mhaṇije*, but the texts vary in places and some have *mhaṇipe*, while others read *mhaṇije*.

Snehālagī māye | *mhaṇipe tē kira hoye* | *pari kṛpā te murtta āhe* | *Droṇī iye* || ii, 42. "What is said regarding a mother's love is undoubtedly true, but kindness is incarnate in this man Droṇa."

Here the construction with *lāgī* is interesting in reference to what has been said above about the "ij" construction.

Dekhā śaḍdarśanē mhaṇipati | *tecī bhujācī ākrīti* | *mhaṇauni viśvāda dharīti* | *ayudhē hātī* || i, 10. "Behold! what are termed the six *śāstras* are identical with the form of *Gaṇapṭī*'s six arms; therefore they regard differences of doctrine as the weapons in his hands."

Te kathecī saṅgati | *bhāvācī sampatti* | *rasācī unnati* | *mhaṇipail pudhā* || iv, 212. "The sequence of the story, its wealth of devotion and the eminence of its poetic sentiments will be related further on."

There are forty-three instances of *hārape* or the less common form *harape*. Many occur in Chapter XI, where Śṛkṛṣṇa shows himself in all his might and majesty to Arjuna and explains the evolution of the phenomenal world, and also in the long 18th chapter, with 1,810 verses.

The alternate form *hārije* (or *harije*) is not met with. *Mājhe astepaṇa lopo* | *nāmarūpa hārapo* | *maja jhaṇē vāsiṇo* | *bhūtajāta* || xiii, 198. "May my existence be blotted out and my name and form be destroyed, lest mankind go in dread of me."

Diśāce thāvahī hārapale | *adhordhva kācī neṇō jālē* | *celayāi svapna taise gele* | *lokākāra* || xi, 189. "The traces of the four quarters of the compass have been obliterated; I know not what even has become of what was above and below and the phenomenal world has vanished as the waking man's dream is dispelled."

Jantrāvaricīla māra | *padātice mogara* | *mukhāñt bhāra* | *hārapatāti mā* || xi, 395. "Whole crowds of artillerymen and choice foot soldiers are being swallowed up in thy mouth, I declare."

Akālīcī abhrē jaiśī | ūrmīvīṇa ākāśī | harapatī āpaiśī | udayalī sātī || iv, 117. “Just as unseasonable clouds are dissolved in the sky as soon as they are formed, without discharging rain.”

Ātā jayāceni saikalpē | he lokaparamparā hoja hārape | xi, 82. “Now by whose resolve this succession of worlds arises and is destroyed.”

Etha agnīcīhī dīhī karapat | sūrya khadyotu taisā hārapat | aisē tivrapaṇa adbhuta | tejācē yayā || xi, 300. “Such is the marvellous fierceness of his brilliance that the fire’s countenance is being scorched and the Sun is being consumed like a glow-worm.”

These *hārap* or *harap* stems are interesting, as the verb *hārapaṇē* or *harapaṇē* is still employed in the modern language in the sense of “to be lost”. *Ghep*, *ghāp*, and *mhaṇip* have become obsolete, but there are a few stems occurring in the *Jñāneśvarī* such as *śimp* “to get wet” (xviii, 173; vi, 101), *talap* “to be brandished about”, “burnt”, “to swelter” (xiii, 610; xv, 331), and *jhirap* “to ooze” (xiii, 568), which are current at the present day. Others, like *palip* “to catch fire” (iv, 128; xvi, 394) and *aḷap* “to be arrested”, “obstructed” (ii, 294) are now obsolete. All these appear to be “*p*” passives.

It remains to consider the curious “*pīj*” forms. These are very rare. Only four examples have been met with. They appear, from the sense of the context, to be nothing more than double passives with the “*ij*” termination appended to the “*p*” passive, the latter being treated as an intransitive or neuter verb, on the analogy of *jāīje* “it is gone”. The references are:—

Aṅgā jē pātālē | tē karuṇi ghāhī āpulē | tetha sāhatenī navalē | ghepijenā || xiii, 352. “He who treats whatever ills accrue to the body as part of himself is not consumed by the conceit of one who endures pain.”

Taisē sukhaduḥkarūpī | dvandvī je puṇyapāpī | na ghepijati sarpi | garuḍa jaisē || xv, 295. “Just as eagles are not conquered by snakes, so they (who believe in monism) are not obsessed by good and evil deeds corresponding to happiness and pain in the dualistic doctrine.”

Alternate readings are *negharījati*, *neghijati*, *na ghepijcti* and *na ghepajati*.

Varī juñjhacē nīrvāṇa | māṇḍalē ase dāruṇa | dohī hārī āpuṇa | hārapīje jaisē || xviii, 1583. “Such a terrible end had been made of the battle that in both armies it was as if each (thought it) had been defeated.”

Nānāduḥkhī prāptī | jayā udega nāhī chittī | āṇī sukhāciyā

ārttī | *adapaijenā* || ii, 294. "He who, when various ills arise, is not downcast in spirit and who is not troubled by craving after happiness."

The passages in which the "*p*" forms of the principal verbs occur are noted below.

ghep : ii, 260, 262 ; iii, 71, 183, 184, 226, 249, 260 ; vi, 392 ; ix, 175 ; x, 129, 261 ; xi, 254, 1034, 1043, 1118 ; xiv, 248 ; xv, 488 ; xvi, 69, 152, 182, 301 ; xvii, 111, 118, 177, 257 ; xviii, 266, 415, 533, 718, 774, 869, 938, 1099, 1124, 1190, 1215, 1253, 1406, 1701.

ghāp : ii, 346 ; vi, 100 ; ix, 20, 346, 459 ; x, 80 ; xi, 425, 457 ; xiv, 236 ; xvi, 89, 97, 411, 459 ; xvii, 202 ; xviii, 23, 391, 415, 596, 1266, 1487.

mhaṇ'ip : i, 10, 47 ; ii, 42, 192, 287 ; iii, 75, 118 ; iv, 85, 91, 141, 145, 212 ; v, 77 ; viii, 30, 100, 159, 169, 173, 188 ; x, 41, 131 ; xiii, 152, 155, 160, 879, 925, 1094, 1106 ; xvi, 93, 196 ; xvii, 241 ; xviii, 370, 505, 648, 717, 834, 983, 1112, 1430.

hārap : iv, 105, 117 ; v, 134 ; viii, 30, 173 ; ix, 332.

harap : x, 34, 198 ; xi, 82, 189, 246, 300, 372, 395, 496, 650, 692 ; xiii, 198, 650, 925 ; xiv, 246 ; xv, 228, 309, 314, 429, 434, 435, 526, 587 ; xvi, 137 ; xvii, 175, 424 ; xviii, 150, 197, 399, 406, 544, 858, 889, 979, 1026, 1103, 1532.

GOVERNMENT OF "PREPOSITIONS" IN GUJARATI

By W. DODERET

ON page 93 of his Grammar Taylor divides prepositions, or more strictly speaking, postpositions, into five classes, and speaks of *ne* prepositions as those which govern the preceding noun or pronoun in the locatival genitive, masculine or neuter. In paragraph 97 a list of 141 prepositions is given. Of the 27, which take the *ne* construction, 15 may be explained as above, but in some instances, e.g. *Kāraṇe*, *jore*, *dvāre*, and *yoge*, the case may well be the instrumental, if the meaning of the postposition be taken into account. They are the following:—*arthe* "with a view to", *Kāje* "for", in order to, *Kāraṇe*, *jore* "on account of", *ṭhekāṇe*, *badale* "in place of", *dvāre* "by way of", *paḍakhe* "near", *muḁābale* "in comparison with", *mokhare* "in front of", *yoge* "by means of", *lekhe* "at the rate of", *sāṭe* "in exchange for", *sthāḁe*, *sthāṇe* "in place of". These are all locatives, and in some cases possibly instrumentals of nouns still in use and signifying the idea conveyed by the corresponding postposition. But *tulya* and *sam* "equal to" are adjectives, while *laḁto* "pertaining to" and *pharto* "surrounding" are declinable participles or participial adjectives. The *ne*, which precedes them, is not the locative of the genitive, but the dative (objective) case ending. It may be added that *lāḁ* (with the root-meaning "touch") is construed with the dative, even when the derivative meaning "commence" is involved. *Līdhe* "on account of", "for the sake of", is an abbreviation of *līdhethī*, i.e. loc. + ablative. The ablative is often affixed to the locative—*te nisāḁethī āvyo* "he came from school"—to give more definiteness, or to express the sense of "out of". The locative of past participles is often used in the absolute sense, with or without the addition of *thī*, e.g. *trṣā lāḁī hoyā tyāre rasēdrīkerī māya*, *amraphaḁa dhāraṇa karethī*, *sulha thāye tyāya* (*Premānanda*). *Jamavāno vakhat thayē hū tamane bolāviś* (*Sarasavati Chandra*). An alternative rendering of *tene līdhe* "on that account" is *tene la-īne*. *Tene* must therefore be the objective case (accusative), governed by *līdhe*. Cf. also—*śū thayū tapa ne tīrtha Kīdhāthaki*. *Sū thayū māla grahi nāma līdhe* (*Narasinha Mehto*) (What have austerities and pilgrimages availed thee, or what the assumption of the rosary and the utterance of God's name?). Here *līdhe* = *līdhethī*.

Sāru “for the sake of”, “in order to”, and *hathu* “by the hand of” are indeclinable “u” adjectives formed from *sār* and *hātha* respectively, on the analogy of *cālu*, *lāgu*, *bharu*, *garaju*, etc. Probably *tene sāru* meant originally and simply “good for that”, where *tene* would be the dative case and not the locative. *Tene hathu* may be explained as equivalent to *tene hāthethī*. *Vere* “with”, usually employed in the sense of “married to”, appears to be a corruption from *vara* “a husband”. In such expressions as *te tene vere paraṇī*—“she married him”, *paraṇavū* is derived from *S. pari-ṇī* “to lead round (the sacred marriage-fire)”. *Tene* is therefore in origin the accusative governed by *paraṇī*. The agential case *vare* becomes *vere* as *ghere* results from *ghare*, and *vere* is equivalent to *vere Karine* “by way of, as a husband”. The use of *tene vere* to express “with” in relations, where marriage is not in question is recent and rare. *Pārasāt* “from” (“received”), used in legal documents, comes by a corruption from the Sanskrit *pārśvāt* “from the side of”. The locative genitive *ne* preceding *pārasāt* has probably arisen from the frequent association of the locative with the ablative, e.g. as in the true *tadbhava pāse* from *pārśve + thī*.

Vāste “on account of”, “for the sake of”, a corrupted loan-word of recent date from the Arabic and current in Hindustānī, may be regarded as taking the locative genitive, as *vāste* came to be regarded as a locative and as the synonyms *māṭe*, etc., have the *ne* government. *Daramiyān* “during” is a loan-word from the Persian or Hindustānī. Narmadāsankara employs the *nā* government with the word. Possibly the *ne* government arose from the duration sense of *daramiyān* and may thus be accepted as a locative genitive construction. There remains the case of *māṭe* “on account of”, “for the sake of”, which is a doubtful locative, as the derivation of *māṭe* is unsettled. If *māṭe* be a corruption of the *tatsuma matyā*, which was used in Sanskrit as an independent word meaning “purposely”, “with the idea that”, *ne* would come to be employed with it by reason of the common association of the locative with the ablative, or *māṭe* may have been regarded in time as a locative itself. But the bulk of philological opinion is against the change of the Sanskrit dental “t” to the cerebral “ṭ”. *Matyā* became *mate* and *mete*, postpositions no longer in use. The same reason would militate against Tessitori’s *māṭe ex nimittena*. The suggestion is hazarded that *māṭe* may be nothing more than the locative of the common word *māt* “a pot”, which plays so great a part

in the every-day life of India. " Put it in my pot " may from constant repetition have come to mean " do it for me ". It is the oldest known word meaning " for ", " on account of ", and is constantly used by Narasinha Meheto and other mediæval poets. *Sāru*, *līdhe*, and *vāste* are comparatively modern synonyms.

The result of the foregoing analysis is that a sixth class, namely postpositions, governing the objective case, should be added to Taylor's five classes, to include *tulya*, *sam*, *pharto*, *lagto*, *līdhe*, *sāru*, and *vere*.

The locatival genitive government may be conceded for *pārasāt*, *vāste*, *hathu*, and *māte* and for *daramiyān* as well, unless the last be regarded as a *nā* postposition.

April, 1925.



NOTES ON "THE ASSYRIAN TREE"

By SIDNEY SMITH

THE Pahlavi text which has been recently re-edited and translated by J. M. Unvala, entitled *Drakht i Asurik*,¹ has not to my knowledge received any attention from Assyriologists. In spite of the difficulties entailed in dealing with a province of which I am wholly ignorant, I have been tempted to put some suggestions on paper in the hope that the meaning of this little-known text may be viewed in a fresh relation.

The starting-point for such a consideration is provided by the remarks of Unvala on the textual history.² He believes that there was "an original Pahlavi form, perhaps written in imitation of the Arabic *المفاخرة*, which was translated into Modern Persian . . . the latter was retranslated into the Pahlavi form". It is to be expected in a text with a long history of this kind that incongruous elements will be juxtaposed, that older elements will be found in strange collocation with what is comparatively recent. It is not therefore necessary to believe that, because certain parts of the text (e.g. "raw silk of *Tukhār*," § 42) definitely belong to a late date, all the references therein must be considered late. The title of the text invites us to consider the possibility of reference to Assyria.

The Assyrian capital, Nineveh, fell in 612 B.C.; the last effort of the Assyrians for independence failed at Harran in 610 B.C. In Achaemenian times there was an Assyrian detachment in the Persian army, but they can only have been a remnant. That remnant persisted through the centuries to the Christian era, and continued to use, in their personal names, the appellations of their pagan deities.³ This continuance of an Assyrian tradition is significant for two reasons. The miserable condition of these late Assyrians is attested by the excavations at Ashur, and it is clear that they were reduced to extreme poverty under Persian rule. Now in Babylonia it has been ascertained that under the later Achaemenians the religious fanaticism of the Zoroastrians led to the wholesale burning and destruction of Babylonian temples. Clearly therefore (1) the persistent use of the names of pagan deities would not be approved by Zoroastrian priests

¹ *Bulletin*, II, 637 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 639, § 5.

³ Jensen, *MDOG.*, No. 60.

in Assyria; (2) the mere fact of this late Assyrian survival is sufficient proof that in the late Achaemenian period at any rate old Assyrian religious beliefs and practices continued, and must therefore have been known to Zoroastrian priests.

The Pahlavi text belongs to a branch of literature which is represented at an earlier date than the list of Steinschneider¹ might seem to permit. The so-called "Beast Fables"² in cuneiform, the texts of which are the merest fragments, belong in part to these "poems of contest". Another good example is afforded by a cuneiform text found at Ashur,³ which contains a dialogue between a date-palm and a tamarisk. The translation of this text is difficult, but the portion preserved is long enough to allow the general sense to be clear. The beginning is broken, and two paragraphs render but little sense. Then the tamarisk says: "I am greater than you in every way. The cultivator takes everything he has from my shoots. On beams [made] of me he drives up his cart, with a cart [made out] of me he . . . ; [when] he opens a sumphole and the field is irrigated, I come up (as a bucket), and for the . . . of the earth I . . . the bread; . . . and corn I [bring in] that maketh men to thrive." The date-palm replies: "I am greater than you in every way. Everything the cultivator has, the rope, the whip, the yoke, and . . . the . . . , the cultivator's gear, is there by my will. I am greater than you." The dialogue then turns to the use of the two trees for religious purposes, and each tree proposes to go to a different city, clearly in order that the dispute may be settled.

The copy of this dialogue between the tamarisk and the date-palm which is extant dates from the seventh century. It must have been composed at an earlier date, and there is good reason to believe that similar texts were very popular in the fourteenth century B.C. throughout Western Asia, for a hieroglyphic docket from the tablet store at Akhetaton, the capital of Akhnaton (Amenhotep IV, *circa* 1380-1362 B.C.), bears the legend "Book of the sycamore and the olive-tree".⁴ It is certain that texts of this kind must have been known in the Achaemenian and Seleucid periods in Babylonia, and

¹ Ab. K.A.W., Wien, phil.-hist. Klasse, Bd. 155, No. 4. See Unvala, loc. cit., 638.

² For translations see Chr. Johnston, *Assyrian and Babylonian Beast Fables*. *AJSL*, xxviii, 81 ff.

³ *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, Heft iii, No. 145. For a (provisional) translation see *MDOG.*, No. 58, pp. 32-4.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (N.F.), ii, 80-1. Dr. Hall has kindly pointed out to me that the name of the second tree in the hieroglyphic text on the original is *bkw*, "olive-tree," not "date-palm", as it has previously been misread.

remained in use there so long as the old religion was practised, that is to say until the second or first century B.C. It is possible that the original Pahlavi version of "The Assyrian Tree" was based on a knowledge of such cuneiform texts, rather than on Arabic sources.

Can this connexion be proved more than a possibility? In other words, is it probable that the original Pahlavi, written we may suppose in the Sassanian period, has anything to do with the literary texts of the Assyrian and Babylonian priests, whose activities cannot be traced after the first century B.C.? This must depend upon detailed arguments; but before details are considered, a general consideration of the purpose of the text called "The Assyrian Tree" is in place.

This text has been described by the learned E. W. West, as "non religious".¹ Dangerous though it be for one without special knowledge to dispute the judgment of so great an authority, this view seems surprising. Sections 27, 30, 31, 32, which stand at the commencement of the goat's reply to "The Assyrian Tree" contain an argument which seems to amount to the assertion that "the goat" is the representative of the Zoroastrian religion. Turning back to the arguments of "The Assyrian Tree" it is at once noticeable that they make no mention of any religious ground for superiority; the sole reason which is not based on practical use is that given in § 3, "I am the tree in the land of Kh^vaniras." A reference to the colophon, § 54, shows that the copying of the text is reckoned a religious act, which entitles the writer to the reward of the faithful. And the sentence "in every . . . of . . . enemies, may he see this head of the enemy dead" seems most easily intelligible if we suppose that "The Assyrian Tree" is meant by "this head of the (religious) enemy". These passages suggest very clearly, to my mind, a religious interpretation. "The goat" represents the Zoroastrian faith, "The Assyrian Tree" typifies an, or the principal, opponent of this faith. This view would explain the somewhat excessive vituperation "the goat" is allowed to utter in reply to the very mild remarks of "The Assyrian Tree", e.g. in § 51, where the tree is compared to a pig, a boar, and a mad camel; above all, it must be remembered that the very summary ending, "And the goat went away in triumph," even if it represents an abbreviation of the original Pahlavi, would be natural, if the proposed interpretation is correct. No true Zoroastrian, bearing "the goat's" claim to represent his religion, could have had any doubt about the verdict.

The use of an animal type, the goat, to represent the Zoroastrian

¹ See Unvala, loc. cit., 637.

religion, might be paralleled by many instances. It will suffice to quote the use of the lamb and the dove as the Christian types. For "The Assyrian Tree" it is possible to quote an almost exact parallel. The figure by which the glory and the fall of Assyria are depicted in Isaiah, xxxi, is that of a tree, namely the cedar of Lebanon. The reason why the figure of a tree should be employed to represent Assyria is, indeed, less clear in the Pahlavi text than in the Hebrew prophet, for the phraseology of Isaiah sufficiently explains the choice of the figure. Yet even so it is possible that both Isaiah and the writer of the Pahlavi text thought of Assyria as a tree owing to certain religious practices in Assyria.

At the New Year festival in Assyria a ceremony took place in the gardens of Nabu's temple, which was probably concerned with a bare tree-trunk. Old fillets of green leaves placed on the trunk were removed, for fresh ones to be placed there, metal bands called "yokes" were cut off, also perhaps for fresh ones to be put on, and on top of the trunk was set, at least in one case, a golden dish. A seat, with appropriate beasts depicted at the sides, and a canopy thereover, is then set ready for the god to come and superintend a magical ceremony conducted on the day of the festival itself.¹ The ceremony seems to be depicted on the frieze from Ashurnasirpal's palace at Nimrūd,² where the tree, bedecked with metal bands and green fillets, is the centre of interest: before it the king, priests in masks that represent various gods, and the goddess, Ishtar, are depicted as performing acts that bring the dead tree to life. This kind of magical practice at festivals was widely spread over the ancient East. The earliest representation of a similar scene known to me is on the stele of Ur-Nammu, King of Ur about 2300 B.C.³ A small tree, perhaps intended for a cypress or a similar genus, is shown in a pot, from which there hang also two bunches of fruit. Priests pour water into the pot. The same magic appears to have been in use in ancient Greece, to judge from Sir Arthur Evans' discussion of a gem from the Vapheio tomb.⁴

It is indeed not improbable that the Assyrian text containing a dialogue between a tamarisk and a date-palm was actually recited at a religious festival. No cuneiform text yet known is literary in intention; the great epics themselves were written to be recited. Both the tamarisk and the date-palm were, with several others, holy trees;

¹ *Revue d'Assyriologie*, xxi, 84.

² *Antiquaries' Journal*, 1925, plate xlviii.

³ Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures*.

⁴ *JHS.*, xlv, 20-1.

and the miming which is known to have taken place at the New Year festival at Babylon might well include a dialogue such as the one in question.

There is, then, sound reason to believe that magical ceremonies concerned with a tree formed a very important part of the Assyrian cult. Granted that a Zoroastrian writer was searching for a symbol of this religion, it would prove a suitable object to attack. For in attacking the Assyrian religion a Zoroastrian would have to be circum-spect. Ashur, with his attendant fire-deities and spirits, bears a passable resemblance to Ahuramazda, and his symbol, the winged disc (itself possibly borrowed from Egypt) was adopted as the symbol of the Zoroastrian good god. Much of the service of Ashur, the sacrifices and so forth, must have closely resembled the practice of Zoroastrian priests. But in the magic connected with the tree was an element foreign, apparently, to Zoroastrianism; even in Assyria it may have been derived from Syrian rather than native beliefs. In short, a Zoroastrian controversial writer could conceivably, under the symbol of the tree, attack pagan religion.

To turn now to the text of "The Assyrian Tree". The first paragraph reads, in Unvala's translation :—

"A tree stands grown up there in the land of Assyria. Its trunk is dry, its top is fresh, and its root resembles the (sugar-) cane, its fruit resembles the grape. It produces such sweet fruits."

This is no ordinary tree, calls to mind no natural genus: but it does specifically resemble the magical tree in that it consists of a dry trunk, to which incongruous elements are attached. Anyone who had seen the pagan priests performing their mumbo-jumbo at the New Year, on hearing the opening sentences of the Pahlavi text would naturally think of those rites. It is right to insist on the significance of these opening words, because the mind of the reader or hearer is thereby directed to the points which, if my view of the text be correct, are essential. The tree of the land of Assyria, the magical tree used in pagan religion, sets forth clearly the subject.

The second paragraph announces the contest of this tree with a goat, and the tree's speech opens with a formula which exactly corresponds to that used by the trees in the Assyrian dialogue. The formula is a natural one, and of course no argument can be derived from it. The next section is more important :—

"I am the tree in Kh^{an}irās; there is no (other) like me, because the king eats from me when I carry fruits anew."

The significance of the latter portion of this section is not immediately apparent. A king eats all kinds of fruit, doubtless, as soon as it is ripe. The point in the boast of "The Assyrian Tree" seems to be that the king eats the fruit *immediately* the fruit appears. In other words, the fruit is magical fruit, which needs no time to ripen. In the hocus-pocus of the Assyrian rite it is probable that such fruit was made to appear, to symbolize the fruitfulness of the New Year. This is based on the stele of Ur-Nammu, where two bunches of apparently ripe fruit appear beside a tree quite incapable of bearing it. And it is worth noting that the emphasis laid on the king in the Pahlavi text finds an exact parallel in the Assyrian dialogue, where both the tamarisk and the date-palm claim as a merit their use by the king. The date-palm for instance says, "Where I do not come, the king does not sacrifice . . ."

The remaining claims of the Assyrian tree are of no interest for our immediate inquiry; they do not vary from the kind of claim which appears in all texts of this "contest" class, and merely enumerate some of the uses to which man has put trees. But the "goat" has some interesting remarks about the tree.

(Sections 23-4) "O men! the tree of even dry wood, whose top was golden—thee who art made golden it beseems to bear fruits for the children."

The "goat" again calls attention to the nature of this tree—the tree without sap which yet bears fruit. Would it be too forced to interpret the phrase, "for the children" as sarcasm? Other trees bear fruit which are good for everybody—but "The Assyrian Tree" bears fruit only in the belief of the childish. At any rate, such an interpretation lends considerable force to a remark otherwise pointless. And the golden top reminds one of the golden dish in the Assyrian ceremony, wherein doubtless water was placed, to keep the fillets fresh.

If this interpretation be correct, the point is driven home in sections 27-8:—

"Men call [rather] me in the *Āpzoḥr* ceremony of the Parsis than [thou] who art [merely] foliage, but [otherwise] dead and useless among trees. If thou bearest fruits, men of the [sacred] law would let [thee] loose on the pasture-ground even in the manner of oxen."

The wording does not permit of the interpretation, which might appear natural, that the "goat" is claiming superiority as having mobility, as against an immobile tree. "The Assyrian Tree" is, even

"among trees", dead and useless. Were it not so, "men of the law," i.e. Zoroastrians, would plant and use it just as much as they do oxen (even though oxen have a special significance in pagan religion). The magical tree has therefore no claim to be considered by men of the true faith. Then finally comes the crowning insult, section 29 :—

"Am I a self-conceited person like one who is born of a courtesan."

The courtesan *par excellence* in the ancient East was Ishtar. Now it has been pointed out that Ishtar is depicted on the Ashur-naṣir-pal frieze engaging in magical operations with the magical tree. Her attitude is of some interest; the goddess is holding out a ring, and the action is doubtless intended to mean that the goddess is bestowing new life on the tree. "One who is born a courtesan"—"The Assyrian Tree" must surely be intended—is a bitter sarcasm on the pagan beliefs of the Assyrians and Babylonians worthy of a patristic writer dealing with Græco-Roman paganism.

Having fully established the character of "The Assyrian Tree", the "goat" proceeds to announce his own character in sections 30–2. His kind is, for the Zoroastrians, holy. The subsequent claims are of the practical kind, and only section 49 calls for further comment :—

"When they bring the goat to market and offer it for sale, every one who has not got ten *dram* does not come near the goat. [But] the children buy thee for two *pašiz*. Wounded to the life, thou wilt be destroyed, exterminated by the spiritual leaders."

Could any words more clearly indicate the nature of this contest between "the goat" and "The Assyrian Tree"? For one thing, nobody, even in Persia, would believe that an ordinary fruit-tree is of so much less value than a goat as the ratio ten *dram*—two *pašiz* indicates. What the children buy for that small sum would seem to be bits of wood, chips from the magical tree intended to bring fruitfulness to the plantations. And the last sentence has but one possible meaning: the true religion has already dealt belief in the magical tree a fatal blow, which spells a speedy end to magical practices.

When the "goat" says (section 51) that he is laying "golden words" before the tree "like one who strews pearls before a pig or a boar, or plays the *čang* before a mad camel", it is not unfitting to ascribe the heat of his remark to religious fanaticism. It is true that in the dialogue as we now have it there is no trace of serious argument, no attempt by the tree to advance a defence of Assyrian religion, or by the "goat" seriously to counter those arguments. Nevertheless, "the golden words" in defence of the Zoroastrian faith are as relevant as

controversial literature dealing with religion, more especially in the East, is apt to be. The essential point would be that the dialogue in "The Assyrian Tree" should represent a triumph of the Zoroastrian faith over pagan beliefs. By doing that, it would win the favour of all true believers.

I am not unaware of the very considerable questions that this interpretation of the text raises. If the original Pahlavi text which Unvala posits was written in the Sassanian period, the real enemy of the Zoroastrian religion in the Tigris valley was Christianity, not Assyrian paganism. It would be necessary to assume either that "The Assyrian Tree" went back to a period when Zoroastrianism was still struggling to suppress the Assyrian and Babylonian religion, that is to say, to the time of the Achaemenian kings, or to a time when the Assyrian and Babylonian beliefs lingered on owing to the favour of the Seleucid dynasty, at latest that is to the second century B.C. In other words, the interpretation suggested in this article would demand that the original Pahlavi version should go back to an even earlier original. It is well known that Pahlavi literature to a certain extent consisted of matter derived from other sources, considerably older. Whether there is any good cause for doubting the possibility of this in the case of *Drakht i Asurik* it would be interesting to learn. Should it prove, on linguistic grounds or for other reasons, impossible to assume an early origin for this text, then the interpretation of passages in the text suggested above must be unhesitatingly abandoned. If, on the other hand, an earlier original of the Pahlavi text is possible, the interpretation I have put forward may serve as a basis for discussion.

NOTE ON THE STATICAL AND SOME OTHER
PARTICIPLES IN HINDUSTANI

By Lieut.-Col. D. C. PHILLOTT

(a) (1) Considerable confusion exists as regards the Statical Participles.

On page 174 of his Grammar, Platts states : “ *Rem.* The so-called Staticals differ from Continuatives in denoting *temporary* or *accidental* state. The two forms are clearly distinguished in most native grammars, but are strangely misunderstood by European grammarians, who teach that *the participle is inflected in Staticals and not inflected in Continuatives* ! Now, the fact is that it is just to indicate *duration* or *continuity* (and occasionally a *habitual* state) that the particle (*sic*) or verbal adjective is changed into an adverb and inflected. This is evident from such forms as چلتے چلتے تھک گیا *chalte chalte thak gayā*, ‘ I wearied through much or continued walking . . . ’ ”

Platts here seems to have made a slip. *Chalte chalte* is a Statical, and the idea of continuity is given by the repetition only.¹ *Maī chalte chalte thak gayā* means “ I got tired whilst still in a state of continued movement ”, while *maī chaltā chaltā*² *thak gayā* suggests “ I got tired after continued movement ”.³

The fact is that the Present and Past Participles are inflected adverbially to indicate temporary or accidental state, the post-position *mē*⁴ (or according to some grammarians the words—*kī hālat mē*) being understood.

For the sake of a complete survey of the two participles, I will

¹ So, too, in *chale jāna* “ to continue to go ” the idea of continuity lies in the *jāna* “ vide ” (d).

² When a present participle is repeated it is usual to inflect it statically, and the *hu, ā* is always omitted.

³ In Hindī *chalā chalā* may be used.

⁴ As regards this omission of *mē*, Sir George Grierson points out to me that this is “ a convenient way of putting it and is not a true statement. *Chalte*, like *ghore*, is itself a representative of six original Sanskrit cases, and can be used for any of them. Hence its use by itself for the locative, is quite natural and proper, and is not added merely because in this particular instance a defining particle is not necessary, the meaning being clear without it. The meaning of all this rigmarole is that in modern Indian languages, ‘ defining particles ’ are used only when the sense clearly requires it.

“ A good instance of ‘ defining particles ’ occurs in the infinitive *vuh dekhne āyā*. Here it is commonly said that *dekhne* is for *dekhne ko*. It is really nothing of the sort : *dekhne* by itself is a dative (as well as other cases), and as its use in this place as a dative is perfectly clear, no defining particle is required. . . . ”

repeat some matter that I have previously published in various works.¹

In dealing with apparent contradictions in the use of the participles, it must be recollected that the Statical construction is not largely used, that the Present and Past Participles are both verbal nouns and adjectives, that the Past Participle of Transitive verbs has an Active as well as a Passive sense; and that, as other postpositions besides *mē* may be understood, not all participles adverbially inflected are Staticals.² Further, participles statically constructed may be prefixed to *honā*, to the Continuative *rahnā*, to the Progressives *jānā* and *ānā*,³ and to others. To form the infinitive of the Progressives and the Continuative, the *statical* participle seems to be preferred in Urdu, thus *karte-jānā* (and, of course, *kiye-jānā*), “to go on doing” and *karte-rahnā*⁴ “to remain doing”, but in Hindi *kartā-jānā* and *kartā-rahnā* also occur: *soye-rahnā* or *sote-rahnā* “to remain sleeping”, and *soyā-rahnā*, and *sotā-rahnā*. In other tenses of these compounds, the present participle is treated adjectively.⁵

(2) The rule is, that with the Past Participle of transitive verbs used *actively*, with an object, the Statical construction is obligatory, as: *Bībī sharāb piye hu, e thī* “the lady was drunk” (i.e. in the accidental state of having drunk wine); *maī ne bībī ko sharāb piye hu, e dekhā* “I saw the lady drunk”.

The object may be a clause, as: *Maī samjhe hu, e thā ki woh Hindū hai* (= *maī usko Hindū samjhe hu, e thā*) “I was all along under the impression that he was a Hindu”.

If, however, the participle is used in its passive sense, the adjectival construction must be used, as: *Rasīd mansūkh kī hu, ī pahūchī* “the receipt arrived cancelled”.

(3) With other intransitive present and past participles, either the Statical or the adjectival construction may be used, unless the subject is in the Agent case with *ne* (*vide* 4). Local usage, personal predilection, and euphony are deciding factors. Thus *Ṣawrat gāte (hu, e) ā, ī* “the woman came in the state of singing”, occurs in Hindi,

¹ To protect myself against a charge of literary theft I must remark that some of this and a great deal more, has, without due acknowledgment, been plagiarized by a Hindu gentleman and published in a book called *The Pucca Munshi*.

² *Vide* (4) Remark, and (8).

³ As in *tel nikaltā ātā hai aur hādī mē girtā jātā hai*.

⁴ Platts correctly calls this a Continuative, *vide* p. 173, sec. 212, under which term he also includes the Progressives.

⁵ Platts mistakenly calls these Staticals, *vide* p. 173, sec. 213.

while Urdu prefers *gūī hu,ī ā,ī*¹ "she came along in the act of singing". Several educated Muslims have even condemned the first construction as quite incorrect. Similarly *Larkī wilāyat jāī hu,ī ek hafta Bamba, ī mē ṭhahrī* is preferred to *jate hu,e*.

For "I saw him coming" *maī ne usko āte* (Statical) *dekhā* and *maī ne usko ātā* (adjectival) *dekhā*, are used indiscriminately.

(4) If, however, the participle refers to a subject in the Agent case, the Statical construction is obligatory, as : *Rānī ne hāthī par charhe hu,e* (never *charhī hu,ī*) *aṭkal pachchū ek tīr chalāyī* "the Rani mounted on an elephant drew a bow at a venture"; *hathnī ne chinghāṭe hu,e*² *baghele par ḥamla kiyā* "the female elephant, screaming the while, charged the tiger cub".

So, too, if a transitive Present Participle qualifies an object, as : (*Umhō ne*) *Do shakhṣ ko chorī karte* (not *kartā*) *pakṛā hai*³ "they had caught two persons stealing".

Remark.—Such expressions as *jāte hī* "immediately on going", and *itnī rāt ga,e [par]* "so late at night", are not Staticals.⁴

(5) Examples of Staticals :—

<i>Wuh bahāna kiye hu,e thā</i> ⁵	he was pretending <i>all the time</i> .
<i>Wuh hathkarī pahnā,e hu,e</i> (or <i>pahne hu,e</i>) <i>pesh kiyā gayā</i> .	he was produced handcuffed.
<i>Sote rahnā</i> or <i>soye-rahnā</i> (or <i>soyā rahnā</i>). ⁶	to remain sleeping.
<i>Jāte-rahnā</i> (or <i>jātā rahnā</i>)	to keep on going ; to be lost, etc.
<i>Ghuse rahnā</i> (better <i>ghusā rahnā</i>)	to remain hidden (in a hole).
<i>Bachte-rahnā</i> ⁷	always to be left over, to continue to avoid.
<i>Is ko pakṛe-rah</i> ⁸	keep hold of this.

¹ The present participle *gūī hu,ī* is here treated as an adjective, and indicates an act in progress without any idea of state. Sir George Grierson suggests that there is a slight difference in meaning between these two constructions. "The latter means that the moment she arrived she happened to be singing and has no reference to what she was doing before she arrived. The former means that the woman was singing and while she was singing (or in the middle of her song) she arrived."

² But *chinghātī hu,ī hathnī ne* "the screaming she-elephant".

³ Platts, p. 336.

⁴ Platts, p. 338.

⁵ But *bahāna kartā thā* indicates a particular occasion.

⁶ *Soye-* or *soyā-rahnā* suggests an intransitive meaning, "to be asleep," and *sote-* or *sotā-rahnā* an active meaning "to sleep, to compose oneself to sleep".

⁷ *Sau rūpiya khizāne mē bachā rahtā hai*, "a sum of a hundred rupees remains in reserve in the treasury," but *sau rūpiya bachtā rahtā hai*, "a sum of a hundred rupees is always being left over or always happens to be spare at stated intervals."

⁸ But *pakṛtā rah* would mean, if it meant anything, "keep on catching it."

Kahe-jā

Kitāb ko parhe-jā,o

[*Ham abhī histarī parhte jāte hai*
(Progressive)]

Un se lartā bhirta ¹ *roṭī ko bachā,e*
us chāh par āyā

Qasim daurte daurte (or *daurtā*
daurtā) *āyā* ²

Maī girte girte bach-gayā

Maī pare pare (or *parā parā*) ³
zakhmī hu.ā

Maī ne usko soye hu.e (or *soyā* = *maī ne usko sote hu,e* (or *sotā*
hu.ā) *dekhā*

Jāte jāte, adv.

Kishtī dūbte dūbte dūb-ga,i

Yih bīmārī jātē hī jā.egī (or *jāte*
jāte jā.egī)

Maī abhī pūchhe ātī hū

Chalte hu,e ⁴ *begam ne kahā*

Barī dhūp parē hai ⁵

Mujhe is ghar mē rahte (hu,e) *do*
sāl guzre

Bībī ko āte hu,e ek ghaṇṭā hu.ā

go on with your story.

go on with your book (to one in
the act of reading).

I am still going on with my study
of history.]

(the dog) fighting with them all
the way, in a *state* of having
saved the bread came to that
pit.

Qasim came running up.

I nearly fell off (my horse).

I got wounded whilst lying help-
less on the ground.

at the last moment of going.

the ship sank *by degrees*.

this disease will go away by
degrees.

I (fem.) will inquire this minute
and return without delay.

the lady said on her departure.

= *barī dhūp parī hai* or *partī hai*.

I have been living in this house
for two years.

the lady came an hour ago.

(6) Note that in *maī ne usko daurte hu.ā pakrā*, the Statical, owing to its position, may refer either to the subject or the object. The adjectival *daurtā* could refer to the object only.

(7) Compare *maī koshish karte karte thak-gayā* "I got tired by my continued efforts", and *maī koshish kar karke thak gayā* "I got tired by my repeated efforts".

¹ Or statically, *larte bhīrte*. In both cases the repetition indicates continuity. Platts explanation of this example (p. 334, *Rem.*) seems involved. Why not *Roṭī ko* the object of the Statical *bachā,e*?

² But *daurā āya* "hastened to the spot (with an object in view)".

³ The repetition in *pare pare* or *parā parā* indicates continuity.

⁴ The *hu,e* could not be omitted, *vide* (k).

⁵ *Pare hai* is probably the old Present tense (common in proverbs) and not a Statical; it is so used by Ghālib. Sir George Grierson tells me this is still in use in the Dakhin.

(8) In *Sikandar ko mare hu.e bahut śarśa guzrā* the participle *mare* is not an adjective agreeing with *Sikandar*. It is a verbal noun with a post position understood, and is presumably not a Statical, as it clearly does not suggest temporary state.

So, too, in *śaurat ko wahū jāte hu.e* (not *jātī hu.ī*) *dar laqtā hai* "the woman is afraid to go there or while going there".

(9) Note that *kitāb ko liye ā,o* "come in the state of carrying the book" suggests that the addressee is in possession of the book, since the Statical participle is in past time, but *lete ā,o* suggests "get it and bring it". The difference is slight.

The Statical suggests lifeless or subordinate objects, and for such is preferred to the Conjunctive Participle, as: *Bachche ko god mē liye hu.e* (not so good *lekar*) *ā,ī* "she came carrying the child", but *bāp ko lekar* (not properly *liye hu.e*) *āyā* "he brought his father with him".

(10) The uninflected Past Participle of intransitives may indicate general state, as: *Maī ne ek chiriyā marī hu.ī dekhī* "I saw a bird dead"; *maī is hotel mē thahrā (hu.ā) hū* "I am staying in this hotel¹"; *girā rahtā hai* "it remains in a ruined state"; *soyā aur mu.ā barābar hotā hai* "a sleeping man is the same as one dead". In *mārā phirnā* "to wander aimlessly", *mārā* is from a transitive verb: *yih śaurat māri phirtī hai* "this woman wanders about aimlessly". Vide (b).

In forming the ordinary Infinitive compounded with this past participle, the participle is not usually inflected Statically as in the case of the present participle, thus *bachā-rahnā*, *thahrā-rahnā*, *daurā-jānā*, etc. (and seldom *bachē rahnā*, etc.).² However, if the Infinitive is used as an Imperative, the participle must be inflected, as: *Gunāh se bache-rahnā* "avoid sin". The reason is that in this case *tum* has to be understood and the Participle must therefore be plural.

(b) (1) As in Hindustani the Present Participle indicates an act in progress, certain English Present Participles have to be rendered by Past Participles. These are treated as adjectives, and like the example in (10) above indicate general state, as: *Wahā payā hai*, "it is lying (in a fallen state) there"; *daryā charhā ātā hai* "the river is rising up in flood"; *khizāne mē sau rūpiya bachā rahtā hai* "the sum of a hundred rupees remains lying in reserve in the treasury"; *ūṭ kī palakē bhārī bhārī aur latkī hu.ī hai* "the camel's eyelids are heavy

¹ *Maī is hotel mē hamesha thakartā rahā hū*, "I have always been staying in this hotel."

² *Pure rahnā* is, however, common.

and down-hanging "; *wuh wahā baiṭhā* (hu.ā) *kai* " he is sitting there ".¹

(2) Before *jānā*, *ānā*, *daurnā*, *bhāgnā*, *phirnā* and perhaps others, the uninflected Past Participle of intransitive verbs of motion is ordinarily prefixed, as : *Uṛā-ānā*, *bhāgā-jānā*, *parā phirnā* " to prowl about "; *phirā phirnā* " to patrol "; *bhaṭkā phirnā* " to stray, lose one's way "; and *mārā phirnā* " vide " (10).

If the Present Participle be substituted, it forms a Progressive, or may rarely be used for emphasis, as : *Kabūtar urṭā āyā* " the pigeon came flying along or flying and not in any other way ". However, *farj barḥtī chālī ā,ī* and *barḥī chālī ā,ī* are the same.

Daurā-jānā colloquially means simply " to hasten with an object in view " (and not to go running) ; *māi isteshan tak daurā gayā* may even be said of a person driving : but *māi isteshan tak daurtā gayā* " I ran all the way to the station ". *Qāsim daurā daurā āyā* " Qāsim came hurrying along ", but *daurtā daurtā āyā* " came running ".

(c) (1) The verb *jānā* may be a source of ambiguity, as besides its use in forming Intensitives and Progressives, it may retain its literal meaning. In *Baglā machḥlī ko chōch mē dabā,ē liye-jātā hai*, the verb, means, " is carrying off "; *wuh hāstā jātā thā* " he kept on laughing or he was laughing as he went along "; *is ko kiye jā,o* " go on doing it as before, or do it before you go, or be in a state of doing it as you go "; *is ko kyū chḥore jātī hai* " why art thou (fem.) departing and leaving this behind thee ? "; *sun-jā o* " hear before you leave ", but *māi isko parḥtā hū tum sune-jā,o* ; *zara rāsta batāte jānā* " just show me the way as you go along, or before you leave "; *ā,o bhā,ī baiṭho,khānā khāte jā,o* " comrade come and eat with us and then continue on your way "; *kar-jānā* " to do before going "; *kah-jānā* " to say on departure "; *wuh chitṭhī likhtā gayā hai* " he was writing when he went (or he went on writing) ".

Āp log ab andar āte jā,iye means " do you gentlemen kindly begin to come in ", or if there has been a block " go on coming in ".

Remark I.—*Khā-jānā* being an Intensive, you cannot say *khā-jākar* ; but *le-jānā* not being an Intensive has a Conjunctive Participle ² *le-jākar*.

Remark II.—In Urdu, as in English, there is frequently no distinction between a Progressive and a Continuative : " to go on

¹ But *Rājā haude mē baiṭhā hai* " the Raja always sits in the hauda ". Sir George Grierson, however, points out that the root meaning of *baiṭhnā* is not " to sit " but " to be seated ".

² Neither the conjunctive participle nor the past participle of intensives is in use.

doing a thing " has much the same meaning as " to continue doing a thing ". However, in such a sentence as " The enemy continued to retreat ", a Progressive is obligatory in Urdu: *dushman haftā gayā* (not *rahā*). " To remain reading " might refer to the reading of one page ; but " to go on reading " suggests progression by turning over the page or pages. So, too, when a continued or repeated act depends on another continued or repeated act, Progressives are obligatory in Urdu, as in " He kept on dictating while I kept on writing to his dictation ".

(d) *Chalnā* means " to move to come into motion, to start ", and *chale jānā* " to go on moving ". Here *chale* is a Statical, and the idea of continuance is contained in the Progressive *jānā*. *Chalā-jānā* is " to travel along, to go away, to go to a distance ",¹ and *chalā-ānā* is " to come along ". The Imperative Singulars are (*tū*) *chale-jū* " continue to go " and (*tū*) *chalā-jā* " go away ". The plural of both is *tum chale-jā, o*.

(3) *Chalnā* as a " servile " means " to start, to begin ", as: *Panī par-chalū = pānī paṛne lagā*.

(e) Strangely enough, *chalā-jānā* like *chalā-ānā* and *hotā-ānā* may have also a Progressive meaning. Examples :—

<i>Maī us par miṭṭī ḍale chalā gayā</i>	I went on piling earth on her. ³
(or <i>ḍāle gayā</i>). ²	
<i>Yih kahtī chalī ga, ī</i> ⁴	She went on (continued) saying this.
<i>Beṭe hī beṭe hote chale</i> ⁵ <i>jāte haī</i>	Nothing but boys kept on being born to him.
<i>Yih dastūr qadīm se hotā chalā āyā haī</i>	this custom has come down from ancient times.
<i>Taḥ se angrez muḥallim us madrase mē hote āe haī</i>	since then English teachers have always been appointed to that college.
<i>Do shikārī kutte daure chale ā rahe haī</i>	two hounds are just now coming towards us at a run.
<i>Dharnā dene-wālā mere pīchhe lagā chalā ātā haī</i>	the man who is dunning me is closely following behind.

¹ *Maī rāste mē chalā jātā thā* and *Is per kī jarē dūr tak chalī jātī haī*.

² " Went on in a state of casting." *Chalā-gayā* does not here mean " went away ".

³ From a story about an Arab who was burying his daughter alive.

⁴ But *yih kahtī hu, ī chalī ga, ī* " she went away saying this ". *Yih kahkar chalī ga, ī* " she said this and then went away ". The difference between these two is really slight.

⁵ Pincott, p. 166.

<i>Bhīṛ baḥtī chālī jāṭī hai</i> ¹	the crowd keeps on increasing.
<i>Pānī khetō mē barhā chālā ātā hai</i>	the floods keep on rising in the fields.
<i>Merī maḥabbat is laṛkī se beṭī kī</i>	my affection for this girl has
<i>sī hotī āī</i>	always been like that of a daughter.

(f) Prefixed to verbs of seeming (such as *maślūm honā*, *dikhāī denā*, *nāzar ānā*) the Present Participle used adjectively indicates possibility or likelihood, as : *Bechāra bachṭā nāzar nahī ātā* "I don't see any likelihood of the poor thing surviving" ; *wuh bachṭā nāzar ātā hai* "he seems likely to recover" ;² *yih tudbīr bantī nāzar nahīn āī* "this plan does not look like succeeding" ; *yih chāl chālī dikhāī nahī detī* "I can't see this move, this trick, coming off".

(g) The Present Participle inflected adverbially,³ when prefixed to *bannā* or *ban-ānā* expresses ability,⁴ as : *Mujh se khānā khāte nahī bantā*⁵ "I cannot eat my dinner" ; *becharī laṛkī se chālṭe nahī bantā* "the poor girl can't walk" ; *is ghayī jo nīrālī chhabī hai, kahte nahī bantī*⁶ "the strange beauty of the moon at this season baffles description" ; *mujhe yihī kahte hu.e ban-ātā hai kī wuh ullū kā paṭhā hai* "all I can say of him is that he is a young owl" ; *hā.e tum se kaisā jāte bantā hai* "ah ! how can you bear to leave me ?"

(h) (1) An intransitive adjectival Past Participle (*hu.ā* not admissible) prefixed to *jānā* and *ānā* give an idea of imminence, indicating that an action is about to begin :—

<i>Wuh āyā jāṭā hai</i>	he is about to arrive.
<i>Yih dīwār girī jāṭī hai</i>	the wall is threatening to fall.
<i>Daryā chārhā ātā hai</i>	the river is beginning to rise.
<i>Maī tujhe bhūlā-jāṭā hū</i>	I was nearly forgetting all about you.
<i>Maī be-dam hu.ā jāṭā hū</i>	I'm on the point of losing my wind. ⁷
<i>Bīmār wchkhā hu.ā jāṭā hai</i>	the patient now promises to convalesce.

¹ Pincott, p. 193.

² It will be noticed that this use may be affirmative as well as negative.

³ Can this be a Statical ?

⁴ Compare *Mujh se khānā khāyā-nahī-jātā* : *mujh se chulā nahī-jātā*. Also the construction *Yih darwāza mere khole se nahi khultā*.

⁵ *Bantī* fem., because of *chhabī*.

⁶ Sir George Grierson suggests that *jānā* and *ānā* are here "sisters of *honā*", and equivalent to it, which would explain this idiom.

⁷ But *maī be-dam hotā jāṭā hū* "I am gradually getting out of breath".

<i>Tum kyñ ghabrā,ī jatī ho</i>	why are you (fem.) getting angry ?
<i>Piyās se dam niklā jā rahā hai</i>	I shall soon die of thirst.
<i>Maī thaile mē ghusā jātā hū</i>	I am just going to get into the sack.

(2) A similar meaning may be given by *parnā*, as : *Dīwār girī partī hai* = *girī jātī hai* : *shīra ublā partā hai* " the syrup threatens to boil over " ; *kūdā parna* " to threaten to jump ".

(i) A transitive Past Participle, inflected like a Statical, conveys some such idea of imminence when prefixed to the verbs *denā*, *lenā*, *ḍālnā* and possibly some others. as : --

<i>Maī tum se kah-detā¹ hū kī</i>	now I'm just going to tell you (in confidence, or warning, or in passing), that—
<i>Hudhud.—Is kū nām kahe-detā hai kī—</i>	The Hoopoe. This name suggests that (it is taken from its cry).
<i>Khānā lā,ē detā hū²</i>	I am just going to bring dinner. ³
<i>Maī bhī dije-detā hū</i>	I, too, am just going to subscribe.
<i>Merā lahja merī ḡula⁵ī khole detā thā</i>	my (foreign) accent every moment threatened to let the cat out of the bag.
<i>Kaunre bechārī kū tukrā chhīne lete hai</i>	the crows are trying to rob the poor little girl of her bread.
<i>Maī us se lije-letā hū</i>	I am just going to take it from him.
<i>Maī apne⁶ uzrāt pesh kiye detā hū</i>	I am just going to present my excuses.
<i>Ghorā rassī toṛe-ḍāltā hai</i>	the horse is in the act of breaking loose.
<i>Is bāt kī fikr mujhe māre ḍāltā hai</i>	anxiety about this matter threatens to kill me.
<i>Bāgh ko nās kiye ḍāltā hai</i>	he is about to ruin the garden.
<i>Yih ghar mujhe kāte khātā hai</i>	this house oppresses me (with its painful memories).

Remark.—Such compounds are used in the United Provinces, but are not usual in Bihar.

(j) A comparison of the following will show the fine distinctions of time that may be expressed by the participles :—

¹ But *kah-detā hū* " I tell you outright or once for all ".

² But *khānā lā-detā hū* " I'll go and get dinner ".

³ Unless refined speech *lātā hū* or *lāyā*.

(i) *Pūchhkar ā,o* “go and inquire and then return”. There may be a considerable interval between the two acts.

(ii) *Pūchh-ā,o* “inquire and return quickly”. There is practically no interval of time between the acts.

(iii) *Pūchhe-ā,o* “inquire and return immediately” (i.e. return while still in the state of inquiring).

(k) There seems to be no rule for the insertion or omission of *hu,ā*. In *chaltā (hu,ā) kār-khānu* “a thriving business” and *martā (hu,ā) kyā na kartā* “what will not a dying man do”, the *hu,ā* may be optionally inserted after the adjectival participles. So, too, it is optional in *Maī ne us bastī mẽ bijli girtī (hu,ī)* or *girtē (hu,e) dekhī* “I saw a thunder-bolt fall in that hamlet”.

It is omitted when the Present or the Past Participle is repeated.

It is omitted before a postposition.

With the prepositions *bin* and *ba-ghayr* it is optional, whether these precede or follow the participle.¹

The *hu,ā* can always be omitted, if the omission causes no ambiguity or does not sound awkward.

In *chalte hu,e began ne kahā* the example near the end of (a) (5), the participle is used as a verbal noun,² and not an adjective. The omission of *hu,e* would at least sound awkward.

(l) (1) When in English a Present Participle qualifying a noun indicates an action in progress, or a temporary quality, it may be rendered in Urdu by a similar participle, as : *Bhāgtī hu,ī fawj* “the fleeing army”; *lartō ke pūchhe bhāgtō ke āge*³ “a laggart in fight, a leader in flight, in the rear of the fighters, in the van of the fliers”; *martā kyā na kartā*³ “what will not a dying man do?”

(2) If, however, it indicates an innate quality or a habit, it is expressed by the noun of agency, especially in the case of transitives, as : *Gosht khāne-wāle jānwar* “flesh-eating animals”; *jugālī karne-wāle jānwar* “animals that chew the cud”; *mere ihsān karne-wāle dost ne kahā* “my benefacting friend said”.

Boltī hu,ī mainā or *bolne-wālī mainā* are, however, both correct for “a talking mainā”, but the latter is preferable.⁴

¹ The post-position *ke* in such instances is omitted.

² It is often supposed that the *hu,ā* confines the participle to its adjectival use.

³ The noun “man” and “men” is understood, as the participles here are adjectives. You cannot say *martē (or lartē) ne kaha*. These two examples are perhaps exceptional phrases.

⁴ Sir George Grierson suggests that there is a shade of difference between the two, the former really signifying “a chattering (or loquacious) mainā” and the latter “a mainā who is a speaker (i.e. who can speak).”

(m) A curious construction occasionally met with in the Panjab is the use of the Past Participle with *hu,ā* after the Agent, as : *Ayyām-i jawānī mē kutte ne apne āqā kī khidmat kī hu,ī thī aur maʿrika ke shikār māre hu,e the* “in youth the dog had served its master well and killed a goodly quantity of quarry” ; *us ne chitṭhī likhī hu,ī hai* “he has already written the letter”.

This is incorrect in good Urdu.¹

(n) It is hoped that the notes given above will prove of practical value. They are, of course, open to criticism.

¹ So, too, the Panjabi construction of putting the subject of a *simple* passive verb in the accusative, as *Usko mārā-gayā*. *Usko qatl kiya gayā*, however, is correct, in Modern Urdu.

BENGALI BALLADS

By W. SUTTON PAGE

ON the occasion of a wedding, a *pūjā*, or any other festival, it is quite a customary thing for a well-to-do man in Bengal to engage a *kathak* or a *pañchālī* or *yātrā* party to give a performance or a series of performances in the courtyard of his house, where a considerable portion of the population of the village assembles as an audience, and sits, often right through the night, listening to song and speech, dialogue and story. It is for the most part by means of such performances that a knowledge of the myths and traditions of Hinduism is preserved in the minds of the illiterate mass of the population of Bengal.

In the *yātrā*, which usually represents scenes from Hindu mythology, the players are men and boys, dressed and made-up to suit the parts they play. There is no attempt at scenery or stage-fittings, and the action is interrupted at frequent intervals by the master-singer, or some other member of the party, who comments upon, and points the moral of the story. There is, of course, a certain amount of spoken dialogue, but the most attractive feature of the *yātrā* is the singing, which is accompanied by a band of musicians. In fact, the performance is in a crude fashion operatic rather than dramatic, and it is upon the songs and the music that the attention and criticism of the audience are mainly concentrated.

Besides the *yātrā* parties there were also at one time, though they are now extinct, bands of minstrels called *kabīwālās* who worked up the operatic element in the *yātrās* into a separate class of songs, usually describing incidents in the life of *Kṛṣṇa*.

The *pañchālī* was given its present form by *Dāśarathi Rāy*, who was born in 1804. It is very similar to the *kabī* type of performance, from which it is distinguished mainly by the peculiar kind of doggerel in which the songs are written. The song, or *pañchālī* proper, is interspersed with choruses sung by a party of singers accompanying the leader. In the *kabī* and *pañchālī* performances, though they are semi-dramatic, no costumes or disguises are used.

Still another class of entertainment which includes a ballad-element is that provided by the *kathak*, or professional story-teller. People of this kind are mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and numbers of *kathaks* are still to be found in Bengal. The *kathak* tells in vernacular prose stories from the *Śrīmadbhāgavata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, or the

Mahābhārata, and his narrative is interspersed with songs, sung sometimes by himself, and sometimes by a party of singers accompanying him.

The *kathak* is generally a *Brāhman*, and the leader of a *pañchālī* or *yātrā* party is, nowadays, at any rate, a man of more or less education. But, besides these there are to be found in many villages, especially in East Bengal, parties of quite illiterate minstrels. The head of each of these parties is called a *gāyan*, and the members of the chorus of eight or ten men led by him are known as *pāile* (= *pāliyā*, from *pālā*, turn or song). These *gāyans* and *pāiles* may be either Muhammadians or Hindus; many of them belong to the *Namasūdra*, *Hārī*, *Dom*, *Jele*, *Pātanī*, or other low castes. They ply their caste trade or occupation by day, and at night are engaged to sing their songs in some house in the neighbourhood. Most of them are amateurs, and receive no payment for their performances, beyond an ample supply of *pān* and tobacco. Professional parties are sometimes paid a sum fixed in advance, generally about ten rupees for one performance. In some cases no fixed charge is made, but each member of the audience is expected to contribute a few pice in return for the entertainment. The money thus collected is called *pelā* in East Bengal, and *phirā* in West Bengal. The songs of the *pāile* party are sung to the accompaniment of cymbals, drums, violins, and nowadays the harmonium.

The songs are of the ballad type, and consist of material that has been handed down by word of mouth from one generation to another, suffering change, no doubt, upon the way, but, nevertheless, preserving, as the ballad does in all countries, most valuable information about the life and thought of earlier ages. The original authors of the ballads are often unknown, though sometimes at the end the "signature" of the author, or at least of the reputed author, is given in the same way as in the songs of the *Vaiṣṇava padakarttās*. But whoever the authors may have been, many of them were without any considerable knowledge of letters, and it is safe to say that until the present century most of the songs sung by these *pāile* parties had never been committed to writing.

In these more sophisticated times the entertainments given by these rustic minstrels are going out of fashion, and there is real danger of the songs they used to sing being lost as *gāyan* after *gāyan* dies without passing on his material to any successor. Fortunately, however, Dr. Dineschandra Sen, to whom all students of Bengali literature are already so much indebted, has turned his attention to the subject, and

is doing something to rescue this invaluable material from oblivion. In this he has had the help of a young man named Chandrakumār De.

Chandrakumār was born in a small village in the district of Mymensingh. His only education was received in an elementary village school, but he had a true poetic instinct and early realized the value of the rural songs of the Gāyans. Some magazine articles written by him on the subject brought him to the notice of Dr. Sen. with the result that in 1921 he was appointed by the University of Calcutta to make a collection of these songs under Dr. Sen's directions. He has travelled all over the countryside, with great perseverance in the face of great obstacles seeking out those who remember the old ballads. It has been the exception for him to find one man who knows a whole poem; he has had to piece the songs together bit by bit as he has been able to recover them from the lips of one and another with whose death they would otherwise have been lost for ever. The firstfruits of his labours are to be found in two volumes prepared by Dr. Dīnēśchandra Sen.¹ One of these volumes contains the Bengali text of eleven ballads recovered by Chandrakumār De, and in the other volume Dr. Sen has given an English paraphrase of the ballads. This paraphrase (it is not strictly a translation) gives a very inadequate idea of the charm of the original, as, no doubt, Dr. Sen himself would be the first to admit. In particular it does not reproduce the artless simplicity of the ballads, which are composed in the Bengali of the people, and have nothing in common with the Sanskritic vocabulary and the artificial style of such poets as Bhāratchandra.

The metre throughout is the common *payār* (8-6-8-6). The social customs and religious outlook reflected in the poems are very different from those of orthodox Hindu society. This is particularly noticeable in the freedom with which youths are represented as making love to maidens of an age at which the daughter of an orthodox Hindu family to-day would be safely married and hidden away behind the *purdā*. Glorification of the *Brāhmaṇ* priesthood and sectarian propaganda are conspicuous by their absence. Astrologers and soothsayers are caricatured and ridiculed and the caste spirit is very little in evidence. The explanation of all this is probably to be found in the fact that the

¹ *Eastern Bengal Ballads*, Mymensing. Ramtanu Lahiri Research Fellowship Lectures for 1922-24, in two parts. Compiled by Dīnēśchandra Sen, Rai Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt. With a foreword by the Earl of Ronaldshay. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1923.

area in which these poems had their origin was for a long time very little, if at all, affected by the Hindu revival under the Sen kings.

This part of the country developed and for many years maintained a distinctive culture of its own, in which one may trace three main elements—old Hinduism, as distinct from the Hinduism of the Hindu Revival, Buddhism, and an aboriginal element contributed by the Koches, Garos, and other non-Hindu tribes who are still to be found in large numbers in this area. It is this old-world culture and outlook that is reflected in these ballads.

One of the most charming of the ballads tells the story of *Chandrāvātī* and *Jayānanda* and their ill-fated love, a story which is still known and sung in one form or another all over Eastern Bengal. According to the “signature” at the end of this poem it was composed by *Nayānchānd*, probably *Nayānchānd Ghosh*, who is said to have lived in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Chandrāvātī herself is an historical character. She was the daughter of a *Brāhmaṇ* called *Baṁsidās*, who about 1575 wrote a *Manasār Bhāṣān* or *Manasāmāṅgal* in the composition of which *Chandrāvātī* herself collaborated with him.

Perhaps the best way in which to give the English reader some idea of the charming simplicity of the poem will be to give an English translation of some parts of it. No attempt has been made to rhyme the lines as in the original, but the metre has been reproduced as far as that is possible in English, and the version seems to be nearer both to the spirit and to the meaning of the Bengali poem than the more prosaic paraphrase of Dr. Sen. The poem opens in dramatic form. *Chandrāvātī*, who may be thought of as a girl in her 'teens, has come in the early morning to the edge of a tank to gather flowers for her father to use in the worship of *Śiva*. There she meets the youth *Jayānanda*, who is also gathering flowers.

CHANDRĀVĀTĪ

Who are you who break the branches,
You who pluck the blossoms
Of the champā and nāgeśvar,
Growing round this pond, sir?

JAYĀNANDA

There is your home, yonder my home;
Twixt them flows the river.
Tell me, maiden, why you gather
Garlands of the jasmine.

CHANDRĀVATĪ

I have come this morning early
 Here to gather flowers
 For my father, when he worships
 In the shrine of Śiva.

The poem now assumes a narrative form.

So they pluck the choicest blossoms
 Pluck the scarlet *jabā*.
Jayānanda gathers flowers,
 Lays them in her basket.
 Many kinds of flowers they gather
 Marigolds and *champās*
 And the choicest jasmine blossoms,
Mallikā and *mūlatī* ;
 And they pluck *aparājītā*
 And the fair *ātasi*,
 Gather all the flowers and blossoms,
 Light and happy hearted.

One by one, as days fly past them,
 Every morn and even
 Thus alone they gather flowers,
 With no eye to see them.
 While the maiden *Chandrāvati*
 Plucks the jasmine blossom,
 Her companion *Jayānanda*
 Bends the branches downward.
 Till one day she gathers flowers,
 With them weaves a garland.
 On the neck of *Jayānanda*
 Throws the garland gaily.

Jayānanda writes a letter
 To the maiden *Chandrā*,
 Writes a letter on a flower-leaf,
 Just a little letter.¹

In his letter *Jayānanda*
 Tells his heart's great longing—
 " Ever, ever plucking flowers
 You are weaving garlands
 On the garlands you have woven
 All alone I'm weeping.

Darksome grows the blossomed bower
 When you leave me, maiden.

¹ In the original " an epistle of two and a half letters ".

All I feel I dare not tell you,
 Dare not tell you, maiden ;
 All my secret love and longing
 Words can never utter.
 Stern and pious is your father,
 High and holy-minded,
 You, his daughter, *Chandrāvati*
 Are his precious treasure.
 I, an orphan live all lonely
 In my uncle's homestead.
 How can I pour out my secret
 Tell you all my longing ?
 From the day when first I saw you,
 Saw your face so moonlike,
 From that day I walk distracted,
 Maddened by your beauty.
 What is in your heart ? O tell me.
 Tell me truly, maiden.
 All I have to you I offer,
 If yourself you give me.
 From to-day with you I'll gather
 No more flowers and blossoms.
 Distant lands I seek, O maiden,
 Far away I wander.
 But if you to hope would bid me,
 Write to me a letter ;
 At your feet, a slave, O maiden,
 I will stay for ever."

At their next meeting *Jayānanda* hands the letter to *Chandrāvati*, and she ties it in the corner of her *śari*, and when her father is busy in the worship of *Śiva*, praying the god to send a worthy bridegroom for his daughter, she hides herself in her room to read the letter, weeping tears of mingled joy and sorrow. She writes a reserved and non-committal answer ; she is but a girl, and what can she say ? But all the while she is praying to the gods to grant her *Jayānanda* as a husband. She sends her reply to the youth, but does not herself go any more to the pond to meet him or to gather flowers, but contents herself with those growing in the courtyard of the house. Meanwhile a *ghatak*, or match-maker, calls on *Baṁśidās* and proposes *Jayānanda* as a suitable bridegroom for his daughter. The astrologers are called in, and after consulting the horoscopes of the two young people and examining their palms, they solemnly declare that a happier marriage

was never indicated by the planets—a rather bad miscalculation in view of the subsequent course of events. For meanwhile *Jayānanda* has seen a beautiful Musalman girl at a bathing *ghāt* on the bank of the River *Sundhā*, and, forgetting all about *Chandrāvati*, has fallen so completely in love with her that for her sake he gives up home and caste and all.

The news reaches *Chandrāvati* and her father only on the very eve of the day fixed so confidently by the astrologers for her marriage. For many days to all around she seemed like one turned to stone, but night after night she spends in weeping over the tender memories of the past, and her shattered hopes. In course of time fresh offers of marriage are made on behalf of one youth after another, but she declares that she has vowed she will never wed.

Marriage offers come in plenty
 Come from many places :
 Bamsīdās sits gravely pondering
 One by one these offers
 But the maiden *Chandrāvati*
 Speaks thus to her father,
 “ In this life I’ll never marry
 I will die a maiden.
 All my thoughts I give to *Śiva* ;
 At his feet I’ll worship.
 Father, grant me sorrow-stricken,
 This request I proffer.
 So the father grants her prayer
 Saying to his daughter,
 “ Worship *Śiva*. In his service
 Write a *Rāmāyaṇa*.”¹

One day there comes to *Chandrāvati*, as she is busy with her worship of *Śiva* and her work on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, a messenger bearing a letter of confession and penitence from *Jayānanda*, who begs for a last sight of her before he goes to meet his death. She consults her father and in accordance with his advice replies refusing to see the youth. But later he comes to the *Śiva* temple, where she is meditating and praying and calls to her to open the door. Absorbed in the trance-like devotion of *yoga*, she does not hear him ; so he takes the red blossoms growing beside the temple and with their juice writes upon the temple door this farewell letter :—

¹ The *Rāmāyaṇa* of *Chandrāvati* is still in existence. It has never been printed, but it is widely known amongst the women of the Mymensingh district and a manuscript copy of it has been secured for the Library of the Calcutta University.

" Playmate of my happy childhood.
 O my youth's companion.
Chandrāvatī, grant me pardon.
 For the wrong I did you.
 Since you could not grant the prayer
 Prayed by one so wicked
 I to you, my *Chandrāvatī*.
 Bid good-bye for ever."

Chandrāvatī reads the message
 Written by her lover,
 And she deems the shrine polluted
 By the sad inscription.
 In her arms she takes her pitcher.
 Walks down to the river.
 There to bathe and make atonement
 In the holy waters.
 Weeping, weeping *Chandrāvatī*
 Walks down to the river
 As the mighty tide intruding
 Brims the banks before her.
 To the riverside all lonely.
 Lonely comes the maiden.
 There the corpse of *Jayānanda*
 Floats upon the water.
 Ah, how fair he was to look on !
 Moonlike in his beauty !
 Like a full moon floating sadly.
 Floating on the water.
 And without an eyelid's flicker
 There all speechless stood she.
 As in trance she gazes on him
 By the silent river.

" All our laughter, all our weeping,
 Is a dream," sings *Nayānchānd*.
 " Ah ! the sorrow of each bosom
 How can others understand ? "

It is to be hoped that Dr. Sen will be able to carry out his intention of giving us still further specimens of these delightful ballads, for, apart altogether from the information they give of many vanished or fast-vanishing phases of Hindu life and thought, they are in themselves worthy of a high place in Bengali poetry, and in the treasury of the ballad literature of the world.

A SELECTION FROM THE T'UNG SHU BY CHOU TZU
WITH COMMENTARY BY CHU HSI

Translated from the Chinese with explanatory notes by

J. PERCY BRUCE

CHOU TZU'S TEXT

誠 上

- I. 誠 者。聖 人 之 本。
- II. 大 哉 乾 元。萬 物 資 始。誠 之 源 也。
- III. 乾 道 變 化。各 正 性 命。誠 斯 立 焉。
- IV. 純 粹 至 善 者 也。
- V. 故 曰。一 陰 一 陽 之 謂 道。繼 之
者 善 也。成 之 者 性 也。
- VI. 元 亨。誠 之 通。利 貞。誠 之 復。
- VII. 大 哉 易 也。性 命 之 源 乎。

TRUTH I

I. Truth¹ is the fundamental attribute of the Saint.

II. It is said, "Great is the Principle of Origin indicated by *Ch'ien*,² from it all things derive their beginning"; here Truth is presented to us as it is at its source.

III. It is said, "It is the law of *Ch'ien*, by its changes and transformations to impart the Nature and Decree in their perfection to each individual thing"; here Truth is presented to us as it is in its accomplishment.

IV. Thus Truth, in its beginning and in its consummation, is the pure and spotless, and the supremely good.

V. Therefore it is said, "The alternation of the negative and positive modes is what is termed Moral Law: the efflux which ensues is Goodness; the resultant entity is the Nature."

VI. The principles of Origin and Development are the procession of Truth, the principles of Utility and Potentiality are its retrocession.

VII. Great is the *Yi*!³ Here is the true source of the Nature and the Decree!

註 CHU HSI'S COMMENTARY

1. 誠者。至實而無妄之謂。天所賦物所受之正理也。人皆有之。而聖人之所以聖者無他焉。以其獨能全此而已。此書與太極圖相表裏。誠卽所謂太極也。
2. 此上二句。引易以明之。乾者。純陽之卦。其意爲健。乃天德之別名也。元。始也。資。取也。言乾道之元。萬物所取以爲始者。乃實理流出以賦於人之本。如水之有源。卽圖之陽動也。
3. 此上二句。亦易文。天所賦爲命。物所受爲性。言乾道變化。而萬物各得受其所賦之正。則實理於是而各爲一物之主矣。卽圖之陰靜也。
4. 純。不雜也。粹。無疵也。此言天之所賦。性之所受。皆實理之本然。無不善之雜也。
5. 此亦易文。陰陽。氣也。形而下者也。所以一陰一陽者。理也。形而上者也。道。卽理之謂也。繼之者。氣之方出。而未有所成之謂也。善則理之方行。而未有所立之名也。陽之屬也。誠之源也。成則物之已成。性則理之已立者也。陰之屬也。誠之立也。
6. 元。始。亨。通。利。遂。貞。正。乾之四德也。通者。方出而賦於物。善之繼也。復者。各得而藏於已。性之成也。此於圖已爲五行之性矣。
7. 易者。交錯代換之名。卦爻之立。由是而已。天地之間。陰陽交錯而實理流行。一賦一受於其中。亦猶是也。

1. Truth is the absolute reality, entirely free from falsity. It is that perfect ethical principle imparted by Heaven and received by the creature. All men possess it, but the saintliness of the Saint is because he alone can embody it in its completeness. Note: This work and the Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate are mutually explanatory; what in the latter is termed the Supreme Ultimate is here termed Truth.

2. These two sentences are cited from the *Yi*⁴ to illustrate the preceding statement. The *Ch'ien* hexagram represents the perfect *Yang*. Its meaning is strength, the distinctive attribute of Heaven. The passage defines the Principle of Origin which is the law of *Ch'ien*, and whence all things derive

their beginning, as the principle of reality which flows like a river from its source, and is imparted to man. This is what in the *Diagram* is termed the energy of the positive mode.

3. This quotation also is from the *Yi*.⁵ The Decree is Truth as imparted by Heaven, the Nature is that same Truth as received by the creature; ⁶ and because, as the passage states, owing to the operations of *Ch'ien* everything receives the Nature and Decree in their perfection, this principle of reality becomes the controlling principle in each individual thing. This is what in the *Diagram* is termed the inertia of the negative mode.

4. What Heaven imparts and what the creature receives is the ultimate principle of reality which is absolutely good and pure.

5. Also cited from the *Yi*.⁷ The negative and positive modes are the Ether and pertain to the material, but that which causes them to alternate is a principle and belongs to the immaterial. Moral Law is a principle.

The expression, "the efflux which ensues" refers to the moment of the emanation of the Ether before anything is formed; and the statement that this is goodness refers to the moment when the operation of Law has begun, but before there is any resultant entity. The statement is a description of the positive mode—Truth at its source.

The expression, "the resultant entity" refers to the individual being after it is formed; and the "Nature" is Law as it is after it has become the inherent principle in that individual being. The statement is a description of the negative mode—Truth in its accomplishment.⁸

6. *Yüan, Hêng, Li, Chêng*, the principles of Origin, Development, Utility, and Potentiality, are the four attributes of *Ch'ien*.⁹ The term "procession" refers to the going forth of Truth and its impartation to the creature, and corresponds to the "goodness which ensues" of the preceding section. The term "retrocession"¹⁰ refers to the reception of Truth and its assimilation by the creature, and corresponds to the "resultant nature". These four principles are the nature-principles¹¹ of the Five Agents represented in the *Diagram*.

7. *Yi* means interchange or alternation. Just as the diagrams of the *Yi Ching* and the varying positions of the individual lines in each hexagram are due to the interchange of the strong and weak lines, so the interchange of the Two Modes and the consequent all-pervading operations of the principle of reality throughout the universe, so that the Nature and Decree are both imparted to and received by the creature, originate in this *Yi* or Flux.¹²

NOTES

The Author, Chou Tun-i, whose literary name was Lien-hsi, was the founder of the Sung School of Philosophy, of which Chu Hsi was the final exponent. Lien-hsi was born in the year A.D. 1025. At the age of 30 Ch'êng Hao and Ch'êng I became his pupils. These two brothers handed on the teachings of their Master to posterity in two works which they edited and which are still extant, the one a diagram entitled

The Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate, with a monograph entitled *The Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained*, and the other *T'ung Shu*, also called *T'ung I Shu*, or *The Complete Interpretation of the Canon of Changes* (vide J. P. Bruce, *Chu Hsi and His Masters*, chap. ii). The selection here given is from the latter of the two works. Both works are published *in extenso* in the *Symposium of Philosophy* (性理大全), or in the *Digest* (性理精義). The *T'ung Shu* has been translated into French by Ch. de Harlez (*L'Ecole Philosophique Moderne de la Chine*), and into German by Wilhelm Grube (*T'ung-Sū des Cēu-tsi, mit Cū-Hī's Commenture*, etc.).

¹ The word (誠) here translated Truth is the same as that which in the *Doctrine of the Mean* is translated by Legge as Sincerity. Ku Hung-ming, however, in his translation of the same work, adopts the rendering Truth. It is to the teaching of this work, the *Doctrine of the Mean*, that Lien-tsi refers, and particularly to the passage in chap. xx, 18, which Ku translates thus: "Truth is the law of God. Acquired truth is the law of man. He who intuitively apprehends truth is one who, without effort, hits what is right, and without thinking understands what he wants to know; whose life is easily and naturally in harmony with moral law. Such a one is what we call a saint or a man of divine nature." (Ku Hung-ming, *Conduct of Life*, p. 37.) Compare also chaps. xxii and xxvi of the classic (*ibid.*, pp. 45, 47).

² *Ch'ien* is the first of the sixty-four hexagrams in the *Canon of Changes*. Composed entirely of the undivided, strong lines it is symbolical of Heaven as one of the Dual Powers, Earth being represented by *K'un*, composed entirely of the divided weak lines. In Chou Tzū's *Diagram* it is represented as the male element in nature. (See *Chu Hsi and His Masters*, p. 156.)

³ By both Grube and de Harlez "*Yi*" is understood to refer to the classic of that name, the *Canon of Changes*, as in the closing sentence of the *T'ai Chi T'u Shuo* (*Diagram of the Supreme Ultimate Explained*), in which it is undoubtedly the classic that is referred to, and I have myself so translated it in *Chu Hsi and His Masters*, p. 131. Here, apparently, it is not the classic but the *Yi* itself that is meant, as is manifestly the case in the sentence following, where the *Yi*, Change or Flux, is said to be the "source" of the Nature and Decree. Chu Hsi here explains *Yi* as though referring to the *Yi* itself, whereas in his commentary on the *T'ai Chi T'u Shuo* he definitely states that the word there refers to the classic.

⁴ *Yi Ching*, Imperial edition, bk. ix, f. 1; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvi, p. 213.

⁵ *Yi Ching*, Imp. ed., bk. ix, f. 2; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvi, p. 213.

⁶ Chu Hsi elsewhere (in the 集說) says: "The source is one, the river flowing from the source divides into streams and rivulets" (性理精義, bk. i, f. 18). So the one Absolute Reality is embodied in individual men and things.

⁷ *Yi Ching*, Imp. ed., bk. xiii, f. 14; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvi, pp. 355-6.

⁸ Thus the sentence, "The alternation of the negative and positive modes is what is termed Moral Law," applies to both the statements which precede it, the one concerning Truth as it is at its source, and the other as it is in its accomplishment; while the sentence, "The efflux which ensues is goodness," explains the former of these two statements only, and the sentence, "The resultant entity is the Nature," the latter. Hence there are three stages in the evolution of the individual being, the source, the process, and the result. The source is Moral Law, the principle which causes the internal alternating movement in the Absolute. The resultant is the Nature, which is the law of existence inherent in the individual being. The process is the efflux from the Absolute Being ensuing upon its alternating movement, the nexus between the source and the resultant entity. And this efflux—immanent and all-pervading, creative and transforming, life-giving and life-sustaining—is wholly goodness; there is no other Force at work in the evolutionary process but simply goodness.

⁹ *Yuan, Hêng, Li, Chêng*, are the first four words in the *Canon of Changes*. They are the four attributes of Heaven as symbolized in the *Ch'ien* hexagram. *Hêng* has two

meanings, "beauty" (佳) and "development" (通). Here the latter meaning is uppermost. *Li* is "utility" in the sense of adaptation to the end for which a thing is intended.

¹⁰ That is, Truth returning upon itself in order to realize itself in the individual being.

¹¹ Viz. Love, Righteousness, Reverence, and Wisdom.

¹² It has been shown that the sentence in the *Yi Ching*, "The efflux which ensues is goodness," expresses the all-pervading operation of Heaven's Moral Law, and its impartation to the creature; this is the Decree. The sentence, "The resultant entity is the Nature," refers to the reception of this same principle by the creature and its embodiment in material form; and in this aspect of it the principle is termed the Nature. And since this principle, which in the one case is called the Decree and in the other the Nature, is the emanation which ensues upon the inter-change (*Yi*) of the Two Modes, the *Yi* is said to be "the source of the Nature and Decree".

CHOU TZŪ'S TEXT

誠 下

- I. 聖。誠 而 已 矣。
- II. 誠。五 常 之 本。百 行 之 源 也。
- III. 靜 無 而 動 有。至 正 而 明 達 也。
- IV. 五 常 百 行。非 誠 非 也。邪 暗 塞 也。
- V. 故 誠 則 無 事 矣。
- VI. 至 易 而 行 難。
- VII. 果 而 確。無 難 焉。
- VIII. 故 曰。一 日 克 己 復 禮。天 下 歸 仁 焉。

TRUTH II

I. Saintliness may be expressed in the one word, Truth.

II. Truth is the root of the Five Cardinal Virtues and the source of all the Subsidiary Virtues.¹

III. Truth in repose is unknowable: ² it is when it is active that it becomes cognizable.³ In repose it is simply the ultimate, the principle of rectitude: but in activity it becomes luminous also and can be intellectually apprehended.

IV. The Five Cardinal Virtues and all the Subsidiary Virtues, if Truth be absent from them, are nothing: they are perverted, obscured, and obstructed.

V. Truth, therefore, is without effort.

VI. But though in itself most easy of performance, in practice it is found to be difficult.

VII. If, however, it be grasped with resolution and firmness, all difficulty disappears.

VIII. Therefore it is said, "If for one day there be the mastery of self and the return to right principle the whole Empire will be restored to the practice of Love."⁴

CHU HSI'S COMMENTARY

1. 聖人之所以聖。不過全此實理而已。即所謂太極者也。
2. 五常。仁義禮智信。五行之性也。百行。孝悌忠信之屬。萬物之象也。實理全。則五常不虧。而百行脩矣。
3. 方靜而陰。誠固未嘗無也。以其未形而謂之無耳。及動而陽。誠非至此而後有也。以其可見而謂之有耳。靜無則至正而已。動有然後明與達者可見也。
4. 非誠則五常百行皆無其實。所謂不誠無物者也。靜而不正。故邪。動而不明不達。故暗且塞。
5. 誠則衆理自然。無一不備。不待思勉。而從容中道矣。
6. 實理自然。故易。人僞奪之。故難。
7. 果者陽之決。確者陰之守。決之勇。守之固。則人僞不能奪之矣。
8. 克去己私。復由天理。天下之至難也。然其機可一日而決。其效至於天下歸仁。果確之無難如此。

1. What makes the saint to be a saint is neither more nor less than the perfect embodiment by him of this principle of reality, which in Chou Tzū's *Diagram* is termed the Supreme Ultimate.

2. The Five Cardinal Virtues are love, righteousness, reverence, wisdom, and sincerity, the nature-principles of the Five Agents. The subsidiary virtues include such virtues as filial and fraternal devotion, loyalty, and fidelity, and correspond to the myriad forms in nature. When the principle of reality has full play the Five Cardinal Virtues are perfected and the subsidiary virtues are cultivated.

3. When there is inertia there is the negative mode. But Truth in fact is never non-existent (*wu*). The word *wu* is used to express the state in which Truth is not manifest.⁵ When energy takes the place of inertia then there is the positive mode. This does not mean, however, that Truth then comes into existence, but that Truth then becomes cognizable; and to express this the word *yu* is used. When Truth is in the state of inertia and unknowable (*wu*) it is simply the ultimate principle, the principle of rectitude; when it is in the state of energy and cognizable (*yu*) it is luminous and can be intellectually apprehended.

4. Without Truth the virtues have no reality. As has been said, "Without Truth nothing can exist."⁶ Applying this truism to the statements of the preceding paragraph, to be in repose and without rectitude is to be perverted, to be active and at the same time non-luminous and inapprehensible is to be obscured and obstructed.

5. Where Truth exists all the natural principles of rectitude are present; not one is lacking. Thus, in their operation there is no need for thought or effort, but spontaneously and naturally they accord with Moral Law.⁷

6. The principle of reality is spontaneous and therefore easy of performance, but it is captured by human perversity and so becomes difficult.

7. Resolution is determination in action, characteristic of the positive mode: firmness is steadfastness in decision, characteristic of the negative mode. With the courage born of determination and the strength born of steadfastness human perversity has no power to rob us of that spontaneity of action which is the natural property of Truth.⁸

8. To put away one's own selfishness and follow after Divine Law is the most difficult thing to achieve in the government of the Empire; but if for one single day, at the very springs of government, there is determination in its accomplishment, the result will be no less than the restoration of the Empire to the practice of Love—so free from difficulty will the task become through resolution and firmness!

NOTES

¹ Lit. "the hundred varieties of conduct."

² Lit. "non-existent."

³ Lit. "existent."

⁴ See *Analects of Confucius*, xii, 1.

⁵ When Truth is in the state of inertia and unknowable it is in the state of pure being (vide Grube, *T'ung-Sū des Čeū-tsi*, p. 13). Ch'êng I says, "Though the eye may not be seeing and the ear not hearing, the faculty of seeing and hearing are there, and when they do see and hear they are the same eye and ear as when in repose; it is not that when in repose they have ceased to be" (性理大全, bk. ii, f. 10).

⁶ *Doctrine of the Mean*, xxv, 2.

⁷ Chu Hsi says elsewhere, "When it is said that Truth is without activity the meaning is the same as in the passage in the *Yi Ching*, which, referring to the *Yi*

(Change or Flux), says, 'It is still and without movement.' " (*Yi Ching*, Imp. ed., bk. xiv, f. 13; *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xvi, p. 370). Although the principle of reality in its operation comprises both movement and rest, its essential substance is without activity (性理大全, bk. ii, f. 13). Ch'ên Pei-hsi illustrates thus: The ordinary man is like a traveller who needs to keep his eyes on the track in order to walk in the centre. The Saint is like the man who does not need to use his eyes in this way, but naturally strikes the middle of the road (性理大全, bk. ii, ff. 11-12).

* Chu Hsi adds (in the 集說): "Realizing how easy of performance Truth is in itself, we shall be resolute in the practice of it; realizing how difficult it may become we shall be steadfast in our firmness of purpose. With such resoluteness and firmness what difficulty can there be?" (性理精義, bk. i, f. 20).

SOME REMARKS ON INDIAN MUSIC

By S. G. KANHERE

I

MUSIC is the natural expression of man's feelings. It expresses the sublime and beautiful inherent in man. It comes spontaneously to all persons in all conditions at all times and in all countries. "The very fact of musical utterance," says Sir Hubert Parry, "implies a genuine expansion of the nature of the human being and is in a varying degree a trustworthy revelation of the particular likings, tastes, and sensibilities of the being that gives vent to it."

* * * *

Music has been in great favour with the Hindus from the earliest times. Even the Vedas (the Hindu scriptures) treat of this divine art. The enormous extent to which the Hindus have cultivated this science is proved by their attainment in it. But, unfortunately, the masterpiece on this "science and art combined", the Gandharva Veda, is lost, and references to it in Sanskrit literature alone remain to point to the essential principles on which the Hindu science of music was based.

* * * *

In India, like all other sciences and arts, music was developed to the full seven notes, even to half and quarter notes, ages ago. India led in music, instrumental and vocal, as well as in dancing and in drama.

Many Westerners labour under the idea that Indian music is nothing but mere noise. That there is no rhyme, no rhythm, and no harmony in it. But if they experience a little, if they have patience and if they lend a sympathetic ear, they will find that there is rhyme, there is harmony, and that it is a highly developed and systematized art.

* * * *

There are several books written on Indian music. The oldest authors of the existing books are Nârada, Bharata, Hanumān. These sages have built the system on the scanty material they found in the Gândharva Veda, which is lost. The Nâtyashâstra of Bharata belongs to the fifth century A.D., the Sangit Ratnâkar of Sârangadeva belongs to the thirteenth, while Sangit Pârijâta of Ahobal Pandit is as recent as belonging to the eighteenth century. Quite recently there have been several books by Indians and by Europeans in English and in vernacular languages.

II

There are two principal systems or schools of music in India. One, the Dravidian or Karnatic system, and the other, called Hindusthani school. The first is confined to the south and east, while the latter to the north and west of India. The Karnatic is quite pure and unaffected by any foreign influence, the Hindusthani school has gone through many phases. It is chiefly dominated by Persian music, which had been introduced into the land by Mohammadans. As a result of that influence its original purity is lost to a certain extent, yet in the style of songs (compositions) known as Dhrupad, Dhamâr, Prabandha, etc., one may still find the pure Aryan (Hindu) style. The Karnatic system is based upon Hanumân school, the Hindusthani upon that of the Bharatmata. The two systems differ in some points, i.e. in scales, in parent scales, in names of the Râgas, in distribution of Shruti intervals; both are trying, however, to accept what is good from each other. The Karnatic system pays much attention to the strictness of time-measures, while the Hindusthani is keen on melody. This article is concerned with the Hindusthani system as it stands at the present time.

* * * *

The Sanskrit term for music is “sangit”, which is a collective term, embracing three arts—vocal music, instrumental music, and dancing. Vocal music, being the chief among the three arts, commands the title.

There are seven primary notes. Śhadja, Rishabha, Gandhâra, Madhyama, Panchama. Dhaivata, Nishâda. The abbreviations of these seven notes used for sol-faing purposes, are “sâ, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni”.

The group of these seven notes is called Saptaka (octave). The human voice being capable of singing in three octaves, the three *saptakas* are named *mandra* (lower); *madhya* (middle), and *Târ* (higher). Every Indian instrument can produce these three octaves easily.

These notes are equivalent to :—

c	d	e	f	g	a	b
sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni

Out of these seven notes the sa (c) and pa (g) are *shuddha* (pure) or *Achala* (immovable); that is they are neither sharpened nor flattened. The rest of the five notes, ri, ga, ma, dha, ni (d, e, f, a, b), can be modified, flat or sharp. The ma (f) becomes sharp when modified,

while ri, ga, dha, ni (d, e, a, b) become flat. The *shuddha* (pure) scale is the same as the European major scale from *sâ* to *sâ* (c to c).

There are partial tones called *shruties* between these notes. The subject of shruties is complicated, and artists and scholars have disputed over the number and distribution of these shruties. The generally accepted number is twenty-two, and their distribution is :—

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni
c	d	e	f	g	a	b
4	3	2	4	4	3	2

The measurement of these *shruties* is that two shruties make a just semi-tone, three a minor-tone, and four *shruties* make a major tone.

There are three *Grâmas* (collection of notes) with seven *Murchhanâs* (string of notes) each, and *jâtis* (mode). The idea about the *Grâma*, *murchhanâ*, and *jâti* belong to the past. The present system has discarded these distinctive features of the art. In olden times the *Grâma* showed a group of notes, the *Murchhanâ* gave the lowest note of the string chosen from the *Grâma*, and the *Jâti* gave a character to it (mode).

The present method had been practised several centuries. It has been evolved out of the confusing mass of *Grâma*, *Murchhanâ*, etc. The line of demarcation between the present system and the past lies in the *Ṣhadja* tuning, which has superseded its rival the *Dhaivat* tuning. It requires no acquaintance of *shruties*, or their distribution. It requires the correct knowledge of the order of major and minor tones in every scale. The *ṣhadja* or *sâ* (c) is the basic note ; the starting point of all scales, and all other notes rise relatively in proportion.

The *Grâmas* were three in number. *Ṣhadja grâma*, *Madhyama grâma*, and *Gandhâra grâma*. The *Gandhâra grâma* is sung only in heaven, the *sa* and *ma grâmas* are sung on earth. The difference of shruti intervals make the difference of grâma. The intervals of *sa-grâma* are :—

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni
4	3	2	4	4	3	2
c	d	e	f	g	a	b

Now, if *pa* (g) is lowered by one shruti and *dha* (a) is raised by one, that makes *Madhyama-grâma*. The intervals of *Madhyama-grâma* are :—

ma	pa	dha	ni	sa	ri	ga
4	3	4	2	4	3	2
f	g	a	b	c	d	e

This Madhyama Grâma in shadja grama equivalents will be :—

	sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni
4	3	4	2	4	3	2	
	c	d	e	f	g	a	b

In adjusting the notes of the Madhyama Grâma, the pa (g) is to be lowered by one shruti : the interval between ma (f) and pa (g) is of four shruties. This is a major tone and quite a wide interval. The lowering of pa by one shruti gives the measurement of one shruti therefore this is called the *Pramâna-shruti*.

Both Shadja Grâma and Madhyama Grâma have seven notes, but the intervals are different. To compose a melody in either Grâma a certain range must be selected out of the string of notes. This act was known as the choice of Murchhanâ. The Murchhanâ was a scale, distinguished by its lowest note. Each Grâma having seven notes to the octave, each had seven Murchhanâs.

The use of these Grâmas and Murchhanâs shows that there was no system of drone. At present they have the drone of sa (c) and pa (g), or of sa (c) and ma (f), and all scales are made to start from sa (c). It is an easy method of making so many scales of different varieties. It saves the trouble of finding out the Grâma, then the Murchhanâ and then the Jâti.

* * * * *

Many Indian instruments of Vina-type are having frets to them. Those which require no shifting of the frets are called *Achala* (immovable). But some have fewer frets which are shifted and adjusted according to the requirement of the Râga. Instruments of this kind are called *chala* (with frets movable). The frets are fixed, as a rule, in this way. The open wire on which the melody is played is tuned to the pitch of perfect fourth ma (f). The open wire gives the *shudda* ma. The first fret gives the ma (f) sharp. The second fret pa. The third and fourth dha flat and shuddha ; the fifth and sixth give ni flat and shuddha. The seventh fret gives the sa (the tonic c) of the middle octave. The eighth gives ri shuddha and the ninth ga shuddha. Ma (f) shuddha and sharp have separate frets. The twelfth fret gives pa (g). Fret Nos. 13, 14, 15 represent dha, ni, and sâ. This sa (c) is of higher octave. Nos. 16, 17, 18 give the notes ri, ga, and ma of the târ saptaka (higher octave). These frets of the *chala* instruments are slipped up and down as required. To sharpen the note given by a fret, the wire is pressed hard behind the fret, or is dragged to one side to heighten the tension of it. An interval, however minute

it may be, sharp or flat, can be produced on any fretted instrument. Not only that, but sometimes the artist can produce a note, two or three notes higher than a particular fret should give. Thus, by dragging the wire on sa fret, he can produce ri or ga or even ma (f). This action, *mend* as it is called, gives another charm to the music in that it glides from one note to another without a break. The effect of this is graceful.

Instruments played with the bow, generally have no frets. The fingering of these instruments is absolutely guess work. By stopping the wire, as on the violin, they produce a tone, however minute.

The instruments of *Sanâi* (e.g. oboe or flute) type, have no convenience of this kind. The degree of sound is got by blowing it hard or soft.

* * * * *

The notes separated by thirteen or nine shruties are said to be consonant notes. This amounts to saying that sa and pa (c, g), ri and dha (d, a), and ga and ni (e, b), are in consonance with each other. The ma (f) is a perfect fourth, and is in consonance with sa (c) in downward series.

The *Svaras* (notes) are divided again into four varieties. The first is called *Vâdi*, the speaking or prominent note. The second is called *samvâdi*, or the consonant note with the *Vâdi*. These two notes have the interval of nine and thirteen shruties between them. Notes between which the interval is of two shruties are called *Virâdi* (conflicting or discordant), and the rest are called *Anuvâdi* or assenant with the *Vâdi*.

* * * * *

III

The most distinguishing feature of Indian music is the system of Râga. The word Râga is derived from the Sanskrit root *Ranj*, to colour. In the language of music the arrangement of notes which colour or affect certain emotion of the mind is called Râga. The definition of Râga given in Sanskrit books is "that a particular combination or relation of several notes which is pleasing to the ear is called Râga". Many conflicting explanations of Râga given by different scholars converge to the same centre, i.e. the pleasant effect of the arrangement of notes. Here we may argue that an arrangement of notes which is pleasant to one person may not be so to the other. But the writers on the subject have devoted their powers and able pens to the popularizing of the most difficult and complicated theory of music and have built up a most elaborate and ingenious system.

We have a fanciful list of Râgas and Râginies, and their large and ever-increasing family.

These Râgas are sung at definite times and hours of the day or night. Some are sung in particular seasons. Some have received their names from the name of the country, such as Kalingdâ, Multâni. Some are named after their inventor's names, such as "Miyâkâ Malhâr", etc.

Leaving aside the innumerable local Râgas, if we take only those which are in practice at the present time, and recognized all over the country, they will number about two hundred or so.

It will be a hard and tremendous task to remember every scale which separates one Râga from the other. The arrangement of notes which gives a Râga its character is called Thât, or the array of notes. If we take about ten scales (although many more can be formed) and treating them as parent scales, they will cover all the Râgas in practice. The classification under different scales is a matter of convenience for the student of Indian Râgas, and it is not based on any natural musical laws, nor has any ancient authority to support it. One scale will serve as a parent scale from which many Râgas can claim their origin. And this is the origin of the mythology which gives the census of so many thousands of Râgas and their wives and sons and daughters. I need not repeat here that these scales were built in olden times on the Grâmas and Jâties. The ten typical parent scales are :—

- 1, Bilâval ; 2, Kalyân ; 3, Khamâj ; 4, Bahirav ; 5, Purvi ; 6, Mârvâ ; 7, Bahiravi ; 8, Asâvari ; 9, Kâfi ; 10, Todi.

Bilâval, the first scale, is formed by :—

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa
c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c

All notes *shuddha* (natural).

The Kalyân scale requires only sharpening of ma (f).

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa
c	d	e	f#	g	a	b	c

When the ni (b) the sixth note, lowered by a semi-tone, it makes the third scale, the Khamâj.

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa
c	d	e	f	g	a	b♭	c

¹ This classification and the detailed description of the two Râgas is taken from Mr. V. N. Bhatkhande's book entitled "Hindusthâni Sangit Paddhati".

The Bahirav scale requires ri and dha (d and a) flat.

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa
c	d \flat	e	f	g	a \flat	b	c

Adding sharp ma (f) to the Bahirav scale will make the scale of Purvi, the fifth scale.

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa
c	d \flat	e	f \sharp	g	a \flat	b	c

The scale of Mârvâ has ri (d) flat and pa (g) silent.

sa	ri	ga	ma	dha	ni	sa
c	d \flat	e	f \sharp	a	b	c

The seventh scale of Bahiravi has all notes flat, the sâ and pa (c and g) are unchangeable of course.

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa
c	d \flat	e \flat	f	g	a \flat	b \flat	c

On the pianoforte if the scale from e to e played, using only the white keys, will make the scale of Bahiravi.

The eighth scale Asâvari, has the ri shuddha (d), the rest of the notes are those of Bahiravi.

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa
c	d	e \flat	f	g	a \flat	b \flat	c

Altering the dha (a) from flat to shuddha in the Asâvari scale, makes the scale of Kâfi.

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa
c	d	e \flat	f	g	a	b \flat	c

The tenth scale is a typical scale of Todi. It is very hard to sing, as it has peculiar intervals. It is formed with ri, ga, dha (d, e, a) flat, ma (f) sharp, and ni (b) shuddha.

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa
c	d \flat	e \flat	f \sharp	g	a \flat	b	c

These are the ten parent scales. Several Râgas are derived from each of these. The derived Râgas must differ in some respects from their parent scale, as well as among themselves, otherwise they cannot be distinguished from one another. But there is a musical affinity between the parent scale and those coming under that scale.

Under the Bilâval scale come Râgas like Bihâg, Kakubh, Durgâ.

Râgas like Hamir, Kedâr, Kâmoda, Shyâma, Chhâyânât, and others come under the scale of Kalyân.

Under the Khamâj scale come the popular Râgas like Zinjoti, Tilang, Tilaka-Kâmoda, Jayjayvanti.

Bahirav scale takes under it Râgas like Kâlingdâ. Jogi. Râmkali, Bibhâs. Lalit, Gunakri, etc. The Purvi scale offers its scale to the Râgas like Shree, Jetâshree, Gauri, Puriyâ-dhanâshree, etc. The Mârvâ scale covers Râgas Hindôl, Puriyâ, Panchama, Gaud Pancham.

The Bahiravi scale is used for playing Râgas like Mâlkos, Janglâ, Dhanâshree, etc.

The Asâvari scale is a very popular scale. It has Râgas under it, Jivanpuri, Gandhâri, Deshi, etc. The Kafi scale covers Râgas Suhâ. Bhimpalâs, Sâranga. and the like.

The Todi scale is difficult to sing, and the Râgas under it are of the same character. They are Gujari, Multâni, etc.

* * * * *

The following method will show how different Râgas spring up from the parent scale.

The scale of Bilâval is :—

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa	ni	dha	pa	ma	ga	ri	sa
c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c	b	a	g	f	e	d	c

Omitting the ma (f) in ascendance will make :—

Alliyâ Bilâval

sa	ri	ga	pa	dha	ni	sa	ni	dha	pa	ma	ga	ri	sa
c	d	e	g	a	b	c	b	a	g	f	e	d	c

Dropping ma and ni (f and b) both in ascend and descend will make :—

Deshkâr

sa	ri	ga	pa	dha	sa	dha	pa	ga	ri	sa
c	d	e	g	a	c	a	g	e	d	e

Omitting ri and dha (d and a) in ascend will make :—

Bihâg

sa	ga	ma	pa	ni	sa	ni	dha	pa	ma	ga	ri	sa
c	e	f	g	b	c	b	a	g	f	e	d	c

I shall give, for example, a Râga or two in full. Râga Bihâg comes under Bilâval scale.

The scale of Bilâval is the shuddha scale. It is this :—

sa	ri	ga	ma	pa	dha	ni	sa
c	d	e	f	g	a	b	c

The scale of Bihâg is the same as Bilavâl, but it is pentatonic in ascendance, and with all notes in descendance. The ri and dha are omitted in upward course. The scale will be :—

sa	ga	ma	pa	ni	sa	ni	dha	pa	ma	ga	ri	sa
c	e	f	g	b	c	b	a	g	f	e	d	c

This Bihâg is a night-sung Râg. and every artist knows it. The Vâdi note is ga (e) and Samvâdi is ni (b). The Vâdi note is the most frequented note in the melody. Although all notes are employed in the downward course, however, the ri and dha (d. a) are very weak. These two notes, if not used exactly as they should be, the Bihâg will lapse into Bilâval, its parent-scale. The singers, while descending, sa ni, dha pa. ma ga, ma pa ma ga. ri sa (c b, a g, f e. f g f e, c) linger a little on notes ni (b) and ga (e) and soften the effect of or weaken dha (a) and ri (d). Bihâg has its individual character, and it is not difficult to distinguish it from the other Râgas of like character. The characteristic phrase of Bihâg is "ga ma pa (e f g), ma ga (f e), ri sa (d c)". This very phrase may be used in many other Râgas, but in "ma ga (f e), ri sa (d c)", the ga (e) will never tolerate itself to be a halting point except in Bihâg. The absolute omission of dha and ri (a and d) in the descending series of Bihâg, will allow many shades of many other Râgas to intrude.

"Sa ni (c b), pa sa ni (g c b), pa (g) ga pa ga (e g e), sa (c)." is the life and soul phrase of a famous Râga *shankarâ*, while "pa ga (g e), pa ga (g e), sa (c)," is common in both *shankarâ* and *mâlâshree*. There are many other devices to separate these two Râgas from Bihâg. But being Hepta-tonic in descendence, the Bihâg should be expressed by its own figure. The frequent phrase which characterizes Bihâg is "ga ma pa (e f g), ma ga (f e), ri sa (d c)". *Shankarâ*, with no ma (f) in it at all, and *mâlâshree*, with sharp ma (f♯) in it, will separate themselves from Bihâg.

The Āroha (ascend) and Avaroha (descend) of Bihâg are very simple and easy. They should be sung "ni (b) sa (c), ga ma pa (e f g), ni sa (b c)". The ni (b) being the Vâdi note, should be used very frequently. And the use of ni (b) is remarkable, and worth studying. It is a charming place when the singer makes a halt on the ni (b). "Ma ga (f e), sa ni (c b), pa ni (g b), sa (c)." "Sa ni (c b), pa (g), ni sa (b c) ni pa (b g), ga ma pa (e f g), ga ma ga (e f e), ri sa ni (d c b)." Repeated practice of this phrase is essential if one is to sing Bihâg successfully. The time allotted to sing Bihâg is the second watch of the night.

Many artists employ sharp ma (f) in Bihâg. The sharp ma (f) does not become a destructive element in the night-sung Râgas : especially in those which take ga and ni (e b) shudda. The sharp ma (f) does not become antagonistic if used properly as a discordant note.

Another example may be given of Râga *Paraj*, which is under *Purvî* scale.

The scale of Purvi is :—

sa ri ga ma pa dha ni sa
c dh e f# g a# b c

The scale of Paraj is exactly the same. The principal difference between Paraj and Purvi is that the latter is manifest in the lower tetra-chord, while the former is in the higher. Paraj reveals itself in its descending movement. The Āroha and Avaroha (ascend and descend) are regular. Some artists prefer to pass over the ri (d) in ascend. The higher tonic rules supreme in Paraj and therefore it stands as a Vâdi in the Râga. Paraj requires a tact in singing it. It should be sung after the Purvi style. The frequent phrases of Paraj are “ni sa ri ni sa (b c d b c), ni dha pa (b a# g), ma pa (f# g), dha pa (a# g), ga ma ga (e f# e)”. Care must be taken that not a single note in the descending course should be slurred. *Paraj* is very similar to *Vasanta*. A tiny phrase, “Pa dha ni (g a# b), dha ni sa (a# b c), ni dha pa (b a# g),” will establish the character of Paraj. This Râga is not of an imposing character, and therefore it should not be sung slowly. If one stops a little on the higher tonic and then sweeps the notes “in dha pa (b a# g)”, this action will reveal Paraj at once. The ascending series of Paraj is “ni sa ga ga (b c e e), ma dha ni sa (f a# b c), sa ri ni sa (c d b c)”, and “ni ri ga ri sa (b d e d c), sa ri ni sa ni dha pa (c d b c b a g)”. Some artists use ma shuddha (f) very ingeniously. Great singers intentionally show the pa (g) with special emphasis in the ascend of Paraj. But it is not very easy. The figure “ma dha ni sa (f a b c)”, is common to both *Paraj* and *Vasanta*. But it can be substituted by “ma dha sa (f a c)”, or ma dha ri sa (f a d c) in *Vasanta*. In Paraj the “ma dha ni sa” (f a b c) is so swift that the listener can hardly think of *Vasanta*.

Having no imposing character, this Râga has all songs of frivolous character. If sung slowly, or slurred in the downward course, Paraj will tend proportionately to *Vasanta*. Great artists do not sing this Râga unless they are asked to do so. The lower octave is scarcely entered in Paraj.

The Râga is extremely popular, and very easy to sing. It is sung just after midnight. It is a kind of junction Râga. All Râgas that are sung after Paraj take shuddha ma (f), until the Todi Râga comes to the field. Todi is sung in the morning.

* * * * *

Râgas can be divided in four groups. Sampurna or Hepta-tonic, employing all notes of the octave ; Shadava, or Hexa-tonic, employing six notes : Audava or Penta-tonic, of only five notes ; and Sankirna,

or mixed, sometimes called *Asampurna* (imperfect). i.e. some notes may be omitted either in ascent or descent.

The scales of different *Râgas* given above are not strictly correct, but only the nearest approach. They are not stated in their exact intonation. For instance, the *ri flat* (*dh*) given for the *Râga Bahirav* scale is flatter and should be called *Atikomâl ri*. The *ni* (*b*) of *Bihâg* is stated to be *shuddha*, but it is, in fact, sharpened to a point midway between *shuddha ni* and *sa*. The sharp *ma* (*f*) of *Todi* and that of *Paraj* are not the same. The *ni* (*d*) of *Deshakâr*, and that of *Bhup* are not of the same pitch, although both are said to be *shuddha*. But this is the question of intonation. By no means the equal temperament will suit Indian music. Able writers, like Mr. Clements and Mr. Fox-Strangways, have written valuable works and the reader should refer to them in this connexion.

* * * * *

It will be noticed from the list of the *Râgas* above that each group reveals a distinct characteristic and we can see the musical affinity which brings the *Râgas* in each group together. This classification is based, of course, on practical theory rather than on any ancient authority.

* * * * *

The songs are composed in several different styles. The principal varieties are *Khyâl*, *Tappâ*, *Dhrupad*, *Dhamâr*, *Trivat*, *Tillânâ*, *Gazel*, *Hori*, *Thumari*, *Chataranga*, etc.

Khyâl style is very popular, and one that affords an extensive field to the artist to improvise numberless figures and graces of the *Râga* he is singing. The original song is short and will be sung in five or seven minutes.

Tappâ is like *Khyâl*, but its movement is not so manly as of *Khyâl*. It is sung with many small figures.

Dhrupad is a type of composition most vigorous. It is sung in the metres (*Tâl*) like *Chautâl*, *Dhamâr*, *Surfâk*, etc. This must be sung with great strength and sustained breath. They have a saying that a man with a strength of a lion can sing *Dhrupad*. The *Dhrupad* style gives a great scope to the drummer to show his art.

Dhamâr—a composition of *Dhrupad* type, but the metre is necessarily *Dhamâr*. Perhaps the name of the metre is given to the song. The rhythm metre is very difficult and complicated. The rest of the styles are not very important, but they are sung for the momentary effect.

Every song has two sections. The first section is called *Astâi*, and the second the *Antarâ*. Traditional *Dhrupad* has three or four sections ; they are called *Astâi*, *Antarâ*, *Abhoga*, and *Sanchâri*. Every section occupies a different part of the octave. But all come to join the *Astâi*.

The *Hori*, *Chatarang*, have many sections. But the sections of *Hori* all have the same tune, except the first.

IV

ORNAMENT OR GRACE

Indian music is full of ornaments which are essential to a system which is based entirely on melodic principle. These ornaments are several in number. The text books give a long list of them, of which the principal ones are as follows :—

Ālāpna or *Ālāp*.—This is a kind of prelude to the song. The singer, before he starts his actual song, sings some free airs without time measure : these free airs are only improvisations practised on the *Râga* he is going to sing. In this action some meaningless syllables are employed, such as *ta*, *na*, *de*, *re*, *na*, *a*, *la*, etc. These snatches are quite extemporized, still they must be or are in strict accord with the *Râga*. These free snatches prepare the audience to listen to the *Râga* in which the song is composed.

Tâna.—This is a most favourite ornament, and it shows the skill and training of the artist. The word *Tâna* is derived from the Sanskrit root *Tan*, to stretch, or to extend. A long string of notes, of varying degree, ascending and descending, is sung to any vowel *â* or *i* which happens to be the ending vowel of a word in the song. The time is marked by the drummer. This and other ornaments start after the whole song has been once gone through. Small *Tânas*, composed of three or four notes, often find their place in the original song. But the elaborate structure is built up after it is sung once. The song is merely a skeleton, and the artist is free to decorate it with as many ornaments as he can. And therein lies his skill.

Jamjamâ, *Murki*, *Gita-kadi*, *Ghasit*, etc.—These graces mostly belong to instrumental music.

Jamjamâ is a kind of trill. Two successive notes such as *ri sa* (*d c*), *ma ga* (*f e*), *pa ma* (*g f*), are repeated as often as the melody-wire permits.

Murki and *Gita-kadi* are practically of the same character. *Murki* is a figure of three notes (successive) played very quickly, and *Gita-kadi* with four notes.

Ghasit.—After striking a wire at a certain fret, the wire is gradually stretched, and then the finger is suddenly moved along the wire to another fret.

Gamak.—A note is struck on a certain fret and a glide is made to the next higher note of the scale by stretching the wire gradually.

* * * * *

V

TĀLA (THE TIME-MEASURE)

What metre is to the poetry, Tāla is to music. Tāla is the strength giving perfect balance to the melody. To indicate the time-measure clapping and certain motions of the hands are employed. There are three degrees of speed in Indian music, Vilambita (slow), Madhya (middle, or moderate), and Druta (quick). Whatever the speed is each *Avarta* (measure) consists of a fixed number of units of duration, called mâtṛâ (unit). The time is measured in this way :—

				European equivalent.
Anndruta	$\frac{1}{4}$	mâtṛâ (unit)	.	semi-quaver.
Druta	$\frac{1}{2}$	.. . . .	.	quaver.
Laghu	1	. . . . .	.	crotchet.
Guru	2	.. . . .	.	minim.
Pluta	3	.. . . .	.	minim and crotchet.
Kakapada	4	.. . . .	.	semi-breve.

Each *Avarta* (measure or bar) has certain definite Vibhāgas (parts). One of these Vibhāgas takes principal beat, the others take secondary beat, and some no beat at all. The Vibhāga with no beat is called Kâla or *Khâli* (empty). Principal beat is called *Sam* (strong accent), and other beats are called simply Tālas. The *Sam* must always be on the Tāla (beat) and not on Kâla. The measuring of the number of mâtṛâs in each Vibhāga and in each *Avarta* is peculiar. Each Vibhāga (part) of the *Avarta* (measure) is indicated by the clapping of the hands and the rest of the mâtṛâs of the same Vibhāga are recorded by touching the left hand with a finger of the right hand for each mâtṛâ. The Kâla or *Khâli* (empty) is shown by throwing both hands in the air or clapping the back of the right hand on the left. An example may be given to illustrate this method.

The Tāla called Tintâl or Titâl with sixteen mâtṛâs, making an *Avarta* which contains four Vibhāgas.

1 . . . 5 . . . 9 . . . 13 . . .
x xx x 0

1-5-9 are the beats, which are shown by clapping both hands. The 13 is an empty (Khâli) beat, and is shown by throwing both hands in the air, or by silence. The rest of the mât-râs are recorded by fingers. No. 5 is the strong accent ; Nos. 1 and 9 are secondary or weak.

There are a number of time-patterns. The most popular of them are as follows :—

Tintâl or Trivat	1 . . . 5 . . . 9 . . . 13 . . .	
	x . . . xx . . . x . . . 0	
Zampâ	1 . 3 . . 6 . 8 . .	10 mât-râs.
	xx x . . 0 x . .	
Surfâk	1 . 3 . 5 . 7 . 9 .	10 ..
	xx 0 x x 0 . .	
Chautâl	1 . 3 . 5 . 7 . 9 . 11 .	12 ..
	xx 0 . x 0 . x . x	
Dhamâr	1 . . . 6 . . . 11 . . .	14 ..
	xx . . . x . . . x	
Adâ chautâl	1 . 3 . 5 . 7 . 9 . 11 . 13 .	14 .
	xx x 0 x 0 x 0	
Deepchandi. Zumrâ when quick.		
Zumrâ	1 . . 4 . . . 8 . . 11 . . .	14 ..
	xx x . . 0 x . .	
Tevrâ	1 . . 4 . 6 .	7 ..
	xx x x . .	
Dâdrâ	1 . 3 . 5 .	6 ..
	xx x 0 . .	

It will be noticed that Zampâ and Surfâk have the same number of mât-râs in an Avarta, but the balance and rhythm is different.

Dhamâr, Adâ chautâla, and Zumrâ have the same number of mât-râs, but the accent is different. Deepchandi is the same Tâla as Zumrâ, but when the Zumârâ is measured very quietly it is Deepchandi.

There is a popular Tâl called *Dhumâli* which has eight mât-râs. Titâla extremely quick will be *Dhumâli*. Another measure is called Ektal, which has 12 mât-râs. with three beats. This Tâla is employed in Khyâl type songs.

The Khyâl type songs are in the Tâlas, either Titâl. or Zumrâ or Ektâl.

Dhrupad style songs are sung in the chautâl. Surfâk. Dhamâr, or Adâ chautâl.

Classical songs of Khyâl or Tappâ style do not require clapping of the hands. The singer's whole attention is directed towards the elaboration

of the Râga. The style of the song is very slow, and the singer is guided by the drummer, who gives warning of the strong, accented beat which comes soon after *Khâli* beat. This *Khâli* beat is most important for the singer on his way to the *sam* (strong accent).

There are many more most intricate measures, such as Rudra Tâl, Brahma Tâl, Matta Tâl. etc. But they are not popular, and also are not in constant use. Their Avartas are constructed with great complexity. The songs in these elaborate Tâlas do not admit of much elaboration or embroidery.

* * * * *

VI

DRUMMING

Drumming is an important factor in Indian music. Drumming is an art in itself. Also it is an accompaniment to the singer or the instrument. Drums are of two kinds-- one is called Mridanga, and the other is Tablâ. The latter is a modern form of the former. The Tablâ is in a pair with two separate heads, one positive and the other negative. The left-hand strokes are nearly the same as the beats of the Tâla, and the right-hand strokes form the embroidery filling all gaps. To effect this purpose the time-measures are uttered with certain technical syllables called Bôls. On the *sam* beat both hands are active, while on the *khâli* beat the left hand is at rest. The drummer can show his skill in momentary pauses the singer takes. In Dhrupad styled songs the drummer has an extensive field to elaborate the time-measure in exquisite fashion.

Following are the drum-phrases which are almost universal with slight difference in syllables.

Drum phrase for Titâla (mâtrâ 16):—

nâ	dhi	dhi	nâ	nâ	dhi	dhi	nâ	nâ	dhi	dhi	nâ	nâ	ti	ti	nâ
x			xx				x						0		

Chautâl (mâtrâ 12):—

Dhâ	dhâ	dhin	tâ	kita	dha	dhin	tâ	kita	taka	gadi	gina
xx		0		x		0		x			x

Zumpâ (mâtrâ 10):—

Dhâ	gi	dha	ki	ta	tâ	gi	ta	ki	ta
xx		x			0		x		

Dhamâr (mâtrâ 14):—

Ka	dhi	na	dhi	na	dhâ	.	ka	dhi	na	ti	na	tâ	.
xx					x						x		

These are original Bôls (phrases) of time-measures, but they are filled in picturesquely and enlarged in the course of playing. These elaborations are called Parans. These Parans, some of them, are traditionally handed down to the pupil by the teacher. Experts compose them besides, according to their liking. The right head of the Tablâ gives the tonic note, while the left head should give the lower pa (g).

* * * * *

A SPECIMEN INDIAN MELODY

Rag Bhup.

Ma-ni (F.B.) silent, the rest shudda.



KURDISH STORIES FROM MY COLLECTION

By BASILE NIKITINE

THE stories published in this issue of the *Bulletin* are from the same stock as the tale of Suto and Tato given in Vol. III. Part I, which I had the good fortune to publish with the most kind help of the late Major E. B. Soane, whose premature death we have to deplore so deeply. The Kurdish in which our stories are written may be termed the Central dialect of the Northern group according to E. B. Soane's classification. The author, Molla Saïd Kazi of Kurdistan, was a learned Kurd from Nahri, the capital of Shamsdinan. Indeed, we see in the text some characteristics which can only be met with in the Northern group, such as the plural in *îd*, the termination *râ*, the preposition *zhe* (from), which is only used in the Northern group and replaces *la* which has the same value in the Southern group: and the preterite *hâbû* (he was), which only extends as far south as Rawandiz whose dialect is decisively Southern. But on the other hand, there are some peculiarities which lead one to think that this Shamsdinan dialect is not a pure Northern group dialect, but may present a transition to the Southern group. For example this dialect uses indifferently as the genitive particle *â* and *î*; it also makes indiscriminate use of the preposition *zhe* or *la*. These, of course, are only faint signs, but one can hope that further careful investigations may furnish other proofs. Anyhow, we must remember that Molla Saïd was born in the Nahia of Girdi, i.e. the most southward part of this qazâ.

Were I allowed to employ the Kurdish terminology I would say that the texts of my collection belong to the "*Zhê bābû*" (or "*Guran*" group), which is a nickname given by the "*Suran*", which are called in their turn "*Korkore*". This Kurdish classification runs as follows. All the Kurds are divided in four groups: (1) Lur, (2) Kalhur (both in the Kermanshah and Aoraman provinces), (3) Suran (from Suleimaniye to Rawandiz, Ushnu, Saoudj Bulag), and (4) Guran (from Agra and Amadiya to Diarbekir, Bitlis, and Baiazid). The name *Zhê bābû* is to be explained by the frequent use of *zhê* (from) and *zhi* (also), whereas the nickname "*Korkore*" would have its origin in the frequency of the sounds *k* and *r* met with in the Suran group (*lkidîra*, *lâkwäya*, *vêdürä*).

As in the case of Suto and Tato, there is no need to stress the value of these stories as giving us a vivid picture of the Kurdish mentality. Both robbers Razgo and Suleiman are called “*mêr chāk*” (literally *vir bonus*; are not Latin *vir* and Kurdish *mêr* closely related?). How far is this Kurdish ideal from the Roman *vir bonus nemini nocens vitam honestam vivens*! Still, the “Shaikh” Suleiman who tries in his walk to molest no being, even an insect, reminds one of the Buddhist monks who take somewhat similar precautions, as I am told by Professor Gawroński. In the Russian “anecdotic” folklore we find also similar details in a somewhat indecent context. I chose the story of Mir Hassan Bek of Hakkari (cf. my “*Féodalité Kurde*”, *RMM.*, vol. ix) as a specimen of what is considered as wisdom in Kurdish folklore. As to the subject itself, the most fascinating article of M. S. Stasiak (“*Le Çataka*,” *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, t. ii, 1919-24, Lwów) shows how high may be the interest of all details concerning the folkloric theme of birds of good or bad omen. Some grammatical notes are given at the end. Being no longer able to devote myself wholly to linguistic studies, I hope my readers will be indulgent to this “amateur” essay.

1. MAM REZGO, THE YOUNG MAN AND THE OLD ONE

Three or four years ago in the vicinity of Diarbekir there lived an outlaw and a worthy man, a robber called Rezgin. This is what one day his servant told me about his master. On one occasion we went off to rob on the high road and took shelter in a gorge to roast a lamb we had stolen. We were forty men with Mam Rezgo. Mam Rezgo went up to a hillock, looking out on to the plain with his glasses. All of a sudden he catches sight of a youth coming up the plain, carrying a Martini rifle of a steel black. “like the goat’s eyes,” on his shoulder, and wearing two cartridge belts with fifty cartridges in each of them, one on his waist and the other across his breast. He was wearing Diarbekir shoes, a “*pestek*”¹ from Geri Moussi,² a coat and trousers from Dehe, and a Mossul scarf and bands around his head. He was holding his hand under his ear singing loudly as he went, and the Shah would not be worthy to be his servant. Said Mam Rezgo, “Ye crowd of servants, this man is either very brave or else a fool. Let one of you go and strip him of all his belongings. For it is a custom with us to go out one by one while his companions

¹ “*Pestek*,” a felt sleeveless garment.

² Name of a village renowned for its “*pesteks*”.

are looking on." So one of the servants drew nearer to the youth and shouted, "Ho-lo-lo." The other answered "Ho-lo-lo". "Lay down your rifle, your clothes on it, take off your shoes, your 'pestek', garments, scarf and bands, and get away whilst you are safe." The other only asked, "All right, shall I also take off my shirt and drawers?" "No." was the answer, "we leave them for your sake." All these things were brought and laid before Mam Rezgo. Again he looked down the valley through his glasses. This time there came an old man, driving slowly a donkey, a torn "aba" about his shoulders, armed only with a sword and a shield. On he went driving his donkey—"Woosha, woosh"—before him. Mam Rezgo ordered one of his men to go and strip this one too. The servant shouted to the old man, "Ho-lo-lo." and the old man retorted "Ho-lo-lo! Oh you, red spider, viper's venom, what are you doing here like dogs?" "Now then, hold your tongue. Hand over your donkey, your sword, shield and aba, and be off; save your life." "When did you bring to me your she-dog of a mother that I should give you all this?" The servant loaded his rifle and took aim at Mam Kal, but the latter did not wait and threw himself with his sword upon the servant, giving him no time to fire. So he turned and fled. Mam Kal, taking his beard into his mouth, was after him until in such manner they reached our gorge. The servant came among us. Mam Kal went on to the hill. We intended to help our companion, but Mam Rezgo would not allow us, and said "I do not accept. He said to the old man, 'Mam Kal, come and eat of our "kebab"'. 'I would not go with the dogs on a carrion.'" The servants said again to their master, "Agha, let us attack him: he brought our dishonour." But Mam Rezgo again did not accept, and shouted to the old man, "By the luck of Allah and his Prophets, come here." Then the other answered, "I am just coming; it shall not be said that I did not dare." He approached with drawn sword and crouched down on his knees facing Mam Rezgo: "What is it you want from me: I am in a great hurry to go on my road." "First partake of the kebab, then I will tell you."

He began eating the kebab, and when he had eaten of the kebab Mam Rezgo gave him some of the things that had been taken from the young coward, and added a dagger as a present from himself, saying in the meantime, "Go in peace, you are welcome (*lit.*: 'You came upon our eyes'), may these things be of use to you, you are worthy of them, be they blessed to you."

حکایتا رزگین ری گر لاوی نامر د کالی مرد^۱

سه چار سال پیش نوکه لنیز یکیت^۲ دیا ربکری مرووکی^۳
 اشقی ریگر میر چاله هبو^۴ رزگین دگوتنی^۵ خلامکی وی روزکی
 بو مه حکایتیت حالی باخی^۶ خو دکر دگوت ام جارکی چو بوینه^۷
 ری گیری مه پظک دزی بو لشیوگلی مه بنجو دبراشت ام چل
 خلام دگل مام رزگو دابوین مامی رزگو چو سری گری
 بدوریینی تماشای دشتی کر دیت لاوکی تازه لسری دشتی درکوت
 مار تینکی طلیمه رش وکی چاوی مام بزی بمل وه بو دو رخت
 فیشنگیت کار خانه هر رختکی پنجه فیشنک تیدا^۸ ییك پشتا خو
 بستی ییك براپیل خو دانای صولا دیار بکری^۹ دپیدا پشتکی
 گره موسی دبردا رانی برگوزیت دهی بردا چفی و عکالیت موصلی
 لسری دستی خو بر بو بناگها خو لاوړه^{۱۰} دگوت شاه بصپانی
 خو حساب ندکر مامی رزگو گوت گل خلامان او مرووه یان
 گله میر چاکه یان احمقه ییك هر نه پیشیا وی بشلینن چونکو
 عادتی میه ییك دیت بجپته پیشیا ییکی شریک دی سیری کن
 او جار ییك چوگازی کری هو لولو جواب دا هو لولو گوتی
 تفنگا خو دانی رختان دانی سر صولیت رپیکه پستل و رانی
 برگوز و چفی عکالان دانی هره بنخیر بجپی گوتی زور باشه کراس و
 درپیان ری دانیم یان نه گوتی نه او بلا خاترا ته بن^{۱۲} همی

شره مریت¹³ وی اینان دانانه پیش مامی رزگو دیسا مام رزگو
 دوربینی هاوینه دشتی دیت پیره میرل تیت کرل لبرایکی هیدی
 هیدی دهاروت عبایل کون هاوتبو سرمل خو شیرل و مطالب
 دبرخو دانای هر ووشه ووش لکری خو دکر مامی رزگو گوت
 ییل هر ن ویری بشلینن ییل چوگازی کری هو لولو جواب
 دا هو لولو قزل قرت ره ره مار هونل وکی صا لو اندرانه¹⁴ چه
 دکن خلام گوتی دریر نکه کری خو بهیله وعبای وشیر و مطالبی
 هره روخا خو خلاصکه گوتی ته کنگی دیلا ذایکا خو بو من اینایه
 از وانه نختی وی بدمه ته خلامی فیشنل لتفنگی دا دری تفنگی
 راست کره مامی کال اما مامی کال هند مهلت ندا شیری خو
 کیشا هجوم کره سر خلامی نهیلا خلام تفنگا خو اگر دت گهشته
 سر خلام حلات مامی کال ردینا خو کره دوی خو سر دونا¹⁵
 هر وتوختا نیز یکی شیوکی بون خلام هات بو ناو مه مامی کال
 هاته سرگری مه قصد کر بچینه هوارا¹⁶ شریکی خو مامی رزگو
 نهیلا گوت قبول نا کم مامی رزگو گازی کری هو مامی کال وره
 دگل مه کبابا بخوگوت از دگل صا ناچمه سر کلشی مرار دیسا
 خلامان گوتن آغا دا بچینی اوی هتکا مه بر مامی رزگو دیسا گوت
 قبول نا کم دیسا مامی رزگو گازی کری وره مامی کال بختی خدی
 و پیغمبران بو ته مام کال گوت اوه هاتم دا نیرن نویرا¹⁷ هات

شیری وی روس ددستی دا برا مبری مامی رزگو لسر چو ککی خو
 روشت¹ گوتی دی بیرمه ته چه شول هیه از بلزم² دی چه سر
 ریکا خو گوتی کبابا بخو پاشی دی بیرمه ته دست بکباب خوارنی
 کر وختی کبابیت خو خوارن مامی رزگو چند تشتیت رلاوی
 نامر دستانه بون همی دانه وی و رنک خو را³ ری خنجره خلات
 دا مامی کال گوتی هره بخیر بسچی تولسر چاویت مه هاتی ته
 حلال بن او تشتا نه²¹ بو ته لایقین ته پیروز بن والسلام.

2. SHEIKH SOLEYMAN

It is said that there lived once in the ashret of Zibar¹ a man, a worthy person. His occupations were theft and robbery. He carried out a big theft in Akra, and evidence being against him the Government caught him. By some means or other he succeeded in escaping out of prison and then decided, "I had best of all reach Bagday²; there I shall settle near the tomb of Sheikh Abd-ul-Kader Gilani³ called 'Markadi gawsi' and lead for a time a quiet life. I will repent and thus acquire the respect of the people. Then even if I commit a big theft no one will suspect me." He got up, put a dervish garment with a "def" and "keshkul" on his shoulder, took the road for Bagdad, came to settle near the tomb of Abd-ul-Kader, known under the name "Gawseye Bagday", took abode there, prayed fervently day and night. He would never absent himself from a corner in the mosque. The people coming to pilgrimage began to consider him very much. When they asked him what his name was he would answer, "I am the dervish Soleyman, slave of God." The people objected. "God preserve us, what are you saying? You are a crown on the head of all us, you are a Sheikh Soleyman. We beg you from time to time to honour us with your visit and let everybody see your high presence, master of perfection and blessing." He

¹ Zibar, a Kaza of Mossul vilayet, on the Great Zab R.

² Kurdish for Bagdad.

³ Founder of the Qadiriye order of dervishes, who died in the beginning of the thirteenth century.

would answer, "This sinful person is not worthy of that, and besides there is another reason why I cannot go out." "Why?" "Because there are so many ants (insects) crawling about on the roads. I am afraid by God my feet may tread on these miserable beings, which will die and I will be then more sinful." The people venerated him still more. They were saying, "Such justice and conduct were not in the time of Gawsî himself." They told him, "Would it be possible if we carry you on our backs, you must honour our houses." "No, I can in no way accept to be carried on somebody's back, but for your sake I will go out somehow. Bring to me two bells. I will sew them on my shoes, their sound will carry, and the ants will save themselves and my feet will not tread them." The people said, "God be praised, what a deep and detailed thought." They believed in him much more. Every day the rich men of Bagdad invited him and he was feasted. He got much fame in the bazaar of Bagdad as "Sheikh Soleyman with the bells on his shoes". His name was widely known. He found many followers and companions, and when he noticed that all the people believed in him and nobody had a bad thought of him he told his rich admirers to build for him a house outside the bazaar, "so that I may with some poor Dervishes settle there and worship God, for inside the bazaar there is too much noise and one's soul gets confused and one is not able to devote oneself to pious thoughts." All of them said, "On our heads and on our eyes, every order His Highness the Sheikh may give, we are ready to obey him with our lives and property." A big house was built for him and he settled there with some Dervishes of his own choice. He found a way of winning over his pupils to his cause. One day they came into the shrine, pretexting a pilgrimage, and remained there for the night. They stayed there two days and dug into the part of the wall where the treasure was kept and took away for about one million of liras - money and precious stones. Afterwards they returned home. Sheikh Soleyman and three or four Dervishes took a good quantity of precious stones and gold for themselves. He told other Dervishes to take their share. "And what we cannot take away go and hide underground in a far away place. After some years in other garments and disguises we will come and dig it out." He said then, "Now let us disperse, every one going to his country; otherwise, of course, we would be discovered and would not escape from the hands of the Government." They got up and dispersed. Some days after the "muteweli" the servants noticed

the robbery and reported it to the Government, but it was no use. Nobody knew where they were gone like the wolves. Each one went to a mountain, went to a cavern. Sheikh Soleyman returned to his native village, repented, bought a lot of property and cattle and became a rich man.

To these days some of his descendants still live in the village of Perisse in Zibar. The name of the chief of this clan is Molla Hadji. The Government has as yet no influence in Kurdistan, and nobody would be able to take this property back from this clan. In times gone by, when people used to say to Soleyman: It was a great sin thou hast committed in robbing the Sheikh's tomb, which will strike thee (morally). He would answer, "Nay, it has been a great good I have done, the wealth is wanted for the living and not for the dead. If this shrine be true (i.e., the influence) it would not worry about me, because it is through it that I gave up robbery: if it be false, then it will not be able to influence in any way. Thus I fear nothing." Peace be to you.

(حکا یتا شیخ سلیمان پی به ز ننگل)

دبیرن وختکی. ژ عشیرتا زیبار یان مرووکی گلک میر چال
 هبو. ناوی وی سلیمان بو. داعی شولاوی. دزی بو. تالان بو.
 جارکی دز یکی گلک مزن له آکری کر. له سر وی آشکرا بو.
 حکومتی. اوگرت. بهر طرزی کو. ممکن بو. خو ژ حبسی
 خلاص کر. فکر کر. گوت چاکه. بچمه بغدادی له سر مر قدی
 غوثی قدر کی رو نیم. توبه بکم. اعتباری. پیدا بکم. پاتی
 اگر گلک دزی بکم. کس خیا لا من ناکت. رابو. جلیت
 درویشان دبړخو کرن. ودف. وکشکول بملی خووه کرن.
 ریکا بغدادی گرت. چو سر مز اری شیخ عبد القادر گیلانی. کو
 مشهوره دبیرنی غوثی بغدادی. له وی دری زونشت. دست

بِعِیَادَتِی کَر. شوی. و روژی. ژ کُنَجَبی مَزْ گَوْتِی دَز نَه دِ گَوْت. خلکی کو دها تنه زیارتی غوثی. قوی معتقدی وی بون. ژ وی دپرسین ناوی ته چیه. دگوت. ناوی من سلیمانی درویشی درگاه خدی یه. خلکی ژی دگوتن. خیر. استغفر الله تو چاوا. وه²² دفرموی. اَتُو شیخ سلیمانی. تانَجَبی سَرِی مَه هَمِیَا نَبی. خلکی گوته وی اُم هیوی دکین. جار باران. تشریفا مبارکا ذاتی هنگو در کَوْن دا همی کس بد یتنا وُجُودا مَسْعُودا عَالی. خُدَانُ فیض و برکت. بیت. وی ژی گوت. نه وی بنده گنا هکار لیاقتا وی نیه. وژ غیر وی ژی. سببکی دی هیه نشیم در کوم. گوتن چیه. گوت. اوه یه له سر همی ریکان. گِلِک میرو. هنه. ژ خدی دتر سم کو پی من بکو یته سر وی مخلوق بیچاره. بمریت. و اَز زیده تر گناهکار بیم. خلکی زیده تر در حق وی اعتقاد پیدا بو. گوتن. اَو انصاف. و سَلُو کَه. زمانی غوثی ژی نبویه. گوتن. قَت نَابِیت اگر مه تو. به پستی بری لازمه کو تشریفا خو بینه مالیت مه. وی ژی گوت. اَز قَت هاتنا پشتا چه کس قبول ناکم. بلی بو خاترا هنگو بطرز کی دی. دی هیم. بو من دو ز نِگِلان بینن دی بسری صو لا خو وه. دروم. دا دنگ بهیت. میرو بجلین. پی من نه کوتیه سر وان. خلکی هیمان گوتن سبحان الله. چند فکر کی کور و هور²³ کر. زیده تر

معتقد بون. خلاصه زنگل بصولیت خو وه. درون. هر روز. مالکی دولتمند ژ مز نیت بغدادی. اوگازی دکر. ومیوان داری بو وی دکر. له باژیری بغدادی شهرتکی مزن پیدا کر. ناوی وی مشهور بو. شیخ سلیمانی. بی بزنگل. وگلک مرید. ومحسوب پیدا کرن. دومای کو زانی تمام خلک معتقدی وینه ایدی کس خیا لا. خرابی ژ وی ناکت. گوته مز نان. از خزد کم ژ دروئی باژیری بو من خانیکی چیکن. از. وچند درویشیت فقیر له وی دری رونین عبادتی خدی بکین. چونکو ناو باژیری قله بالغه. قلبی مرو. مشوش دبیت. مرو نشیت بدرستی ذکری خدی بکت. همیان گوتن. سر چاوان سر سران هر امری حضرتی شیخ بفر موت. أم به روح و مال حازرین بو اطاعتا وی. خانیکی مزن بو وی چیکرن. دگل چند درویشیت کو وی حزر. لویدری رونشت بهر طرزی کو بخو دزانی. درویش اینانه سر رأیا خو. روزکی به هجتا زیارت هاتنه سر مرقدی غوثی. شوی مان لویدری بی دوازی خزینا مالی تکیا غوثی کن کرن. قیاسی ملیونک لیره. پاره. و جواهر اینانه در. دو روز دی ری مان پاشی چونه خانی خو. شیخ سلیمان دگل سی چار درویشان. مقدارکی کلتی ژ جواهر وژ زیر بوخو هلگرتن. گوتنه درویشیت دی هونگ ری

پشکا²⁴ خو هلگرن. هر چى كو أم نشين هلگرين. بين لچى
 دور چال كين. پاشى چند سال دى به لباسكى دى و به شكلكى
 دى. دى هين. بو خو اينينه در. و بين. گوت نوكه چا كه بلاؤ
 بين بچين هر كس بو مملكتى خو. اگر نه. البته دى له سر مه
 آشكرا بيت. پاشى أم ر دستى حكومتى خلاص نا بين. رابون.
 چون. بلاو بون. پاشى چند روز ان. متوللى و مجبوريت
 غوثى زانين. خبر دانه حكومتى. أمّا چه فايده. كى دزانيت
 كيوه چون. وكى گرگان. هر يلك چو چيا يكي. وچو كُنكى.
 شيخ سليمان هاته ولاقى خو رونشت توبه كر. املا. و پظ.
 و دواز. كرى. بو دولتمندكى مزن نوكه رى له ناو زيبا ريان له
 گندى پريسه. اوجاغا وى مايته. ديسا دولتمندن ناوى مزنى
 او جاغا وى ملا حاجى يه. هنگى نفوزا حكومتى هيچ له سر
 كر دستا نى نبو. كس نشيا وى مالى له نا و كردان. تحصيل
 بكت. چو چو. پاشى خلكى دگوتنه سليمان. مال خراب اوه
 گنا هكى مزن بو ته كر. غوثى بغدادى دى ته هنگيومت. وى
 رى دگوت. نه خير كى مزن بو من كر. چونكو ساخان مال
 لازمه. مريان لازم نيه. اگر او غوثكى راسته هيچ علاقه من
 ناكت. چو نكو بسبب مالى وى من دست ر دزى كيشا. اگر
 درويه بس نشيت اثر بكت. مادام ويه هيچ نا ترسم والسلام.

3. HASSAN BEK. MIR OF HAKKARI, AND THE GOOD NEWS OF A SPRING BIRD

In former years (the tribe of) Hakkari had a "Mir", who was a very wise man and whose name was Hassan Bek. Every word of his was either good advice or was as good as a proverb. One day in winter time the people were talking in his presence about the good and the bad and about who is a true friend, who is false. Friends and servants were talking, one of them said "This man is good". another objected, "No, that one is good." Mir listened and then said, "The one who first gives me good news of the bird, I shall give him a reward which he will like." Everyone decided that the Mir was thinking of the first bird announcing the coming of the spring. They did not understand Mir's object. Half of the month of Shawat passed by. The starling arrived. A servant hurried to the Mir with the news and said, "Excellency Mir, I bring you good news, the starling has come." But the other did not even answer him and made no sound. Some thought, "The starling comes too early, the winter is far from being spent when the starling appears. That is why Mir said nothing." They waited until the storks arrived, and again they hurried to the Mir saying, "Good news for Mir, the stork's arrived." But still he was silent. People guessed, "The stork comes also early, there is much snow left, it is cold, spring has not come yet, that is why Mir did not answer." They waited some days. About New Year's time all said, "It is time for the partridge to arrive. This is the beginning of the spring, if this time Mir is silent he must be wrong."

One man went and told Mir, "Good news, the partridge has come, the spring has arrived, the winter is gone." But Mir gave no answer. People were astonished that Mir did not answer. The cranes arrived, good news was given to Mir. He said nothing. In short, many different birds that leave for warm lands in winter time arrived, good news was given for each of them, but Mir gave no answer. The great and honourable people of Mir's assembly went to a place, sat down to converse together. "We do not know the reason why Mir has broken his promise. There must be something else. The Mir never broke his promise." There was one man named Mam Tal, a great joker. He cried, "Get up, here is a magpie flying about, I'll go to Mir and tell him about it; since he gave no reward for the spring birds, then let me give him news about a winter bird." The others laughed and told him, "Mam Tal, you

are a fool, how could you commit such an act. Mir will be angry ; may it not be." Mam Tal said, " Anyhow, by God, even if my head be cut off, I'll go and say it." Soon he came to Mir and took his stand near the door step of the " Diwan-Khaneh ", bowed his head, folded his hands on his breast, as was the custom in those days, and respectfully announced, " Good news, Mir, our master, the magpie has arrived." Mir said, " This is very good news indeed, you are welcome ; this news proves your cleverness and understanding, Mam Tal." Mam Tal thought Mir was only joking, but no, Mir was not joking but quite serious. He ordered his servant to give Mam Tal a vest and a pair of trousers. These were brought and given to Mam Tal, and Mir said to him, " Be this reward blessed to you." The people of Medjlis were greatly amazed and said to Mir, " Many nice and beautiful spring birds have arrived, they were announced to you and never did you reward anyone. Now you have given a reward for the magpie that is always here and feeds on dirt and scratches about in the rubbish heaps. We do not understand it, it is very peculiar." " Certainly you cannot understand it, you would rather understand the contrary." They said, " What is the reason ? We do not realize." " Unless it is explained to you, you cannot understand the reason of this. The spring birds fly about of their own free will, as long as it is warm and pleasant here they stay ; when it is winter time and cold and dreary they fly away following their inclinations. The dirty magpie is always with us, in good times and in adversity, quite content with the rubbish heaps ; a trustworthy friend, never fearing the winter cold. It is our true friend, for in happiness and in sorrow it always equally shares our lot. That is why I gave the reward for the magpie." All the people approved Mir's saying with all their heart.

(حکایتا میری حکاریان . و مزگینا طیری بهاری)

زمانی بری . حکاریان میرک هبو . گلدک به آقل بو . ناوی
وی میرحسن بگ بو . آخوتنیت وی . همی مثل و اشارت .
ونصیحت بون . روزکی زستان بو . دمجلسا وی دا . بو بجئی چاک
وخرابی . و وفاداری . و بی وفائیا . دوستان . و خلا مان . ییکی

گوت . فلان مرو . چاکه . ییکی دی گوت . نه اوه چاکه هر ییکی
 خبرله گوت . میر رژی گه ددای . پاشی میر گوت . هر کسی
 مزگینیا طیری بو من بینیت . از دی خلا تکی بکیفا وی دمی²⁵ .
 خلکی رژی وتو تخمین کرن . میر بجشی مزگینیا طیری بهاری یه
 مقصدا . میر تی نه گشتن . چیه . پاشی کو نیوا . هويا شواطی .
 هات . رشویله پیدا بو خلامک . چست هات . گوته میر²⁶ .
 مزگینی لمیر . رشویله هات . اوه بهار نیزیل بو . میر هیچ جواب
 ندا . دنگ نه کر . هندکان گوتن . چونکو رشویله قوی زو
 تیت . هیشتا زستان گلک مائی . اوپیدا دبیت . لوا میر چه دنگ
 نکر صبر کرن . حتا لگلگ . هات . مروول . زو . بزی²⁷ . هاته
 حضورا میر گوت . میزگینی لجنابی میر بیت اوه لگلگ هات .
 دیسا میر هیچ جواب ندا . خلکی گوتن لگلگری زوتیت . وختی
 هاتنا وی هیشتا بفرو . شلو وه یه . سرما یه . بهارنیه لوا میر دیسا
 جواب ندا . چند روز ان خوگرتن . وختی نوروزی . کوهات .
 همیان گوتن وختی هاتنا کوی . سری بهاری یه . ایدی اگر میر .
 بوکوی . جوابی ندت . نه حقه . مرووک هات . گوت مزگینی
 لمیر اوه کو هات . ایدی بهاره . زستان چو . دیسا میر جواب ندا .
 خلکی تعجب کرن . بوچی میر چه جواب ندا²⁸ . قرینگ رژی
 هات . مزگینی دانه میر . دیسا چه نگوت . خلاصه . چند طیریت

کو زستانی دچنه گرمیانی . همی هاتن . بو همیان کت کت . مزگینی دانه میر . امّا میر هیچ جواب ندا . مزن . ومعتبریت مجلسا میر . چونه جیکی بتنی رونشتن . دگل ییک و دو آخوتن . گوتن ام نراینن سبب چه . میر قرارا خو . بچی نه اینا قت اوشوله بی حکمت نیه . چه جاران . میر هو . وعده نشکا ندیه . مرووک هبو ناوی وی . مام تال . بو . ترانه کر بو . گوته وان² راوستن . از دی چم بیرمه میر . مزگینی لمیر . کشکله . هات . مادام کو وی بو چه طیری بهاری خلالت ندا . بن ام رژی چاکه مزگینیا طیریت زستانی بدینه وی . همی پی کنین . گوته مام تال . تو دینی . دی چاوا وی قباحتی کی . میر دی رژه سل بیت . اوه نایت مام تال گوت . بخدی اگر سری بریه دی چم . وه بیرم . والحاصل . مام تال هات . لناو دری دیوانخانی راوستا . دستیت خو . موافقی عادت وی زمانی لسیل دانان . سری خو چماند . گوته میر . مزگینی لجنابی میر کشکله هات . میر گوت . های ته مزگینی خوش بیت . تو قوی بخیر بهی . دگل وی مزگینی . آفرین بو آقل و تیگشتنا ته . مام تال رژی و تو خیال کر . کو میر ترا نه یوی دکت . امّا میر . بترانه وه ندگوت . تمام میحت بو . میر گوته پیش خز متی خو هره ساکو و شلو الیت من بو مام تال بینه . اینان دانه وی . میر گوتی . ته او خلا ته پیروز بیت اهلی

مجلسی زیدہ تر . تعجب کرن . گو تنہ میر او ہندہ طیریت بہاری .
 تیس . وصہی ہاتن . بو ہیان مزگینی دانہ تہ . و بو چیان تہ خلات .
 ندا . بلی کشکلا گوخور . ہرچار وختیت سالی دایمی لسر
 کلینگان پی دخوت تہ بو وی خلات دا . اوہ جی تعجبی یہ .
 میرگوت نہ اگر برعکسبا جی تعجبی بو . گوتن . سبب چی .
 ام تیناگین . میرگوت . البتہ حتا بو ہنگو نہیتہ بیان کرن . ہنگو
 اوہند فام نیہ تی بگن . سبب اوہ یہ ظیریت بہاری . ہمی
 لدو ہوسا خو دگر یین وختی خوشی و راحتی دگل مہ دین .
 امّا دما کو . پیچل نیز یکی طنکا وی و زحمتا زستانی بون . مہ
 لناو زحمتا کو ستانی بتنی دھیلن دوکیفا خو دکون . دچن امّا
 کشکلا . اگر چی پیسہ . بلی ہمی وخت دگل مہ یہ . لراحتی
 وزحمتی دگل مہ . رفیقہ . خدان و فایہ . او قناعتی دکت بہ پیسی
 سرکلینگیٹ مہ . بس دوستی ہو وفا دار لازمہ ہرکس خلاتی
 مزگینیا وی بدت . رفیق درست اوہ یہ لخوشی وطنگاوپی .
 رفیق بیت نہ لخوشی بتنی . ہیان فرمودہ جناب میر حسن بدل
 تصدیق کرن والسلام .

NOTES

¹ *lāw*, young, youngster, may be compared with *lāwk*, child. *Mārd* used here in the sense of *juānmēr*, brave; cf. Persian *Mārdānūgī*. *Mām*, Persian *'amū*, familiar way to call, as in Russian *дядя*.

² *nīzīkēt*, a plural of *nīzīk*, near, considered here as a noun, neighbourhood; we should say in French *aux environs*. We see the same in the case of *lāwēdārā*, there, having a plural form *lā wīn dārān*, cf. Persian *ānjā*, *ānjāhā*.

² Oskar Mann (*Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*, Teil I, Berlin, 1906, p. xlix) says: "Zum Ausdruck des unbestimmten Artikels wird das (unbetonte) Zahlwort *-êk* als Suffix den Nomen angefügt." Then *mrurêk* = a man; *mrucêkî* with an *î* giving an idea of more indefiniteness? Or of a singular number? E. B. Soane (*Kurdish Grammar*, London, 1913, p. 8) says: "... final *ek* and final *î* as distinctives for the singular ... *mîr*, man; *mîrî*, *mîrek*, one man. This form must not be confused with the diminutive termination, and its use with it is very frequent ...; whenever it is desired to form the singular of a diminutive noun the singular termination in *î* is used ...: the singular form of the diminutive gives also a certain indefiniteness to the statement." We have thus three ideas connected with the suffix *êk* and *î*: (1) singularity; (2) indefiniteness; (3) diminutiveness; the last one having also a sense of contempt. Compare with Persian *yâk martikâ* (H. Massé, "Contes en persan populaire," *J.A.*, t. ccvi, n. I, p. 81), "un bonhomme," which could be expressed *mârtikâî*. Anyhow absolute clearness does not exist on this point in the Kurdish grammar. Says O. Mann (op. cit., xlvii): "Im Mukri finden sich, wie auch in den vorher bekannten Kurdischen Dialekten zum Teil, zwei bislang nicht richtig erkannte Suffixe zum Ausdruck der Determination sowie des unbestimmten Artikels am Substantivum."

⁴ This *hâbû* is peculiar to the northern group of Kurdish dialects. Says O. Mann (op. cit., lxxxi): "In der Bedeutung 'existieren' erscheint die auch im persischen *hâstund* aus dem Altpersischen erhaltene ah ... Der Stamm ist ... in das Präteritum übertragen worden: *hâbû* 'es existierte, es war einmal' (häufig als Eingang von Erzählungen)."

⁵ *dîgôtîné*, they called him; he was called (cf. Persian *mîgoftândush*). The final *î* = him. Says O. Mann (op. cit., lxi): "Zur Erklärung des pron. pers. iii haben wir von der suffigierten Form *-î* auszugehen. Diese Form—eine Art Schibboleth Kurdischer Dialekte in Persien gegenüber dem reimpersischen suffix *-sh*—scheint mir mit den Avestaformen *him*, *hê* usw. in Verbindung gebracht werden zu müssen, während das persische *-sh* auf die entsprechenden altpersischen Formen *shim* usw. zurückgeht; *mî* repräsentiert eine aus dem altpersischen Genitiv *Avahya* entstandene Form des Demonstrativums, deren *î* sich vielleicht unter dem Einflusse des daneben gebrauchten *i*, des pron. suff., erhalten hat." "I always heard *ê* in my dialect and not *î*. (cf. O. Mann, op. cit., lxxviii, § 67? "An verschiedene Verba wird in allen Formen ein mir unerklärliches *ê* angefügt ... In Soujbulâq wurde mir dieses *ê* als ein Pron. suff. der 3. sing. erklärt.")

⁶ *bîkhê*, his master.

⁷ *chû buînâ* = rafta lûdîm. The suffixed *u* in *buînâ*, as thought O. Mann (op. cit., lxxvi), is indicating the movement (we have gone to a robbery ...); "die im Sprechen stets wie ein Enklitikon zur Verbalform gezogene Präposition *â* 'nach' (aus altem *abhi*), siehe ZDMG., xlvii, p. 706) nach Verben, die eine Bewegung ausdrücken." Says E. B. Soane (*Grammar*, p. 90, prepositions): "*â*, to, for. Often demanding a final *î* to the noun. Ex.: *hâtîmû shûrî* I came to town."

⁸ *bî-mîl-rî*, a kind of locative (on the shoulder) not mentioned by E. B. Soane (op. cit., pp. 15, 16), who is giving for the N.G. *dî* before the noun and *dâ* after it, which would give us *dî-mîl-dâ*.

⁹ To notice in this case that the second part of a locative form, I mean *dâ*, is not separated from the first *tai* (*tê*). *Taidâ* means inside (Soane, op. cit., p. 93): "... generally used with the meaning of 'at the bottom of.' May we compare it with the Persian *tâh* (*âz tâhâ dâl*)?"

¹⁰ *şulâ diârbekrê*, shoe from Diarbekr. Soane (op. cit., p. 15) says that this *â* form of the genitive "also very common in the N.G. even more so than the preceding (*î* form)." Ex.: *haspâ Mukho* Muhammad's horse.

¹¹ *lâwzhâ*, song, plur. *lâwzhêt*; cf. Arab. *lafz*.

¹² *aw bîlâ khâtrâ tu bîn* = this let be for your sake ... *bîn* in plural, instead of *bî* sing., being accorded with *lâwz u dârpêwân*.

¹³ *shurā mrēt*, a pair of rhyming words such as is met with also in both Persian and Turkish, the second amplifying the meaning of the first, while without signification itself (Soane, op. cit., p. 138. n. 6).

¹⁴ Cf. above, n. 2.

¹⁵ *dūrānā*, after, behind; Soane (op. cit., p. 172) *dūrā*, *dūmā*. O. Mann (op. cit., xli) speaks about the same long vowel *ū* which he transcribes *ue*, ex.: *khūēn*. Persian *khūn*.

¹⁶ *hūwīr*, help, cry for help; Soane (op. cit., p. 216) gives it as a S.G. word.

¹⁷ *nūrā*, from *wārīn*, to dare.

¹⁸ *rūnāsh*, cf. n. 15.

¹⁹ *āz bā-laz-īm*; *lez kūrīn*, hasten (Soane, p. 215).

²⁰ *zh-nīk-khō-rā*, from himself (*āz nāz-dā khōd*); Soane (op. cit., p. 16) notices this ablative as being particular to the Bitlis district of the N.G., as—*bainin zhevīlitrā*, bring from the country.

²¹ *āw nīstānā*, these things; to notice the termination *ā*, which has to be compared with the similar *ā* in *āw mruwā*, this man (twelfth line in the Kurdish text). O. Mann (op. cit., p. xlviii) thinks that "Eine zweite Determinativ-Endung ist -ā, die aber nur einem bereits mit dem Demonstrativum verbundenen Nomen angefügt wird . . . *du pīāwā*, 'dieser Mann' (*pīāwā*). Cf. n. 3 (the first "Determinativ-Endung" is -ākā).

²² *wā* for *wā tō* = Persian *in tawr*. I do not think this *wā* is connected with the *dīfārmāi* (cf. O. Mann, p. lxxiv, about "cin Präfix *wā*." having the sense of reciprocity).

²³ *kūr*, deep, also *kāl* S.J.; *hūr*, fine (cf. n. 15).

²⁴ *pīshk*, part, from *pīshirīn*, separate?; scorpion, *dūpīshk*.

²⁵ *dē* . . . *dāmē*, I will give him; cf. n. 5.

²⁶ *gōā mīr*, he said to the Mir. Unlike the *ā* (cf. n. 7, above) there is here no verb indicating movement.

²⁷ *bazī*, from *bazīn*, to run.

²⁸ *chā jūwāb nādā*, he gave no answer; negative sense of *chā* can be noticed also in *chā dāng nākīr*, he gave no sound, remained silent; *chā jārān*, never, etc.

²⁹ *gōtū wān*, he told them, cf. n. 26. See also further *bāduinā wī*, let us give him; *gōfīnā mām tāl*, they said to Mam Tal.

³⁰ *katā nā hēta biān kirīn*, until it will not be explained. Passivum is formed by the verb *hālīn*, to come, to become. Rhea, in his grammar, speaks about this form, ex. *hālīn l-kushlīn*, to be killed. In our dialect we have not this *l* affixed to the verb. Says O. Mann (op. cit., p. xevi): "... Nun wird wie H. Schindler in einer Anmerkung angibt, in den persischen Dialekten häufig das Verbum *rūftan* in Sinne von *shodān*, und wie *āmūdān* im älteren Neupersisch, auch zur Umschreibung passivischer Ausdrucksweise verwendet." A resemblance can be noticed then between the use of *hālīn* in our dialect and *āmūdān* in early New Persian for the same purposes.

SOME NOTES ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF THE
KANURI LANGUAGE OF WEST AFRICA

By IDA C. WARD

[The phonetic symbols are those of the International Phonetic Association, see *Écriture Phonétique*, 1921. Tones $\bar{\hspace{.1em}}$ high level, $\acute{\hspace{.1em}}$ falling, unmarked mid or low level.]

BY the courtesy of the Commissioner for the Nigerian Section of the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley, I was able to make the following notes on Kanuri, after about a dozen sittings with a native of Kano, in 1924, and a few more in 1925. The native, whose name is Arigana, spoke no English other than a few isolated words such as *yes, good morning, come, sit*, etc. I knew no Kanuri at all, nor Hausa, which he could also speak. Mr. Nicholson, who was in charge of the natives in 1924, explained to Arigana what I wanted, and I worked on the following plan. I had *Kanuri Readings*, by P. Askell Benton, and Koelle's *Grammar of Kanuri*. In the first of these books several stories are written in a Roman script, with a word for word and a free translation, a Kanuri-English and English-Kanuri vocabulary, the latter a particularly full one. Between the summers of 1924 and 1925 I also used Noël's *Petit Manuel de Français-Kanuri* and von Duisberg's *Kanuri-Sprache*.

I began by picking out words from Benton's English-Kanuri vocabulary, saying them as they are transliterated, but the sketchy and often inaccurate accounts of Kanuri pronunciation in all the books was of little value. Arigana repeated each word, and I imitated his pronunciation, analysed it as well as I could, and wrote it down phonetically. He was, fortunately for my purpose, not too easily satisfied with my attempts at either the sounds or the intonation. In this way, working from the vocabulary, it was possible to build up sentences such as those given in the first section below. The second section is a story taken from Benton's book, differing in a few particulars from the original, because Arigana either did not understand the words or would not have used the construction given in the book. It is, of course, quite probable that some of the words may not be correct as they stand. With no means of explanation between us, it was not possible to discuss the meaning.

The difficulty of Kanuri pronunciation lies in a few consonants which Europeans cannot make easily, some vowels of an obscure quality, and the musical accent of the language. No mention is made

of tones or intonation in any of the books I used, but there is no doubt of the existence of particular tones in the language. Kanuri, however, does not seem to be like Yoruba and some other West African languages in having a complete tonal system with many words differing in tone only. But it has a decided musical accent, which may be found to have definite rules. I also found several pairs of words which were distinguished by tone alone.

ɣi (mid-level tone) (he, she, it), and **ɣì** (foot).

kwòlò, saucepan, and **kwólò** (both mid-level tones), little drum.

kùli, insect, and **kulì**, thigh.

duno, thigh, and **dùno**, strength.

namnəskɪn, I break, and **namnəskɪn**, I sit down.

kəmnəskɪn, I cut, and **kamnəskɪn**, I meet, catch.

boədʒi, called, and **boədʒì**, part of the verb to lie down.

nà:dəlabā, here ? and **nà:dəlabà**, not here.

In the vocabulary of Noël's book are given a number of pairs of words spelt alike with no indication that the difference between them is one of tone. Some of the above examples are taken from these. There are many others which it was impossible for me to verify without an interpreter, e.g. **tɕā** and **tɕà** were recognized by Arigana as two words (**mānā mndī**), but which means *formerly* and which *free*, the meanings given in Noël. I was unable to find out ; and in the same way **təmnəskɪn** and **tamnəskɪn** were two verbs, the meaning of which I could not discover. Many times I tried a word or phrase with different "tunes", in order to test whether Arigana would accept more than one kind of intonation, and he invariably refused all but one. He was, in fact, much less particular about slight variations in vowel sound than about "tune". The time given to this work, however, was much too short to allow of anything more than my recording as accurately as I could the tones I heard in the sentences transcribed. No attempt at classification or analysis was made.

Consonant Sounds.—The consonants recorded are : p, b, t, d, k, g, ʈ, ɖ, tɕ, ɖɕ, m, n, ɲ, ɳ, l, r, ɭ, ʁ, v, s, z, ʂ, ʑ, g, h, w, j. There is no doubt that further analysis would prove that several of these consonant sounds, as well as the vowels, could be grouped together as single phonemes, but it would require a very much longer period of work and a large number of texts before such classification could be made.

(a) *Plosive Consonants.*—t was sometimes not exploded, e.g. **tɕɪt**,

(quite). In some words Arigana would use **b** or **v**, e.g. **bibinēm** or **vivinēm** (you spoil). Such words are invariably written with **b** in Benton. In the same way **g** and **ɠ** were interchangeable, e.g. **bà:goa** or **bà:ɠoa** (not). **k** and **ɠ** were occasionally palatalized. What is written *kaske* (mine) I heard as **kasɤe**, *chēsánkí* (he erected) as **səzangɤi**.

(b) *Nasal Consonants*.—**m**, **n**, **ɲ**, and **ŋ** all occurred, and all but **ɲ** could be syllabic, e.g. **sam̩gin** (to divide), **ŋgəla** (good), **ɤɪnde** (our feet).

(c) *Lateral Consonant*.—**l** finally and before consonants was of a "clear" variety, e.g. **kalkal** (same), **guldzə** (he said).

(d) *Rolled Consonant*.—**r** was fully rolled. It could be syllabic, e.g. **rɤgà:mi** (claw). In the word *duri*, the **r** was slightly palatalized and strongly labialized; the lips were rounded and the bottom lip touched the top teeth.

(e) **ɺ**.—The sound represented by this symbol is by far the most difficult in the language. It seems to be articulated by the tongue-tip striking once against the teeth ridge, like a kind of one-tap **r** (I could see the tip in a gap between the two front teeth), while at the same time a little air escapes along the sides of the tongue. This gives the impression of an **l** and **r**. If the lateral element was too strong, however, i.e. if it sounded too much like **l**, or if there was anything like a rolled or fricative **r**, Arigana would not accept it. In all the books this sound is represented by **r** or **l**, and sometimes by both as if they were alternative pronunciations, e.g. **bali** (to-morrow) is written by Benton as *bari* and *bali*; while **kunduli** (hair) is written as *kunduli*, and **kurguli** (lion) as *kurguri*. I found **ɺ** in all these words. It is not surprising that this sound has been taken for **l** or **r**, as the acoustic effect is sometimes like the one and sometimes like the other, to an English ear, but there is, I think, no doubt that **ɺ** is a separate phoneme of the language and not merely a weakening of **l** or **r**, comparable to the weakening of **b** to **v** (see (a) above) though of course there may be dialectal variants. A curious confirmation of this is found in comparing Benton and Noël; in the former the verb *riskin* is given for "I am accustomed", and *liskin* as "I learn", while the latter gives *liskin* "I am accustomed" and *riskin* "I learn". Arigana would accept **ɺriskin** only for "I learn". And the words written as *riineskin* "I am afraid" and *rinneskin* "I take off (a garment)" were pronounced by him as **ɺinəskin** and **ɺinnəskin** respectively.

(f) *Fricative Consonants*.—Bi-labial **f** and **v** (**ɸ** and **ɸ̌**) were very common, e.g. **ɸà:to** (house) **nùva** (share). Two sibilant sounds occur in the language **s**, **ʃ**. **ʃ** is a sound articulated between **s** and **ʃ**, as in

as the sound in the French word *le* is the only central vowel indicated. In words containing this letter *ɛ* in the book, I distinguished a centralized close *e* (written *ē*), *ə* a neutral vowel similar to the English vowel in *about*, and *ɤ* a vowel in the neighbourhood of cardinal *o* made with unrounded lips and centralized. It is most probable that many of these sounds can be grouped into phonemes, but the phonemes of the language have not been worked out, and I can only give here the individual sound I heard in words and phrases, and hope that they may help someone else towards the work of a full phonetic analysis of the language.

Vowels in the neighbourhood of nasal consonants were nasalized to some degree, and sometimes the final consonant disappears, e.g. *busheor* was pronounced *ɲgàran* or *ɲgàrà*.

Examples

i	avī:ma, nothing.	o	bararo, hunt.
ɪ	tɛintən, far.	ɤ	jaskɤ, three.
ī	ɕīm, eye.	ʊ	zuma, Friday.
e	delā, jackal.	u	kūra, big.
ē	dagartē, division.	ə	ɲgəri, gazelle.
ɛ	jɛnne, get ready.	ai	mai, king.
a	mà:ləm, priest.	ɛi	rɪzɛi, teared.
ɔ	guldžò, he said.	eə	kimèəgɛi, red.
ó	tilòn, eleven.	oə	boəɖzi, called.

Short Phrases and Sentences

wū mūskopē mǎi, I have two hands.

wū ɕipē mǎi, I have two feet.

mūskō komburām, the right hand.

mūskō wɔrilā, the left hand.

avī sedim, what is she doing ?

ɕī sāgàɖɕim, she is weaving.

ɕī sāgàɖɕim rà:tolan, she is weaving in the house.

bāli nà:dero jiskm, I shall come here to-morrow.

ndā wa:tū, good morning.

sar jīm la, good-bye.

wuro kannūa, I am hot.

wuro kà:kua, I am cold.

ɤēro kurū, the girl is tall.

tāda kurū, the boy is tall.

àde ṭiṭà bu bā, that is a book.
 wū kanuri liskm, I learn Kanuri.
 wū nasara liskm, I learn English.
 nī nasara limm, you learn English.
 nāmgin, I sit.
 nāmne, you sit.
 napṭɛɛ, he sits
 andī nāmjan, we sit.
 nandī ē nāmno, you sit.
 sandī ē nāpsā, they sit.

Connected Text of a story taken from Benton's Kanuri Readings

kurgùli(va)	mà:ləm	delà(v)a	kənèri(va)	jasḳɛ	bara:ro
lion	priest	jackal	ground-squirrel	three	hunt to

leẓɛɛ. kurgùlie ngàra(n) ṭeẓō delà:e ng̣ērī ṭeẓō,
 went. lion bushcow killed jackal gazelle killed,

kən̄j̄erie	targ̣òna	ṭeẓō.	kurgùlie	mà:ləm	delāa	boəɖ̣ɛi,
ground-squirrel	hare	killed.	lion	priest	jackal	called.

mà:ləm	delā	arē	agō	rand̄:na	duri.	mà:ləm	delà:e
priest	jackal	come	thing	we get	we divide.	priest	jackal

ṭiḍɛ̄. ng̣àran kùra à:dē, nùva m̄ar-ve guldẓō. ng̣ērī à:dē
 arose. bushcow big that share king-of he said. gazelle that

nù:a	kasḳè	guldẓō.	tar(g)òna	à:dē	nù:a	kən̄eri-vi
share	mine	he said.	hare	that	share	ground-squirrel-of

guldẓō.
 he said.

kurgù:li	gərg̣à:zv	g̣im	zv	tilòa	r̄ər̄òmzv	sandī	mdī
lion	was angry	eye	his	one	opened	them	two

sòa suri. g̣imzv kimē ṭɛ̄rt, k̄ännū kim̄əg̣ɛɛ t̄ur̄unja
 looked at. eye his red quite, fire red when they saw

sandī	mdī	sō	r̄iẓɛɛ.	kən̄j̄eri	ṭeẓɛ	ja	mà:ləm	delā
they	two	him	feared.	ground-squirrel	arose	oh	priest	jackal

agē	nī	mà:ləm	gəj̄i.	t̄ediā	kurnā-va	kuṣulu-va
indeed	you	priest	not.	Beneath	kurna-tree	kusulu-tree

ven wurag̣àm.
 you grew up.

avi:mā nōnōmī guldzò. nù:va màr-ve vivinēmin darāḏa
nothing you know he said. share king of you spoil honour

bà:goa, t̃aiṇē nà:dēn nāmne. mà:lēm delā t̃æz̃ nà
not arise place that sit down. priest jackal got up place

t̃aint̃an napt̃ai. ḡḡāran kùra àdē nù:va màr-ve ġima
for he sat down. bushcow big that share king of he

t̃æz̃ dagartē bà(g)o. ḡḡārī à:dē nù:va màr-ve guldzò.
killed division not. gazelle that share king of he said.

kurgùli ḡḡà:z̃. ġinz̃ t̃ilōn sandi-a wuḏī sandī indī-sō
lion was angry eye his one them looked they two all

r̃iz̃. kurgù:lie mà:lēm delāa bàkts̃ t̃æz̃ r̃aktsi.
feared. lion priest jackal hit killed joined.

k̃anj̃erie jà màr dunj̃a samma ṽi p̃enne saṃḡin
ground squirrel oh king world all of get ready divide

guldzò. ḡḡela samnē, guldzò. delā ġia ñamzoli-è
he said. good divide he said jackal him foolishness his

t̃æz̃ àdijē nùva màr-ve. bargōna àdijē nùva màr-ve.
killed that share king of. hare that share king of.

ġi t̃ilō àdē nùva kaskjē guldzò. kurgù:lie ḡḡà:z̃
leg one that share nine he said. lion was angry

kundūli -nz̃-a s̃ez̃ḡḡj̃i. f̃rgā:mi -nz̃-a sutulī.
hair his he erected. claw his he put out.

k̃anj̃erie t̃æz̃. āla j̃iro kanadī ñḏō ġi t̃ilō àdjē
ground-squirrel arose. God you patience give, leg one that

nù:va màr-ve guldzò. j̃ā màr dāade kumbūnde ḡḡp̃i.
share king of he said. oh king meat that food our not

ġi-a bujēja, kasua ḡḡāḏi-ve andi-a s̃ēt̃ kundūli
it if we eat sickness chest of us would catch hair

t̃igi-ve samma f̃iḏī. j̃ā màr dunr̃a-vi kundūli
body of our all would fall out. oh king world of hair

zanna mà-ve guldzò. kundūli -nz̃ boḏḏi. f̃rgā:mi ñam
paradise of he said. have his lay down claw your

à:dè ɾɾgā.mi zanna- mà-ue guldzò. ɟim nəm à:die ɟim
that claw paradise of he said. eye your that eye

zanna- mà-ue guldzò. ɟimzɾ zakt̪i. kənjè:ri sɛgasɾ
paradise of he said. eye he shut. ground-squirrel ran away

bə̀lā:ga-ro ga:i(gaigī). ja kənjè:ri arē guldzò.
hole-to entered. oh ground-squirrel come he said.

subàna (a)llā:hi kām pàga sobazēna-vi ala bārganzɾ:
without sin God man you is friendly of God bless.

kām pè:ro nəmwaladī sɛdēna-ue ala barganzɾ-à goəzū
man you service does of God blessing-his put

amàna bà:goa guldzò. kurgù:ɾe lɛɟi. da:ɟi.
confidence not he said. lion went away. finis.

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS
*Two Lectures delivered at the School of Oriental Studies, London, on
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THE question concerning the location of the original home of the Indo-Europeans—by which name is designated, not a certain race or people of which no traces have so far been found, but the peoples or tribes who did at one time speak the no longer existing Indo-European language—has at times aroused great interest and vivid discussion amongst scholars. While at one time the *consensus omnium* seemed to vote for an Asiatic origin of the Indo-Europeans, and even, owing to a misunderstanding of the linguistic affinities of Sanskrit, looked for their old home within the borders of India, general opinion seems, since the time of Latham, to have decided for Europe as the cradle of Indo-European-speaking peoples. But as to where in Europe the starting-point of the migrations of these tribes should be looked for no uniform opinion is so far on record. The idea, certainly impossible,¹ that the “*Urheimat*” should be looked for in Germany and then probably on the southern shores of the Baltic, has long been in favour with German scholars who saw in the ideal old Teutons described by Tacitus a real counterpart of the “Indo-Germanic” ancestors; and Scandinavian archaeologists and philologists have been strongly inclined to adopt this rather fanciful theory and to look for the “*Urheimat*” not only in Germany but also on the Danish islands and in the southernmost province of Sweden. Other scholars looked for a centre of spread in Hungary, and this theory has quite lately been advocated in an able way by Dr. Giles.² The late lamented Professor Schrader, in his sound and thoroughly critical way, tried to establish that South Russia, the rich corn-land to the north of the Black Sea, was the original home of the Indo-Europeans; but he was not quite averse to the idea that they might at one time have extended over areas to the east of that part of Europe. There are other theories as well, but they do not need to be taken into consideration here.

The present writer is well aware that at this very moment no solution of this problem which might be considered a thoroughly

¹ Cf. de Morgan, *La Préhistoire Orientale*, i, 191.

² Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, i, 65 sq.; *Cambridge Ancient History*, ii, 29 sq.

satisfactory one can possibly be offered. But he would like to underline in the following some points of view which seem lately to have been somewhat overlooked by comparative philologists, and which appear to go rather a long way in contradicting the hypothesis of a European origin of our linguistic ancestors. He would also like to state at the very beginning that he feels convinced, as far as conviction goes in a case like this, that the home of the tribes who once spoke the Indo-European language is to be looked for in, and in the neighbourhood of Central Asia. Such a theory, although looked upon with suspicion and disapproval by most comparative philologists, is not quite obsolete. It is upheld by at least one great historian, Professor Eduard Meyer, of Berlin, and also by a very sound and recognized philologist, Dr. S. Feist, author of several valuable works on Indo-European prehistory : but the reasons on which these scholars base their conclusions are scarcely quite valid.

Before starting upon my real topic first let me add a few remarks of a more general nature which seem, in this case, to be somewhat necessary.

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The main foundation of comparative philology is the discovery that the ancient Indian and Iranian languages are closely connected with the main groups of European ones, viz. Greek, Latin, Albanese, Keltic, Teutonic, and Slavonic languages. Armenian, a language spoken since some 2500 years in its present home, originally belonged to invaders from Europe whom Herodotus calls "colonists of the Phrygians" (*φρυγῶν ἀποικοί*). Recent investigations in Central Asia have brought to light great remnants of a hitherto unknown language, which so far is most aptly designated as "Tocharian", and which seems to be in some strange way connected with the languages of Western Europe,¹ though its affinities are by no means clear. Excavations in Asia Minor have unearthed a great number of documents pertaining to the ancient and mighty empire of the Hittites, documents composed in a series of different languages ; and amongst these two at least seem to contain a good deal of Indo-European linguistic material. Other branches of older Indo-European languages, as that of the Illyrians, Thracian-Phrygians, etc., have disappeared with the exception of some scanty remnants.

Of who is the real founder of a developed comparative philology

¹ Cf. Charpentier in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, lxxi, 377 sq

there cannot be the slightest doubt. That honour is due to the famous German philologist, Franz Bopp (1791-1867), who first of all, in his monumental comparative grammar, published a detailed review of the phonetic and morphological affinities of the main Indo-European languages. But the main idea, that of the connexion between on the one side Sanskrit and Persian and on the other the European languages, is of a considerably older date.

It is quite well known that Sir William Jones, in his presidential address to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, outlined the connexion between the Indo-Iranian and the chief European languages in some short but masterly lines : and his sagacious words have recently been brought back to memory in a very proper place.¹ But even he was not the first one who had a presentiment of the great discovery : for, as has been well known for a long time and has recently again been laid stress on by M. de la Vallée Poussin, the Jesuit father Cœurdoux (d. 1779) in a letter to his friend Anquetil Duperron in 1768 drew up a list of correspondences between the Sanskrit and the classical languages, many of which are quite coincident with what is still thought sound and well-established within comparative philology. To M. de la Vallée Poussin, who, in his otherwise excellent work, lays slightly too much stress on the achievements of French philological investigation, it seems clear that this Jesuit father was the first one to give vent to the idea underlying comparative grammar : but that is scarcely the case, for even Father Cœurdoux had one or two predecessors. One of those was Thomas Stephens, S.J. (1549-1619), an Englishman who spent the last forty years of his life mainly in Goa as a missionary, and is rather famous as an author of grammatical works on Konkani and of the large text called the "Christian Purāṇa".² In a letter to his brother, dated 1583, he gives expression to the idea that the Indian and the classical languages were closely connected with each other. Another one seems to have been Filippo Sassetti (1540-88), an Italian merchant and literary man, who lived for several years and even died at Goa ; he, no doubt, had a smattering of Sanskrit, and seems to have suggested some connexion between it and the classical tongues.

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Archæological researches seem to have established the fact that in neolithic and protometallic times a rather uniform culture was spread out over a very extensive area comprising different parts of Asia and

¹ Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, i, 63 sq.

² Cf. this *Bulletin*, II, 679 sq. ; III, 159 sq. ; IV, 231 sq.

Eastern Europe. Traces of this culture have been found in Roumania and Southern Russia (Tripolje, etc.), in Susa, in Balūcistān, in India, at Anau in Turkestan, etc. ; and the researches of Swedish scholars—Professor J. G. Anderson and Dr. T. J. Arne—have succeeded in establishing the presence of this same culture also in the interior provinces of China. It seems scarcely possible that a culture spread over such a vast area could have originated with one people only ; and if such were the case we do not in the least know the racial or linguistic connexions of that people. Nothing at all goes to prove that the upholders of this culture were at any place tribes of Indo-European stock ; and from a chronological point of view such a suggestion seems to the present writer to be wholly improbable.

So if archæology does not so far help us to try a reconstruction of Indo-European conditions we may feel inclined next to turn to the evidence afforded by historical documents. But even here we are left sadly in the lurch. Peoples speaking Indo-European languages enter at a late date on the stage of history, and historical documents written in such languages cannot at all compete for age with the chronicles of Egypt and Babylonia. The Vedas and the hymns of Zoroaster, though both probably of considerable antiquity, can afford us no historical clues concerning the age of an unbroken Indo-European unity ; some ancient Greek inscriptions, the history of Herodotus and the edicts of the Achæmenians in reality are the oldest historical documents in an Indo-European tongue, and it goes without saying that they have preserved no single trace of the age of their common ancestors.

Conditions being thus desperate, there is nothing to do but to turn to comparative philology and have recourse to a purely linguistic reconstruction of Indo-European times. The value of such an investigation is not to be over-rated ; for it is quite clear that a great mass of linguistic material dating from Indo-European times has been lost in one language or another and can no longer be got at. But, on the other hand, the value of linguistic reconstruction must not be under-rated, for it is, as we have seen, our only means for arriving at certain conclusions concerning the place where the Indo-Europeans had their home and the mode of life they were leading.

But if linguistic reconstruction is to be of any value it must, of course, be attempted with the utmost care : and here the sins of comparative philology are many and not easily to be forgiven. Unfortunately philologists have generally been considerably more

at home in the European languages than in the Indo-Iranian¹ ones, and they have consequently neglected the evidence of the later ones. This, of course, is a capital mistake, as it is only the Indo-Iranian languages which, as far as we know, have never been spoken in Europe; and this makes the material offered by them for comparison to be of the utmost importance. Further, comparative philologists are often satisfied with root-relationships between words said to belong to the Indo-European language and denoting natural or artificial objects, the existence of which in Indo-European times is to be proved. This, also, is quite wrong, and we must strongly insist that, in cases like these, not only the root must be the same, but that the words which are to be compared must be identical with each other.

I shall try to make clear by two examples exactly what I mean. Much fuss has been made about the name of the beech-tree, which in Europe does not grow to the east of a line somewhat schematically drawn from Königsberg to Odessa.² If the name of the tree could be proved to have existed in the Indo-European language, this would, of course, be taken as a proof that the people who spoke that language did live to the west of the Königsberg—Odessa line: but, unfortunately, this is not the case. The plain facts are these: there exists a Greek word *φῆγός* (*phāyós*), a Latin *fāpus*, and a Teutonic **bōka-*, which do all together go back to a common source and do undoubtedly prove that at one time the ancestors of Greeks, Romans, and Teutons lived in a country where beeches were found growing. So far everything is all right. But then the late Professor Osthoff and some still living scholars in Germany came forward to tell us that also a Kurdish word—to be found only in one single dialect of Kurdistan—meaning “elm-tree” (*būz* or *wūz*), and a Russian word, *bozŭ* “elder”, should be connected with the already established name of the beech; and so the proof was there that this tree had really existed in the home of the Indo-Europeans, which must, consequently, have been located in Europe. This, of course, is pure nonsense, and need not trouble us at all. For nothing is won by drawing conclusions from words which can be kept together neither from a linguistic nor from a semasiological point of view; the one thing we can safely assert is that linguistically there is not the slightest proof that a name of the

¹ I throughout use the term *Indo-Iranian* and not *Aryan*; for, while on the continent those two are nowadays generally taken to be identical, *Aryan* in English generally means the same as *Indo-European*.

² Details need not be given here; they can be gathered from e.g. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertums-kunde*, 2nd ed., s.v. *Buche*.

beech-tree existed in the Indo-European language. The legitimate inference so far is that the people who spoke that language did not even know the beech-tree.

A second example is afforded by the name of the metal "gold", as some scholars will assert that comparative philology proves it to have been known by the Indo-Europeans. This, however, is not the case. There is no doubt whatsoever that the Indo-Iranians knew gold: this is definitely proved by the nearly total identity of Sanskrit *hiranya* and Avestan *zaranya*.¹ But then this is all. The Greek *χρυσός* quite obviously is of foreign origin, and the Latin *aurum* belongs to a totally different group of words. As for the Gothic *gulþ* and the Old Slavonic *zlato* (Russian *zóloto*), they are undoubtedly somewhat nearer connected, though not wholly identical. But the original sense of the words is simply "yellow", and so the Teutons and Slavs called gold the "yellow" metal; and with this fact taken into consideration, it cannot be further upheld that there exists a common Indo-European name for gold. It may well have been known by the Indo-Europeans, but it is methodically wrong to contend that this can be proved on purely linguistic reasons.

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If, with all the necessary precautions, we now try to establish which names of natural phenomena, of animals, plants, artificial objects, etc., were to be found in the original Indo-European language, and may consequently have existed in the home of the Indo-Europeans, the results are not very far-reaching. But they are, according to my opinion, quite sufficient for allowing us to arrive at certain conclusions.

The home of the Indo-Europeans was undoubtedly situated in a region where *snow*, *ice*, *rain*, and *thunder* were well-known; and we find very clear designations of the three main seasons of a temperate climate, viz. *spring*, *summer*, and *winter*, while a name for *autumn* is wanting—a fact recurring in several other languages as well. There is scarcely any need to underline that the Indo-Europeans had special names for *sun*, *moon*, and *stars*. But it may be worth while to point out that amongst the different constellations it is only the *Great Bear* that can be traced back to the dictionary of the Indo-European language; ² besides, it seems possible that our ancestors looked upon

¹ According to my opinion the words may originally have been completely identical, as I venture to think that *hiranya* may be a later development of an older **haranya*.

² Professor Bartholomæ, in *Indogermanische Forschungen* xxxi. 35 sq., has tried to prove the existence of an Indo-European name of the Pleiads: but this is apparently a fallacy.

the *Milky Way* as a way or rather a river on the vault of heaven, but no linguistic facts are there to prove this suggestion.

The land where the Indo-Europeans lived seems to have contained *mountains* and *woods*, *rivers*, and *brooks*. But linguistic facts seem to establish beyond doubt that there were scarcely any lakes, and that this land, wherever it was situated, was far from any great *sea* or *ocean*. *Fords*, by which to cross the rivers, were apparently well-known, but the language does not prove that *bridges* were known; nor does it establish the acquaintance, in Indo-European times, with dug, or otherwise constructed, *wells*.

As for animals and plants, it is quite obvious that the Indo-European language did not know such ones as are characteristic of tropical climates. Names of the elephant, rhinoceros, tiger, lion,¹ etc., are absent, as well as those of rice, sugar-cane, palm-trees, etc. This, of course, tallies well with what has already been pointed out as indicating a temperate or cold zone as the original habitat of the Indo-Europeans.

Comparative philology shows us that amongst wild animals the Indo-Europeans knew the *bear*, which did certainly already at an early date play a great part in animal lore, and the *wolf*; and one may feel tempted to suggest that at a very early period the idea of *werwolves* was by no means unknown.² There are, moreover, names of the *fox*, the *otter*, the *beaver*, the *rat*, or *mouse*, the *hare*, and possibly the *squirrel*, though this is fairly uncertain. Language further testifies to the acquaintance of the Indo-Europeans with some *cervine* animal—possibly, but not necessarily, the *elk*—and the *swine*, which was certainly the wild and not the domesticated one: for, the Indo-Iranians certainly never kept tame swine,³ just as little as this seems to have been done by the Semitic and Turko-Tartaric peoples.

There is no certain indication that the Indo-Europeans kept *tame fowls*; and the name of our tame hen presents serious difficulties and is probably a very old loan word from a Semitic or Sumerian source. But language proves that there existed in the Indo-European home

¹ There are, however, certain indications that some great animal of the cat-species was perhaps not unknown.

² Cf. the well-known passage in Herodotus, iv 105: λέγονται γὰρ ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν καὶ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἐν τῇ Σκυθικῇ κατοικημένων ὡς ἕτεος ἐκάστου ἀπαξ τῶν Νευρῶν ἕκαστος λύκος γίνεται ἡμῖρας ὀλίγας καὶ αὖτις ὀπίσω ἐς τὸντὸ κατίσταται.

³ This fact is not contradicted by the linguistically valuable discovery by Jacobsohn, *Arier und Ugrofinnen*, p. 135 sq., that a word corresponding to Latin *porcus* etc., did once exist in the Iranian languages.

the *goose*, the *duck*, the *quail*, the *wild pigeon*, and also a bird that may have been either the *woodcock*, the *partridge*, or some bird nearly related to these: its name is apparently onomatopoeic and contains the sounds *t-t-r*.

Of other animals language indicates acquaintance with the *serpent*, the *ant*, the *fly*, the *flea*, the *worm*, the *crayfish*, and the *wasp*. It seems remarkable that we find an Indo-European name for *honey*, but so far none for *bee*; this curious fact may admit of different explanations which need not be gone into here. What is further to be strongly taken into consideration is that the Indo-Europeans had apparently not only no name for *fish* in general, but also no name for single species of fish. It is only amongst the Indo-European tribes living on the North Sea and the Baltic—the Celts, the Teutons, and the Slavs—that we find certain correspondences amongst the names of fishes, but these names generally seem to be of foreign origin; this tallies well with the existence, proved by archaeological researches, etc., at different parts of the countries bordering on the Baltic and also on the mouth of the Rhine, of prehistoric fish-eating populations. The *Veda* and the *Avesta* do not betray any acquaintance with fish diet, nor do the Homeric poems convey to us the impression that fish was at that time any common sort of food. Taken all together, the facts seem to indicate that fish and fish-eating were alike unknown to the Indo-Europeans.

As for the domestic animals of the Indo-European age, they were about the same as they are in our own days, with certain notable exceptions: for, neither seems the *ass* to have been known—though it was certainly known to the Indo-Iranians—nor the *cat*, nor the *rabbit*, and it has already been mentioned that the *swine* and *tame birds* were probably not kept. But the *dog*—probably the oldest of domestic animals, and at one time kept also to be eaten—was there, and the *sheep*, the *goat*, the *cow*, and *bull*,¹ and, above all, the *horse*. The last one, no doubt, was the most important domestic animal of the Indo-Europeans. In Europe the horse was probably for a long time hunted and eaten, while in the interior of Asia the Mongolian peoples had already at an early period begun to domesticate the animal and use it for riding purposes. This difference probably originated in the

¹ In the *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xli, 175 sq., Dr. Ipsen has tried to prove that the name of the cow is originally a loan word from Sumerian. This seems to me a wholly unnecessary suggestion; on the other hand, the name of the bull (Indo-European **(s)teyrā-*) is probably a very old loan.

existence of different races of horses, a heavier Western one and a lighter Eastern one: and it seems not wholly improbable that these two races had entirely different names, of which one still survives in the French *cheval*, the other one, e.g., in Persian *asp*. The horse was long unknown to the great nations of Mesopotamia and Egypt; it may have been introduced from Iran into Babylon about 2000 B.C., or slightly earlier, and was there called "the ass of the mountains". It seems a permissible suggestion that it came to Egypt with the Hyksos.

If, now, we turn from the animal to the vegetable world, the results are far more scanty. It seems established beyond any doubt that the Indo-Europeans knew the *birch*—and not necessarily the common *Betula alba*—the *willow*, and some species of *fir-tree*; and, besides, there is a widespread word which did originally no doubt mean simply "tree, wood, timber", but which has later on in certain languages adopted the sense of either "oak" or "fir-tree". On the other hand, there is no name of any single plant or flower: nor does anything in the language indicate that the Indo-Europeans had the slightest acquaintance with the cultivation of fruit-trees or vegetables.

It has frequently been contended that the Indo-Europeans were well acquainted with agriculture. But this is a fallacy owing its origin to the fact that word-comparison has chiefly been limited to the European languages. As a matter of fact, there exists nothing but the single name of a cereal—most probably *corn* (Skt. *yava*, etc.)—and a verb denoting a very primitive method of crushing the grain,¹ which points to Indo-European acquaintance, not with agriculture itself, but with one single product of agriculture. It seems quite obvious that it was only after the separation of the Indo-Iranians from the other branches of the Indo-European tribes that the latter ones took up agriculture—probably on the fertile soil of South Russia. Language does not prove that *beans* were known in the oldest time; but there seems to be a very old idea that the souls of the dead sometimes took up their lodgings in beans, and this idea may date from Indo-European times.²

The Indo-Europeans are generally said to have been living at a neolithic stage of culture. But this suggestion is modified by the

¹ This verb occurs in Skt. *piśy-*, Latin *pinso*, etc.

² As for cucumbers, it is very tempting indeed to connect, as has been done, Latin *cucurbita* with Sanskrit *carbhata* "Cucumis utilissimus"; but the Sanskrit word is very late and doubtful. Anyhow, it is a remarkable fact that no species of cucumber is indigenous to Europe.

apparent fact that they were well acquainted with one of the metals, viz. *copper*. The name of this metal is contained in Sanskrit *ayas*, in Latin *aes*, in Gothic *aiz*, etc. It has recently been suggested that this word is in reality nothing but an old name of Cyprus preserved in Egyptian and other documents. This suggestion has been contested; but although it cannot probably be proved, it remains a very fascinating one. That *gold* cannot be proved to have been known I have already pointed out: as for *silver* there exist two quite different sets of names, but the conditions are too complicated to be gone into here, especially as the inference is that the metal in question cannot be proved to have been known to the Indo-Europeans. There is no name of any mineral preserved from the common language. And it is certainly a fact not to be passed over that while the European languages have a common name for *salt* (Greek *ἄλς*, Latin *sal*, etc.) this is not shared by the Indo-Iranians, who denote this stuff by wholly different names. This fact, seen in correlation with certain other ones, seems to betray the curious circumstance that the Indo-Europeans did not really know salt, and that it was only the European branches amongst them who became acquainted with it. This they probably did on the northern shore of the Black Sea, where already some thousands of years ago enormous salt-mines were known to exist.¹

That the Indo-Europeans could perhaps dispense with salt seems to be explained by the fact that their food was chiefly, if not exclusively, obtained from their domestic animals and—though apparently to no very great degree—from the products of hunting. Language indicates that the food did chiefly consist of *meat* and *milk*; and though a name for *flour* seems to be in existence there exists none for either *bread* or *porridge*. As for *butter*, it did certainly exist, but was scarcely much used for food: classical writers remarked that the barbarians used it as a cosmetic—especially perhaps in a state of rancidity—and this seems to have been its oldest use. There is no proof whatsoever of the existence of *cheese*. Nor does language testify to the acquaintance with either *ale* or *wine*; ² but *honey* apparently was in extensive use, and it

¹ (cf. Herodotus, iv. 53: ὅλες τε ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ Βορυσθένης) αὐτόματοι πηγνύνται ἄπλετοι.

² It seems by now to be fairly well established that the names of the wine in Indo-European languages (Greek *οἶνος*, Latin *vinum*, Armenian *gini*, etc.), as well as Semitic **rainu* are all derived from a Caucasian source of which traces do perhaps still exist.

seems quite probable that the Indo-Europeans knew how to produce, by the fermentation of mare's milk, an alcoholic beverage.¹

Simple as was the food were certainly also the other conditions of life. Language testifies to no luxury in either dress—which seems to have consisted of skins or woollen stuffs, linen and cotton being apparently unknown—or housing or furniture and utensils. The houses, to judge from the well-known house-urns, seem originally to have been of a stack-like or tent-like shape; and they sometimes perhaps consisted only of cave-like rooms beyond the surface of the earth, with possibly a plaited roof to cover the entrance from above. Of implements few were apparently known, of weapons only *spear* and *arrow*—which, of course, also implies the *bow*—can with certainty be said to have been used. But apparently the Indo-Europeans, whatever else were their achievements in the mechanical arts, were quite clever wainwrights: wagons and carts were well known and frequently used, and there are several Indo-European names of the different parts of these conveyances.

Scant and simple as seems to have been the material culture of these Indo-Europeans, they were probably still superior to their neighbours in one way, viz. by the possession of their herds of domesticated horses, which made them able to move about at great speed, and, consequently to develop a considerable military superiority. One cannot help feeling that a description that would probably have well suited these roving tribes with their riding men and their women, children, and household goods loaded on carts and wagons is the one given by Herodotus (iv, 16) of the nomadic Scythians: τῷ δὲ Σκυθικῷ γένει ἐν μὲν τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πρηγμαίων σοφώτατα πάντων ἐξεύρηται τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν, τὰ μέντοι ἄλλα οὐκ ἄγαμαι. Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον οὕτω σφί ἀνεύρηται ὥστε ἀποφυγεῖν τε μηδὲνα ἐπελθόντα ἐπὶ σφέας, μὴ βουλομένους τε ἐξευρεθῆναι καταλαβεῖν μὴ οἶόν τε εἶναι τοῖσι γὰρ μήτε ἄστυα μήτε τείχεα ἢ ἐκτισμένα, ἀλλὰ φερέοικοι ἐόντες πάντες ἔωσι ἵπποτοξόται, ζῶντες μὴ ἀπ' ἀρότου ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κτηνέων οἰκήματά τέ σφί ἢ ἐπὶ ζευγέων, κῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴησαν οὗτοι ἄμαχοί τε καὶ ἄποροι προσμίσγειν.

Simple and undeveloped was certainly also the spiritual culture of the Indo-Europeans. There are so far no indications that any impor-

¹ The liquor denoted in Sanskrit by *surā*, in the Avesta by *huuā* possibly originally meant a beverage prepared from mare's milk. Later on *surā* certainly means "rice-wine" or "rice-brandy", cf. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, pp. 240, 581.

tant spiritual innovations originated with the Indo-European tribes ; and when we look back upon the brilliant record of the Greeks and remember that they did already at an early date attain a very high degree of culture, we must also remember that they succeeded, at the time of their migration into Greece, to the splendid civilizations of Mycene, Crete, and Asia Minor. Social institutions as well as judicial proceedings seem to have been of the simplest sort with the Indo-Europeans : and the greater part of those legal powers that we are nowadays used to see vested in the State were at that period managed by the individuals or the family. That blood feuds belong, in an extensive degree, to the institutions of a primitive age is too well known to be specially underlined here.

As for the religion of the Indo-Europeans, little is so far known. But those scholars who totally deny the possibility of arriving at any sound conclusions concerning that topic are probably just as wrong as those who think that quite a number of individual gods and of very detailed myths can be traced back to the remote age of Indo-European linguistic unity. To the present writer it seems to be a legitimate conclusion that the Indo-Europeans had a cult of the spirit of their ancestors, though they did not, as a rule, consider the dead as malignant and bloodthirsty beings, as is e.g. the case with the non-Aryan tribes of India. But higher than these spirits of the dead seem to have soared, in the Indo-European religion, the great powers of nature and especially the vault of heaven, the *κύκλος πᾶς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, which was, according to Herodotus (i, 131), the highest god of the ancient Persians. There is not the slightest indication that the Indo-Europeans possessed either temples or idols, just as little as did the Persians or the Vedic Aryans.¹ They probably worshipped their gods on certain sacrificial grounds, where the flesh of the animals and the other gifts were spread out on grass and offered to the divine powers : whether they made use of sacrificial fires is a question open to doubt, as there will always be a difference of opinion as to whether the Persian custom of not using the fire for sacrificial and sepulchral purposes is the original one or not. According to the opinion of the present writer it may well be an innovation : and the Aryans in India may consequently have preserved in their fire-ritual an inheritance from the age of their Indo-European ancestors.

¹ What has been adduced to prove that the Aryans of the Vedic times possessed and worshipped idols (cf. e.g. Konow, *Ind. Ant.*, xxxvii, 145 sq.) is wholly valueless. We have no mention of idols in Sanskrit literature earlier than Pāṇini, v. 3, 99.

Many more or less important facts have had to be omitted from this review of the conditions prevalent, according to linguistic evidence, in the home of the Indo-Europeans. But what has been said may still be sufficient to convey the impression of a people living in a temperate climate where snow and ice were at times to be known and surrounded by the animals which are still found in such a zone of the earth. Also the few trees which are proved by etymology to have existed in those surroundings—viz. the birch, the willow, and the fir-tree—are such that are usually met with in countries with a rather severe climate.

These tribes were apparently leading a very simple life. Their chief possessions were their domestic animals, their sheep, goats, cows, and oxen, dogs, and above all their horses, fleet of foot and trained as well for the purpose of riding as for being yoked to carts and wagons. These people knew corn, and a very primitive method of crushing it, but no proper agriculture: their food consisted chiefly of the meat and milk yielded by their cattle and horses. No salt, no spices gave to their simple food a more exquisite flavour, nor did they seem to have possessed any ale or wine; but probably some drink prepared from honey, as well as fermented mare's milk, at times allowed them to indulge in some simple bacchanalian pleasures. This mode of life undoubtedly points to a fairly primitive people with nomadic habits, roaming, by help of their horses and wagons, over great distances and feeding their animals on different pasture-grounds where at certain times they fixed those tents which, like the Scythians of Herodotus, they used to move with them loaded on their heavy carts.

The spiritual culture of these tribes was also a fairly primitive one. But as far as anything can be known concerning their religion, it seems to have been rather a sublime than a repulsive one. They worshipped the spirits of their dead ancestors, who were, at times, undoubtedly considered to be rather dangerous customers, but who were, on the other hand, never looked upon in the same way as that crowd of malignant and blood-loving ghouls that are haunting jungle and village over the greater part of India. But above all the Indo-Europeans worshipped and offered their sacrifices to the majestic powers of nature; and their highest deity seems to have been the lofty vault of heaven, which, according to Herodotus, the ancient Persians considered to be the counterpart of Olympian Zeus. It deserves to be remembered that ancestor-worship and worship of Heaven seems to be characteristic of the religions of Central and Upper Asia and even of that of the Chinese.

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Keeping in mind our main thesis that the Indo-Europeans were a nomadic people probably roaming over very large areas, let us now consider briefly the chief of the various theories concerning the original home of the Indo-Europeans. That home, of course, has to be looked for either in Asia or in Europe: no other continent could in earnest be taken into consideration, nor has this, to my knowledge at least, ever been done.

At the time when Sanskrit became first known to European scholars—the beginning of the nineteenth century¹—some leading authorities advanced the idea that the ancient language of India was in reality identical with that of the Indo-Europeans. This theory, which was undoubtedly a retrogression in comparison with the sagacious ideas of Sir William Jones, naturally led its propagators to look for the home of the Indo-Europeans in India proper. But it was soon established beyond the possibility of doubt that Sanskrit was not the stem from which all other Indo-European languages had branched off, and that, consequently, the difficult idea of locating the “*Urheimat*” in India had to be given up. But scholars still clung to the hypothesis that the cradle of the Indo-Europeans was to be looked for in Asia; and in that way the Pamirs, the Oxus region, and Central Asia all found favour with comparative philologists as having a claim to be considered as the original home of the tribes speaking the Indo-European idiom.

A reaction set in, in the middle of the last century, with Latham, who pleaded on various reasons for locating the homestead of the Indo-Europeans within our own continent. And ever since that time the idea of a European “*Urheimat*” has won more and more favour with scholars who have tried to adduce more or less valid reasons for establishing this new hypothesis. Amongst most students of comparative philology nowadays it seems to be a sort of article of creed that the home of the Indo-Europeans was situated somewhere in Europe; but I have already mentioned that some few notable scholars do not even now share this opinion.

The majority of German and Scandinavian scholars seem, as has already been mentioned, to look upon it as an established fact that the “*Urheimat*” is to be found on the shores of the Baltic. It has been a favourite idea with German scholars since days long gone by to try

¹ Certain individuals, especially some Jesuit fathers, had, however, possessed more than a smattering of Sanskrit also during the previous centuries.

to identify Teutons—as described by Tacitus¹—with Indo-Europeans. Archæological arguments, chiefly furnished by the great Scandinavian archæologists of the last half century such as Montelius and others, seem to prove the existence, in parts of Northern Europe, for more than 3,000 years, of a somewhat uniform race ; this evidence has been misunderstood or misinterpreted by certain German scholars, and it has far too easily been taken for granted that this race was identical with the Teutons, a hazy and vague conception which has not been sufficiently defined. One has also tried to adduce linguistic arguments to prove the presence, since times immemorial, of the Indo-Europeans on the shores of the Baltic. We may well indulge in a quiet smile when a German archæologist goes to the length of suggesting that the Teutonic languages should represent the original Indo-European idiom from which languages like the Indo-Iranian or the Greek have considerably deviated. But even more earnest arguments no doubt prove to be fallacious. A favourite one is this : the Lithuanian languages are recognized to be of a very old-fashioned structure, though the oldest proofs of these idioms preserved to our time are only a few centuries old : consequently these languages cannot have moved far from the place of their origin, and the Indo-Europeans must then have been living near the present dwelling-places of the Lithuanians. But the scholars who adduce this argument do not seem to have taken into consideration that the Indo-Iranian languages are still more old-fashioned, and that, were their theory a correct one, the tribes who spoke those idioms must have migrated thousands of miles from their original abode. Nor does it seem to have occurred to them that the Teutonic languages which are, since long ago, in a state of utter destruction should, according to their views, still be spoken within the very area of the Indo-European language.

Some evidence has also been brought forth to prove that the Indo-Europeans were agriculturists. But as such arguments are wholly built up on etymologies from the European languages with a wholesale neglect of the negative evidence furnished by the Indo-Iranian dialects they need not detain us very much. The facts collected above undoubtedly point to the Indo-Europeans as being a nomadic people, and no nomads could at any known period have had their abodes on the shores of the Baltic. Nor does anything at all go to prove

¹ In this connexion one seems totally to have forgotten the otherwise obvious fact that the description given by Tacitus is very strongly idealized in order to put up the life of the Teutons as a standard to his demoralized countrymen.

that the domestication of the horse originated in that part of the world, while it is a well-established fact that the peoples of Central and Upper Asia have since times of yore been possessors of fleet and well-trained horses.

Further on, the Indo-European language did not, as far as we are aware, possess any name of the sea, which is rather remarkable, provided its bearers should have lived on the shores of the Baltic. Nothing in the language indicates that the Indo-Europeans were acquainted with ships and the art of sailing, which would also be rather remarkable had they been living amongst the sea-faring nations of the north. A most astonishing fact also is that the Indo-Europeans seem to have had no knowledge of either *fish* or *shell-fish*; ¹ for had they been living at the period suggested by Scandinavian and German scholars, on the shores of the Baltic they would undoubtedly have succeeded to, or otherwise been in connexion with, the prehistoric people of the kitchen-middens whose sole food seems to have consisted of fish, oysters, and cockles. Nor could a people live for centuries on the shores of the Baltic without itself taking to fishing, even if it had not been taught to do so by its connexion with other tribes. Nor has any one of the scholars who advance the Baltic theory tried to deal with the question of the *amber*. Archaeological research as well as historical evidence have established beyond doubt that amber was, since prehistoric times, found, used and exported by the tribes inhabiting the shores of the Baltic: but, notwithstanding this, there cannot be found even the slightest trace of an Indo-European name of this precious material. Does not this strike one as being rather incongruent with the hypothesis of a Baltic home of the Indo Europeans?

If, finally, we add that the theories of the spread of the Indo-European tribes from their home on the Baltic--theories that need not be repeated here--are totally unhistoric and have been made up with the help of fallacious parallels relating to a far later period, no more need be said concerning the Baltic "Urheimat". The sooner a theory like this disappears from the handbooks of comparative philology the better.

Another hypothesis, advanced by some earlier scholars and quite recently ably defended by Dr. Giles, gives it that Hungary was the

¹ Sanskrit *śankha* and its European relations (e.g. Greek *κόγχος*, *κόγχη*, etc.), apparently do not mean the catable *shell-fish*, but the *cockle-shell* as being used for various purposes.

country from which the Indo-Europeans spread over Europe and part of Asia. There is something to be said for a theory like this, and it will be seen presently that to the present writer it appears probable that some branches of the Indo-Europeans did at one time live together in Hungary. But as the starting-point of the whole migration this country does not seem to come seriously into consideration. The Hungarian theory, just as little as the other European ones, counts with the migrations of the Indo-Iranians into India and Persia, for those tribes have, to our knowledge, never had their abode within the limits of Europe. Nor does it seem plausible that tribes of nomads could during any prolonged period of time have had their dwelling-places on the fertile soil of Hungary; and it would certainly be remarkable if they had not, at an early time, learnt to supply their means of existence from the innumerable shoals of fishes of the Hungarian rivers. Altogether Hungary was fairly certainly a halting-place on the way of the European migrations, but it was certainly not the starting-place of the whole movement.

Much better than the Hungarian hypothesis is the one defended by the late Professor Schrader with his great resources of learning and sound judgment. His theory is that the Indo-Europeans had their chief habitat in Southern Russia on the northern shores of the Black Sea, where did, at a later period, dwell the Scythians, known to us from the masterly descriptions of Herodotus; and from there they spread in an easterly and a westerly direction. Professor Schrader was not even averse to the idea that Indo-European tribes might have been living to the east of what is strictly called South Russia, but he did not exactly tell us what he meant by that somewhat ambiguous expression.

It will be seen presently what an important part South Russia did, according to my opinion, play in the history of Indo-European migrations. But it seems to me that a people unacquainted with agriculture, fishing, and the use of salt cannot have had its original home in a land which was already at a very early date one of the chief cornbins of the world,¹ from which the peoples of the Mediterranean drew their chief supply of dried and cured fish, and where salt was "by itself produced in illimited quantities". Nor could, at any conceivable time, a people of nomads have been roaming about on the fertile soil of South Russia with its woods and wheat-lands.

¹ Cf. the very important book by Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia*, p. 61 sq.

The present writer has already declared it as his opinion that the home of the Indo-Europeans was in Asia, and in that part of the vast continent where were found wide grasslands on which to roam about with their herds of cattle and horses; where the climate was a temperate, or, at times, a cold one, and where were found the animals usual in such a zone and among trees the birch, the willow and the fir-tree. No part of Asia answers quite to this description except the regions to the east of the Caspian Sea, which are generally called Central Asia, with the neighbouring plains of Turkestan, where formerly conditions of living were far easier than nowadays. It is in these parts—and perhaps also in regions a little to the north of them—that according to my opinion roamed the nomadic tribes speaking Indo-European with their horses, cattle and wagons. They were probably near neighbours of the Mongolians, Huns, etc., tribes who led the same mode of life; and like those roving nomads they were certainly at times a cause of trouble and fear to their more peaceful and settled neighbours. No dates tell us since what time the way has been used between Mesopotamia and the Far East, the way which at a later time ran through part of the regions in which the Indo-Europeans had their dwellings. But nothing so far prohibits our thinking that this way may have been used—at least at intervals—since time immemorial; and along the western part of this road raw materials and implements from the highly cultivated peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean region may at times have been imported to the nomads in the plains of Central Asia.

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From Upper and Central Asia streams of invasions have at certain periods hurled themselves towards the west and south-west. We have, of course, no knowledge of the oldest of these outbursts from the interior of the enormous continent nor have we any distinct idea of the time when these eruptions started; but we have still some knowledge of such migrations from a fairly early time, and some of them may briefly be remembered here.

The Greek author Aristeas from Prokonnesus (seventh century B.C.) was the author of a poem on the Arimaspeans which has, unfortunately, been lost but for a few fragments. But the brilliant investigations of Tomaschek¹ into those scanty remnants have unearthed the fact that Aristeas told of a great "Völkerwanderung" belonging to the eighth century B.C., which started somewhere in the interior of Asia and the

¹ Cf. *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 116 (1888), p. 715 sq.

ultimate result of which was that the Scythians of the Jaxartes region turned westwards, invaded the east of South Russia, and ousted the Kinmerians, who had, until that time, for a certain period, had their home there. But the barbarian nomads of Central and Upper Asia not only wanted to turn towards the west and south; they also cherished an indomitable longing for the rich and fertile provinces belonging to the Son of Heaven. Finally at the end of the third pre-Christian century, a Chinese emperor had to begin the building of the famous wall which was to protect his subjects from the inroads of the northern and western barbarians: and it has been said, with a certain amount of truth, that the erection of this protective wall did strongly influence the later fates of the Roman Empire. For now the turbulent elements of the interior of Asia were driven to resort to the southern and western areas of expansion, and the results of their furious onslaughts were soon felt both in Irān, India, and throughout the Western world.

Already in the second century B.C. a movement started amongst the Hiung-nu (Huns) near the Chinese frontier which finally ended in destroying the Greco-Bactrian empire, in strongly menacing the existence of the house of Arsakes, and in landing crowds of Central-Asian invaders within the borders of India. Less remarkable movements may have occurred during the following centuries, which were but incompletely noticed by Western chroniclers. But in the latter half of the fourth century A.D. the Huns crossed the Volga and began to pour into Europe, driving subdued and ousted tribes in front of them. A little later on another branch of them, the White Huns, or Hephthalites, flooded the south of Asia; and about the time when the last legions of Rome shattered on the plains of Châlons the motley hordes of Attila, the White Huns had begun to tread Sassanian Persia under the hoofs of their horses, and were soon to smash the Indian empire of the Guptas into pieces. We may then pass by the movements of the various tribes of Turks, of Chazars, Magyars, etc., only to remember the hitherto last and probably most horrid of invasions from the East, the inroads of the Mongols led by Chingis Khān and his successors in the thirteenth century. It may be true that these had mainly the character of military invasions, and would not perhaps have been so disastrous had they not been led by a number of great and skilful generals. But, on the other hand, the enormous expansion of the Mongols would scarcely have been possible if their tribes had not, at that time, grown very strong in men and horses. For, at

the bottom of all these various movements lies the fact that at certain periods and within certain regions in the interior of Asia there had come to be a great surplus of men and beasts that must needs find new pasture-grounds within the territories of their neighbours: and thus started a migration which spread like the ripples of a wave over great parts of the Asiatic and, at times, even the European continent.

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These historical parallels are not to be left unnoticed when we try to make out a theory concerning the migrations of the Indo-Europeans. If, as is the opinion of the present writer, the centre of these movements lay somewhere in Central Asia, it seems highly probable that disturbances of the same sort as have been alluded to above, may have been the ultimate cause of the whole of Indo-European migration and expansion. It must be willingly admitted that nothing of this can be proved with the help of our present means of investigation; but if, on the other hand, the earliest Indo-European migrations did, as seems possible, occur at a time scarcely more than 4,000 years ago there is no reason why they should not be treated as parallel with migrations of a later date which are known to us through the evidence of history.

The present writer ventures to think that the Indo-European movement did perhaps start with the Indo-Iranians moving towards the south and crossing the Jaxartes, thus entering the fertile province of Sogdiana. From Sogdiana their way lay across the Oxus into Bactria, where they may perhaps have dwelt for some considerable time ere one branch of them struck towards the south-west, directing itself against Media and Mesopotamia, while other hordes took to the south-westerly way and invaded India through the pass-ways of the extreme north-west. But not all of the Indo-Iranian tribes crossed the Jaxartes; some of them, later on known as the Scythians, continued to roam as nomads to the north of the river and to make frequent inroads on the cultivated lands of Sogdiana and even Bactria. The Gāthās of Zoroaster tell us of the hatred felt by the settled agricultural population towards the plundering and cattle-slaughtering hordes from the north; and the traditional life-story of the prophet of Irān has vividly depicted the invasions of Arjāsp, the chief of the barbarous horsemen from the other side of the Oxus and the Jaxartes.

The late lamented Professor De Groot thought that he had found Scythian tribes mentioned in Chinese sources belonging to the twenty-third century B.C.;¹ but, unfortunately, this was probably a mistake.

¹ Cf. *Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1921.

However, since Iranian names are found amongst the Kassites in the eighteenth century B.C., and since the horse was probably brought into Mesopotamia by Iranian tribes about 2000 B.C. or slightly earlier, it seems a legitimate inference that these tribes may have invaded the Oxus-Jaxartes country during the latter half of the third millennium B.C., probable about 2400-2300 B.C. The age of the older hymns of the Rigveda is unknown; but so far there are no obstacles for assuming that the Aryans may have entered India at about 2000 B.C. or perhaps one or two centuries later.¹ As for the Pontic Scythians it is worth while to remember that, according to Herodotus (iv, 7), they reckoned a period of a thousand years from the reign of their first king, Targitaos, to the time of the Scythian campaign of Darius I (about 513 B.C.). It is, of course, very uncertain, but it may be possible that their traditions did in reality go back to about 1500 B.C.

The migrations of Indo-European tribes towards the West probably started about the same time—i.e. just about 2000 B.C. or slightly earlier—as the origin of the movement was presumably the same one, viz. pressure from the nomadic populations of Upper Asia. It seems possible that the first hordes of invaders who passed north of the Caspian Sea into South Russia destroyed the so-called Tripolje culture and erected a number of kurgans throughout the land of Southern Russia. Though part of the invaders may already at this remote period have begun to settle down on the northern shores of the Black Sea, the first swarms may possibly have gone on through Roumania into the Balkans, from where they crossed to Asia Minor and destroyed the second city of His-sarlik about the year 2000 B.C. For, between this foundation and the town of Priam there only seem to have existed minor cities, which points to the fact that a higher culture had been superseded by a lower one. These early invaders may perhaps have left traces of their language in the Indo-European elements found in texts of the Hittites.²

At a much later time—probably about 1200 B.C.—the Phrygians seem to have crossed the Hellespont and invaded Asia Minor; and their descendants, the Armenians, did, according to Professor Eduard Meyer, enter their native country some six centuries later. As for the Greeks they did perhaps never pass through Hungary, as has been

¹ The exorbitant theories of Professor Jacobi and the late Lokamānya B. G. Tilak concerning the age of the Rigveda can no longer be upheld. As for the recent hypothesis of Professor Hertel, according to which the bulk of the hymns should date from about 500 B.C. or even later, it cannot, of course, be taken into serious consideration.

² As for this theory cf., however, the recent article by Professor E. Meyer in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy, 1925, p. 244 sq.

suggested by various scholars; they may just as well have passed straight through Roumania to the Balkan peninsula, where at one time they settled down in Epirus. Exactly at what time the Greeks occupied the country that bears their name may be uncertain. But Hittite documents, but recently deciphered by Dr. Forrer, seem to speak of a great Greek kingdom with extensive connexions in Asia Minor about the year 1300 B.C., and so the tribes who founded this mighty state may have arrived in the country possibly some centuries earlier.

To the north of the Greeks lived the Illyrians, tribes of whom the Messapians, did even cross the Adriatic into Italy. The conclusion seems to be legitimate that the ancestors of the Illyrians came into their later dwelling-places through Hungary. This country must also at one time have been the common habitat of the later Italians, Celts, and Teutons, who may have spent some considerable time together on its fertile plains. Later on the Italians went away towards the south-west and invaded Italy, where they found before them the Ibero-Ligurians, tribes belonging to Western Europe, and the Etruscans, certainly invaders from Asia Minor. At what time the Italians arrived in the valley of the Po has not yet been settled; but exaggerated dates are to be avoided here as in the case of other Indo-European peoples.

The Celts during the first millennium B.C. had an enormous expansion over Brittany, France, the north of Italy—where they seem to have arrived about 400 B.C.—and parts of Spain; at a somewhat later date Celtic tribes even went as far as Asia Minor (third century B.C.). The Teutons, who are first spoken of as *Germanic* by the famous scientist Poseidonius of Apamea (d. 40 B.C.), seem to have gone due north from Hungary towards the shores of the Baltic. At one time of their development they seem to have been under the cultural, and probably also political, supremacy of the Kelts. Pytheas from Massilia, about 300 B.C., seems to have found them living to the east of the Celts about the mouths of the Rhine. The exact chronology of the early Teuton migrations has not been fixed; but seeing that the Celts spread over Western Europe about the period 800–400 B.C., no dates going beyond the first millennium B.C. can well be taken into consideration.

As for the Lithuanians and Slavs they enter on the stage of history by far the latest of all Indo-European peoples. It has been the custom, at least, since the days of Šafářyk, to find in some of the peoples described by Herodotus as living in the interior of Russia and Poland, Slavonic tribes; so e.g. the *Νευροί* (iv, 17, 100 sq., etc.) are

presumed by most scholars to have been real Slavs. But the reasons adduced by them to prove these suggestions seem to be wholly futile, and, as a matter of fact, there seems to be no evidence for their having been present in Europe in pre-Christian times. According to Niederle their presence at the mouths of the Danube can be established in the second century A.D., and it consequently seems quite probable that they did not enter Russia from the east until a few centuries before that date. Most scholars are convinced that the Lithuanians are described by Tacitus ¹ under the name of *Aestii*. It is certainly curious that the Roman author should describe their language as being *Britannica propior*, for at no date could there have been any very striking similarity between the Lithuanian and Celtic idioms. But this, after all, may be a mistake and the common identification may hold good. Tacitus further tells us that these *Aestii* gathered the amber on the sea-shore but had no general idea of its use or its intrinsic value: *ipsis in nullo usu: rude legitur, informe perfertur, pretiumque mirantes accipiunt*. But no people that had lived for a prolonged period on the shores of the Baltic, the most valuable product of which was amber, could have been strange to its use or ignorant of its value; and the legitimate inference is that these *Aestii* had at the time of Tacitus rather recently arrived in their dwelling-places to the east of the Baltic. Altogether the Slavs and Lithuanians were, according to the opinion of the present writer, the very last tribes to leave the ancestral home in Central Asia. If so it seems highly probable that they were in their turn driven out by some migration of the peoples of Upper Asia—perhaps the one that originated in connexion with the building of the Chinese wall. Linguistic facts seem to prove that the Slavs did for some considerable time live in close affinity to Iranian tribes, probably Scythians; and this was almost certainly the case, though the linguistic evidence has quite recently been treated as doubtful.²

As for the "Tocharians" their presence in Turkestan during the centuries after the beginning of our era still remains inexplicable. The Tocharian language undoubtedly shows strong affinities with the Western Indo-European ones, but the explanation of this very remarkable fact still remains a complete puzzle.

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A short time after delivering these lectures the present writer began to read the posthumous work of the late lamented Jacques de Morgan, called *La Préhistoire Orientale*, tome i, *Généralités*, Paris, 1925. The main theories of this great savant concerning the depopulation and

¹ Cf. *Germania*, ch. 45.

² Cf. M. St. Mladenov in the *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, iv, 190 sq.

repopulation of the earth during the glacial periods must undoubtedly be judged mainly by geologists; and some of his archaeological arguments are perhaps rather adventurous. But it was a great pleasure to the present writer to find that de Morgan does not at all doubt that the Indo-Europeans had their origin in Asia; and though he does not perhaps state it expressly it goes without saying that, according to his opinions, they must at one time have been living in, or in the neighbourhood of, Central Asia.

As for the various European theories de Morgan treats with ridicule the idea of an "Urheimat" on the shores of the Baltic (p. 191); and on that same page he says as follows: "Il est donc certain que la steppe du Sud de la Russie n'a été pour les Indo-Européens, venus dans nos pays, qu'un foyer secondaire de dispersion, et que ce foyer n'a rien à voir avec les mouvements des Perses et des Aryans de l'Inde." This tallies almost word for word with the modest opinions expressed above by the present writer.

May I also be allowed, at the end of this short paper, to give another quotation from the important work of de Morgan,¹ which sums up, in an admirable way, the historical points of view that I have tried to underline above: "Je ne m'étendrai pas sur le détail des invasions qui se sont produites tant en Asie antérieure qu'en Europe depuis que l'Histoire les enregistre; mais je ferai observer que toutes celles dont nous connaissons le cours se sont produites d'est en ouest avec parfois inflexion vers le sud et celles que nous enregistrons dans l'Histoire, depuis le ii^e millénaire av. J.-C. jusqu'au v^e et vi^e siècle de notre ère ont toutes suivi ce même chemin depuis l'Emba et le fleuve Oural jusqu'au bas Danube. La Scythie qui s'étendait depuis les bouches du Danube jusqu'au pied de l'Altaï et du Pamir les a vues toutes passer. Cette loi est absolue durant toute la période historique, c'est-à-dire du vii^e siècle avant notre ère jusqu'au xvii^e après, pendant 2400 ans. Il n'est pas admissible qu'elle n'ait débuté qu'avec les temps pour lesquels nous possédons des notions précises, alors que ses causes sont infiniment plus anciennes. Nous devons admettre sa continuité et, par conséquent, la faire remonter jusqu'au temps où se sont produits les phénomènes naturels qui lui ont donné naissance, c'est-à-dire la refroidissement de la Sibérie et l'ouverture des portes entre le Nord de l'Asie et l'Europe. Les Lois naturelles sont intangibles; et si la linguistique éprouve le besoin de supposer des migrations de grande envergure d'Ouest en Est c'est qu'elle ne sait pas interpréter les fragiles documents sur lesquels elle base ses conclusions."

¹ Loc. cit., p. 184.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE KAVERI, THE MAUKHARIS, AND THE SANGAM AGE. By T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN. Thesis which was awarded the Sankara-Parvati Prize for 1924 by the University of Madras. pp. iv + i + i + 131, 1 map. Madras, 1925. 8vo.

The ordinary student of history, who on the basis of Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita* and a few inscriptions thinks of the Māukharis as located somewhere in Northern India, will opine on reading the title of this work that it is a far cry thence to the Kāvēri. Mr. Aravamuthan, however, may fairly be said to have established at least a possibility that it may not be very far after all, and in doing this he has written a very interesting and able book. The hypotheses which he maintains are the following : (1) the great Cōḷa king Karikālan built embankments to check the floods due to the occasional overflow of the river Kāvēri, and in this work he compelled many tributary kings and their subjects to render personal service ; (2) among his tributaries was a prince named *Mukari*, who failed to obey this command, and was punished by Karikālan with the loss of an eye, according to Jayanṇonḍān's *Kalīṅattu-parani* ; (3) this Mukari was probably one of the Māukharis of Magadha, for the *Śilappadhikāram* asserts that Karikālan marched into Northern India and conquered Magadha ; (4) such an invasion by Karikālan is possible, and the statement is paralleled and confirmed by the references in early Tamil literature to similar expeditions by the Cēra kings Iṃayavāramban and his son Śēṅguṭṭuvan : (5) the distance in time between Karikālan and Śēṅguṭṭuvan is only about fifty years ; hence if we fix the probable date of these invasions we have approximately the period of the Śāṅgam literature ; (6) the only periods in which such expeditions could have been successfully carried out were from 206 to 184 B.C., from 148 B.C. to the beginning of the Christian era, and the third century A.D. : hence the Śāṅgam cannot have been later than the third century A.D. In addition to the discussions of these theses we have a chapter investigating the ancient geography of the river Kāvēri, with a suggestion that the river may have changed its course a few miles to the west of Kumbakonam, and another on the history of the Māukhari dynasty. In the latter he points out that the history of the family may be with much probability carried back as far as the century of Aśoka, as a clay seal found at Gaya bears

the legend in early Brāhmī script *Mokhalinam*, which is most naturally interpreted as meaning "of the Māukharis".¹ He then examines all the epigraphic and literary data bearing on the family, and with great ingenuity endeavours to reconstruct their history, leading up to the tentative suggestion "that the Maukharis were the precursors of Harsha and could have laid pretensions to be the Emperors of North India" (p. 114).

The first of these hypotheses may be provisionally accepted: the tradition of Karikālan's embankments is ancient, and quite reasonable. The second presents more difficulties. The passage mentioning Mukari as having lost an eye for failing to obey Karikālan's command to work at the embankments of the Kāvēri occurs in the *Kaliṅgaṭṭa-parāṇi* of Jayaṅgaṇḍān, a poetical panegyric of Kulōttuṅga (Śōla I, who reigned from 1070 to c. 1118 A.D.). It is correctly translated by Mr. Aravamuthan: "(He recorded) how (Karikālan) directed a portrait to be drawn of the Mukari who had not followed (the others) to the Kāvēri, the banks of which were being made by kings themselves who had made obeisance (to him), and how, looking at it and saying 'this is a superfluous eye', he rubbed it out here, and (lo!) it was extinguished there." But we venture to think that he has missed the exact nature of the episode here described. To the classical student Jayaṅgaṇḍān's words recall the well-known story of Thrasybulus striking off the tops of the corn told by Herodotus (v, 92, § 6), which is told of Periander by Aristotle (*Pol.*, pp. 82¹⁵, 150⁸), and, again, with a slight variation, of Tarquinius Superbus by Livy (i, 54). As Jayaṅgaṇḍān conceived it, the episode seems to have been as follows. Karikālan wished to punish Mukari for his disobedience, but for reasons of policy he did not dare to pass an overt sentence upon him. He therefore had recourse to *upāṁśu-danḍa*, as recommended by sages like Kāmandaki for crushing men who were too popular or too strong to be overtly destroyed,² and *hinted* at an act which was promptly executed. He caused a portrait of Mukari to be painted, and with assumed innocence smeared out one of its eyes, observing: "this eye is superfluous." The hint was at once understood by his henchmen, who accordingly waylaid Mukari and destroyed one of his eyes, thus

¹ Mr. Aravamuthan seems also inclined to dally with the theory that the name *Māukharī* is a variant of *Māurqa*, which is phonetically impossible. The suggestion of Mr. Jayaswal, which he accepts, that it survives in the name *Māuhari* borne by a modern caste of Banias in Gaya needs further investigation.

² *Nīlisāra*, *sarga* xviii, § xxvii, 11: *ulrējyantē kṛtāir lōkō gūṛ yē syur n, pavallabhāh | bādhaṭē bhyaḍbhik yē tu tēsūpāṁśu praśaṣṭē*.

saving Karikālan from the odium of direct responsibility for the deed. This gives us a very intelligible story : but it must be confessed, in view of the Greek and Latin parallels, that the story reads like fiction, the more so as Jayaṅgaṇḍān is a writer of comparatively late date. Hence the only reasonably safe inference that we can draw from it is that Jayaṅgaṇḍān was thinking, more or less clearly, of the tradition of the conquest of Magadha by Karikālan, which is mentioned in the *Śilappadhikāram*, and that he associated Magadha with the Māukharis. Postponing for the moment the question of the date of the *Śilappadhikāram* itself, we may say that the tradition of Karikālan's northern expedition is old, and may possibly be true : and the same may be said of the northern conquests of Iṃayavaramban and Śeṅguṭṭuvan, which are attested by poems which unquestionably belong to the Śaṅgam age. After all, it is as easy for a southern king to march into the north as it is for a northern king to march into the south ; and Rājendra Cōla I seems to have done it. Such expeditions were, of course, mere demonstrations, and had no permanent results.

But, granting this, can we accept Mr. Aravamuthan's suggested limit of date for these movements, and hence for the Śaṅgam poets who record them ? I venture to doubt it : the evidence, though seductive, is not quite cogent. Our knowledge of history is hardly sufficient to justify us in asserting that such raids could have taken place only in the periods that he selects. Caution in this respect is necessary, especially as most of the detailed information concerning these invasions is given in the *Śilappadhikāram*, which, as I have elsewhere remarked, cannot be in its present form very early, since it mentions buildings in the *Gurjara* style of architecture (xviii, 145, 152). The *Śilappadhikāram* likewise brings on the scene certain kings called *Nārruvar-Kannar*, who seem to have been ruling in Eastern Malwa and thereabouts, and Mr. Aravamuthan pleads ingeniously in support of the view that this name is a Tamil rendering of *Śātakarṇi*. If it is so, *Nārruvar-Kannar* is a mistranslation, for it can only mean "The Hundred Kannas", whereas *Śātakarṇi* signifies "a descendant of a *Śata-karṇa*",¹ and *Śata-karṇa* means either "he who has a hundred

¹ Mr. Aravamuthan suggests two alternatives to meet this difficulty, spelling the name as *Satakarni* : (1) that *karni* means "an arrow", which is indicated by the use of the arrow as a symbol on coins of the dynasty, or (2) that it signifies a ship or steersman, which is indicated by the figure of a ship on some Āndhra coins. But both these meanings seem rather artificial, and the second is most improbable in view of the fact, proved by Dr. Sukilankar, that the dynasty seems to have had its original home in the region of Bellary, and were thus landlubbers. Besides, the original spelling is not *Satakarni* but *Śātakarṇi*.

ears", an epithet perhaps referring to the vigilance required of the perfect king, or possibly "he who is equal to a hundred Kārṇas".¹ The *Śalappadhikāram*, then, either misunderstood the name, or meant some other kings; and even if it referred to the Śātakarṇis, its own date is so dubious that we must not attach too much weight to its evidence. We like not the security.

The chapter on the Māukharis is an able one, and justly emphasizes the importance of that dynasty. But Mr. Aravamuthan seems to us to exceed the bounds of probability in some points. There is no reason to suppose, as he does, that Śarvavarman of the Nirmand grant was the Māukhari Śarvavarman, or that Pūrṇavarman of Magadha was a Māukhari, or that Raivataka and the rest of Kathiawar were ever under Māukhari rule; hence the area which we may safely infer to have been under the domination of the dynasty reduces itself to a triangle of which the apex is Ahicchatra and the base a line drawn from Asirgarh on the Tapti to Nālandā and Aṃśad in Magadha. Even this, however, is a dominion of imposing dimensions, and there is some probability in our author's ingenious suggestion that Harṣa laid the foundation of his empire by assuming the position of *Kumāra* of the Māukhari kingdom in nominal subordination to his widowed sister Rājyaśrī, and that after a few years, when he felt himself strong enough, he took possession of the throne as *Mahārāja*.

These and several other points in the book we would gladly discuss at greater length, but *grantha-gāurava-bhayaṅg* we must desist, with an epilogue of thanks to Mr. Aravamuthan for his erudite and attractive study.

L. D. BARNETT.

DIE ARISCHE FEUERLEHRE. I. Teil. VON JOHANNES HERTEL.
(Indo-Iranische Queller und Forschungen. Heft vi.) pp. 188.
Leipzig, 1925. 8vo.

We have already had the pleasure of noticing the first three Hefte of Professor Hertel's *IIQF.*, in two of which he pursued at various angles the study of his theory of early Indo-Iranian *Weltanschauung*. The present volume continues these researches by examining from this point of view certain Vedic and Avestic words in their context,—viz. Vedic *yakṣá*, *dhēnā*, *vásu*, Av. *ciθra*, *daēnā*, *vohu*—in order to show

¹ The epic hero Kārṇa was very popular, and is constantly cited as a type of princely generosity in inscriptions.

that their primitive meaning, from roots denoting light or fire, is suitable and necessary in the Vēda and Avesta, and therein he finds corroboration for his theory.

Professor Hertel's doctrine, the *Feuerlehre*, is re-stated by him as follows: "The conception that fire surrounds the world and pervades every individual being is already Aryan, and, in all probability, already Indo-Germanic. Likewise Indo-Germanic is the identification of fire with understanding (wisdom, reason, prudence) and power. The Indo-Germanic incarnations of the heavens (Zeus, Indra = Bṛhaspati) are at the same time storm-gods (givers of rain and fire) and embodiments of the highest wisdom and power. Their opponents are the powers of darkness. Thus also dualism is already Indo-Germanic, and does not begin with Zoroastrianism. The Indo-Germanic Devaligion has come down to us in its purest form in the Rgveda, and in its next best form in the older Yasts (in the latter, of course, apart from the Zoroastrian additions) . . . Heaven [as conceived by the early Indo-Iranians] consists of a vast transparent mountain-range, upon which dwell the powers of light (*devá*, √ *div* = *vásu*, √ *vas*) in an atmosphere of light and warmth . . . The world of these beings of light is designated by the substantive *div*, 'light.' That these conceptions were already Indo-Germanic appears from the etymologies of *dei*, *divi*; *Ζεύς*, *Iuppiter*, *Diespiter*, *Týr*, *Tiw*, *Zio*, and from *αἰθήρ*. That the mountain-range is transparent . . . appears from the fact that from the earth one can see the heavenly river (the Milky Way, Avestic *Irədvī sūrā anāhitā*) pouring down towards the west and the east upon the earth in two or more arms on each side, and the heavenly lake lying in the middle of it (*samudrāḥ*, *zrayo vourukašem*), on the shores of which stand the palaces of the *devás*. Under the summit of this mountain-range, which is called in Vedic *ádri*, *párvata*, *áśman*, *áśan*, and in Old Persian *asman*, Avest. *asan* (the Vedic words *Vitrá* and *Valá* and the Avestic word *Vara* also . . . denote the same), there is a cavern enclosed all round by it, the ground of which forms the world of man. It was without light and water until the highest of the heavenly gods enabled the heavenly light and the waters streaming from the heavenly rivers and heavenly lake to pour down upon the earth by cutting with the *vajra* (= Avest. *va-zra*) channels through the mountain-range, viz. the sun, moon, and stars. These channels likewise form the gates of Heaven" (pp. 8-13).

In the main and with some reservations in details, we believe this reconstruction of the Indo-Iranians' *physica* to be quite correct. The

cosmography in it tallies on the whole with that of the Sumerians and Semites, and readily explains a large number of otherwise obscure passages in the R̥g-vēda : and the conception of Fire as a universal power in macrocosm and microcosm enables us to correlate the Vedic Agni-cult with the fire-worship of the Avesta and the Greek ideas which underlay the Eleusinian legend of Demeter passing Demophon through the fire and the speculations of Herakleitos. But it is possible to carry this principle sometimes too far in the interpretation of words : men might naturally use words denoting brightness to designate happiness, prosperity, etc., without holding any doctrine of a Cosmic Fire, and moreover we must make due allowance for the Vedic poets' love of riddles. Nevertheless, we fully admit that Dr. Hertel, in operating with his hypothesis, has given a more plausible and, on the whole, probably more correct interpretation of many passages in the R̥g-vēda and Avesta than his predecessors.

With regard to the reforms of Zarathustra, Dr. Hertel propounds some interesting and valuable suggestions. Zarathustra, he maintains, preserved the ancient conception of the heavenly Fire present in the world and in man and embodied in the God of Heaven, but he deprived the latter of all naturalistic attributes and made him an embodiment of wisdom and power, creator and ruler of the world (Mazdāh = intelligence, Ahura = lord), who is lord of the *xʷāθra*, "place of the good fire," and corresponds to Ved. Bṛhas páti. This "good fire" is also the fire in the human heart. *daēnā*, like Ved. *bráhma* ; reason and fire are one (pp. 11 f.). Guided by *voḥu manah*, "bright thought," Zarathustra declared the *daēvas* to be not benevolent embodiments of light, but malignant powers of darkness, for they incited their worshippers to acts of pillage and violence, to senseless sacrifice of cattle, to drunkenness and debauchery : the true ruler of the world is the pure Spirit, Mazdāh, "Wisdom," who acts through truth (*arata*), "bright thought" (*voḥu manah*), good government, and promotion of settled life and cattle-raising, and who will receive into his fire-heaven those who live according to His will (pp. 96 f.). Zarathustra based his doctrine not upon faith and emotion, but upon reason : his Supreme Being is "Lord Wisdom", *ahura mazdāh* (pp. 145 f.). And this seems to us a very reasonable view of the case, whether we accept Dr. Hertel's theory of Zarathustra's date or not.

The book contains three appendices, one on the passage from the mortal to the fiery (spiritual) body supposed to be effected by

cremation,¹ another on the "miracle of the cow", i.e. the mystery of the growth of warm milk in the cow's body, on which some Vedic poets dilate, and a third on the use of the term *vānaspati* = *agni*.

Here for the present we must say farewell to Dr. Hertel, with a cordial hope that he may speedily complete his *Feuerlehre* and continue his researches in germane fields as heretofore. His indomitable energy and profound learning are most admirable, and even where the reader ventures with all respect to dissent, he has learned much.

L. D. BARNETT.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 1858 TO 1918. By HENRY DODWELL. pp. viii + 326. With six maps and a bibliography. Longmans, 1925. 6s.

As indicated by its title, the theme of Professor Dodwell's new work is the development of India from the time of the extinction of the East India Company's control down to the formulation of the Montagu-Chelmsford programme. During this period, as the author observes in his introduction, "the forces of change have played unceasingly upon India, with far-reaching consequences, political, moral, and economic," and his aim has been to "show the effects of these modern influences, firstly on the executive government and its administrative policy, then on the foreign policy of the Government of India, and lastly on the political development of the people and its reaction on the structure of the government." Deliberately designated a "sketch", the volume does not attempt a detailed history of the period, but essays instead the far more difficult task of tracing the underlying forces which have brought about the transition from "a centralized despotism, under which, however much might be done for the people, nothing was done by them", into a system having as its recognized aim "the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire". The result is an acute analysis, based on wide knowledge and full of shrewd touches, impartial, yet showing a sympathetic understanding of Indian sentiment. It is a book warmly to be commended not only to the student but to the general reader, and above all to the politician, both in England and in India.

WILLIAM FOSTER.

¹ This is brought by Dr. Hertel into connexion with his view of the Avestic doctrine of the *Saokant*, a term which he interprets as "he who shall set on fire" [the world], the Redeemer and Judge (pp. 18, 152).

A HISTORY OF THE MARATHA PEOPLE. By C. A. KINCAID and D. B. PARASNIS. Vol. III. pp. xii + 254. Milford, 1925. 10s. 6d.

This new history of the Marathas, at last completed by the present volume, though interesting, and to a great extent based on material not yet available in English, will not supersede the classic history of Grant Duff. It is too much designed as a popular history to achieve that feat; its author dispenses with the usual apparatus of the serious historian; and at times is scarcely critical enough of his evidence. An interesting case is afforded by his narrative of the events preceding the battle of Panipat in 1761. After the Maratha leaders had come clamouring to Sadashiva Rao to be led to battle, we are told a council was held at which the principal leaders all advised a retreat on Delhi; this course was decided on and orders were issued accordingly; but these were revoked when Ibrahim Khan came and declared that he would betray the plan and desert to the enemy unless a general engagement was ordered. Thus the main responsibility for the battle is cast on the unfortunate *Gardi*. But, one asks, why did the leaders so suddenly change their minds when they got into Council? Mr. Kincaid does not attempt to explain the inconsistency. For the present Duff's account seems preferable.

Again Mr. Kincaid holds the odd, and, we think, unjustifiable view that the defeat of Panipat led to the ultimate subjugation of the Marathas by the English. But even had they won the battle, would they have escaped from those ruinous jealousies and divisions which really led to their downfall?

The death of Savai Madhava Rao is a question on which Mr. Kincaid dilates at some length, and comes to a conclusion different from that of Duff. Did the prince fall from the balcony by accident or design? Mr. Kincaid thinks by accident. But here, after all, in the case of a prince fast dying of disease, nothing much depends on the solution we adopt, and the matter is fitter for discussion in a footnote or an excursus than in the text.

As a final example we may quote a case where Mr. Kincaid has not perhaps recognized the interest of a find. He tells us that Balaji Rao set up an establishment for the training of revenue officials. This was surely one of those things deserving to be worked out with all possible fullness. But we hear nothing more about it. Perhaps there is nothing more to know; but in that case Mr. Kincaid might have said so.

These details all illustrate what we take to be the principal weakness.

of this work—a lack of critical judgment. On the other hand it is interesting; it includes original documents which are not to be found elsewhere in English; it narrates a most complicated story with great clearness; and so long as the reader keeps on his guard against slips, he will find Mr. Kincaid an entertaining and, generally, an informing companion.

H. DODWELL.

THE HISTORY OF BURMA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 10TH MARCH, 1824. By G. E. HARVEY, I.C.S. pp. xxxi + 415. Longmans, 1925. 21s.

We must warmly welcome Mr. Harvey's volume, which will fill a long-felt gap in our historical literature. It incorporates the results of the work that has been done since Phayre's *History* was written some forty years ago, in assembling, deciphering, and classifying the principal Burmese inscriptions, and thus affording data for checking the statements of the Burmese chronicles, all of which are comparatively modern. The appearance of the work marks therefore a long step forward towards placing Burmese history on a sound foundation. It is, however, as Sir Richard Temple points out in the preface which he contributes to the book, not only a work of scholarship but also one of sympathetic understanding. Its writing has evidently been a labour of love, and it will, we hope, be studied by the administrator as well as by the scholar.

We do not propose to follow Mr. Harvey through the complicated and blood-stained annals of Burma, from the rise of Pagan through the perplexing period of Shan dominion down to the two great dynasties of modern times. The earlier part naturally abounds in legend and miracle rather than in sober history. Mr. Harvey apologizes for the way in which he has found himself obliged to mix up fact and fancy. But we do not think the apology was necessary. These legends are hardly capable of analysis; and the author's choice really lay between omitting them altogether or giving them, wonders and all. Moreover they enshrine a number of curious details. From these and other sources Mr. Harvey has assembled a number of allusions of great interest to the folk-lorist as well as to the historian. We find curious detail, for example, about the Ari worship and the Buddhist Naga cult; striking illustrations of the practice of human sacrifice are afforded by Anawrahta's Shan queen in the case of the weirs built by him on the Panlaung river, or the child buried alive in

the foundations of the Ananda temple at Pagan. The saying that "he who slayeth a king becometh a king" recalls many pages of Sir James Frazer's. And here, too, are survivals of matriarchy, and of the practice of royal marriages with step-mothers and half-sisters.

The Chinese sources, which Mr. Harvey has been able to use from the translations of Mr. Parker in the Rangoon Secretariat, offer at times curious accounts of the early state of the country, such as the account of Prome under its kings of Indian name and possibly of Indian blood, of whom we know also by urn-inscriptions of the eighth century. The Chinese chronicles probably constitute a source which merits further exploration.

In spite of this, however, Burmese culture owes more to India than to China. Apart from the great gift of Buddhism, Mr. Harvey has many other instances to cite—Burmese kings who distribute their wealth like Harsha, and Burmese laws derived ultimately from the *Manavadharmashastra*. The loom-tax, by the way, which Mr. Harvey mentions as almost the last word of fiscal oppression, was familiar enough in India, where it was not considered peculiarly burdensome.

The volume contains some curious slips in the account of the part played by the Europeans in Burma. Mr. Harvey will do well to correct these in a new edition; and he will find it possible to correct his principal authority, Dalrymple, for this part of his work. The French chief, Bruno, is persistently misspelt "Burno"; the Ostender, Schonamille, is disguised as "Sconenville"; and it is a little startling to read that the French had to evacuate India in 1763—the year in which the Treaty of Paris readmitted them to that country. Nor do we like Mr. Harvey's rather complicated and unusual system of references. These are, however, but trivial defects in a work of great value.

H. D.

MY BROTHER'S FACE. By DHAN GOPAL MUKERJI. pp. 288.
Butterworth.

This book describes the experiences of an Indian returning to India after some years spent in the United States. The author expected to find a changed India, and in his wanderings he was constantly on the watch for changes and their significance. We hear a good deal about Mr. Gandhi, but we hear more of a certain teacher, ascetic and saint at Benares; we listen to the adventures of the author's brother, who had played a considerable part in the political plots

of 1914-18, but who had abandoned the creed of violence for social service ; we visit at the houses of the merchants who made great fortunes during the war and are bent on industrializing India ; we go to see Tagore's remarkable new university, the Vishwa Bharati ; and we find the author's native village altered out of recognition by the economic revolution actually in progress. How far we are to take all these scenes and the incidents woven round them as literal transcripts of fact does not appear ; but they seem to us at once characteristic and true. Especially pleasing are the glimpses we catch of family life in a well-to-do Brahman household—not the less pleasing to the present writer because they reminded him of the subtle and serene atmosphere surrounding another Brahman family in a very different part of India, and yet evidently instinct with the same type of culture. To those who wish to learn something of the inner life and spirit of modern India this book is warmly to be commended.

H. D.

THE INDIAN BUDDHIST ICONOGRAPHY. Mainly based on the *Sādhana-mālā* and other cognate Tāntric texts. By BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA. M.A. pp. xxiv + xxix + 220, 70 pl. London : Oxford University Press ; Calcutta printed, 1924. 4to.

This book is a really useful contribution to a very important branch of knowledge. Mr. Bhattacharyya has inherited from his distinguished father, Mahāmahopadhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī, a keen interest in the history of Buddhism, and the present work is a testimony to his efficiency in this study. It consists, for the most part, of renderings from the *Sādhana-mālā*, a manual of Northern Buddhist devotions, in which a large number of deities of the Northern pantheon are addressed and the attributes with which they are represented in painting and sculpture are named : and with each of these descriptions Mr. Bhattacharyya has coupled, besides his own notes, a picture of some actual representation agreeing with it. Most of these figures are of icons in stone or metal, but a certain number are taken from drawings by modern Nepali craftsmen, amongst whom the ancient traditions still linger. Speaking generally, this part of the book is excellent, vividly illustrating the manifold phases through which Northern Buddhism passed in the course of its assimilation to Śaivism, phases that range from serene beauty to horrors before which Grand-Guignol pales. The introduction is mainly devoted to a survey of

the historical developments of Buddhism, which is able and interesting, though marred to some extent by a slight lack of precision and definiteness. A particularly valuable suggestion is the hypothesis that Mañjuśrī, now one of the most popular deities of the Northern pantheon, was originally a foreign Yōgi; if this is right, as we incline to believe, it will add another instance to the already long list of gods of human origin.

L. D. B.

THE MODERN GUJARATI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY. By B. N. and B. B. MEHTA. 2 vols. pp. 1609. Published at Baroda in March, 1925.

The authors are to be congratulated on having supplied a long-felt want. Their Dictionary contains 51,595 words, whereas the valuable Narma Koṣ, the first effort in Gujarati lexicography, has 25,268 only. Belsare's and the Gujarat Vernacular Society's Dictionaries contain 35,138 and 35,678 words respectively. Still there is a considerable gap, as the authors believe that there are some 75,000 words in use in the Gujarati language. Considerations of economizing space and saving expense have prevented them from further expanding their work. Some day, it is hoped, a lexicon as comprehensive for Gujarati as Candy and Molesworth's is for Marathi, will see the light of day. The typing is clear and the English renderings are idiomatic and concise. The work has evidently been carefully revised for printer's errors before issue, but in a few instances the English equivalents are not given in either of the cross-references; e.g. *sarīgat* and *śarīgat* (partner); *visāt* and *vīsāt* (worth, value).

The authors need not have feared the charge of over-Sanskritization. The present-day tendency is to enrich the higher literature and poetry with Sanskrit *tatsamas*: witness Govardhanrāma's popular *Sneha-Mudrā*. Apart from dialectal considerations Gujarati spelling is still in a state of unstable equilibrium, despite the somewhat pedantic unifying efforts of the Bombay Text-books Revision Committee. Spelling still varies from district to district. Narmadāśankara proclaimed from the house-tops the pre-eminence of Surati Gujarati. Dalpatrāma championed the cause of Ahmedābādī speech, while lesser lights still go on their way cheerfully, unmindful of the Pandits. Nāgar Brahmins insert the "fleeting *h*" sound wherever they can: Kāthiāvāḍis elide it whenever they dare. We must therefore be

grateful to the authors for giving alternative spellings in numerous instances.

Every lexicon-user will hail with delight the authors' abolition for orthographic purposes of the distinction between *anusvara* and *anunāsika*. Reference might have been still further facilitated if, instead of placing initially nasalized words at the end of their appropriate *varga*, the authors had adopted the simple method of Candy and Molesworth of neglecting the nasalization for purposes of arrangement under each letter-class. Further, the nasal dot is sometimes inserted and sometimes omitted in words such as *nākhvũ* (throw), *vīṭi* (a ring), etc. Cross-references would be saved if the entry read *nākhvũ*, *nīkhvũ*, "to throw," etc.

The quotations from well-known authors and poets are a pleasing addition, but it would have made for greater clarity if, in the case of words with different and sometimes opposite significations, the authors had indicated by numerals, corresponding to those of the different meanings, the particular signification attaching to the word in the quotation. The large number of scientific and special words, which this Dictionary contains, enhances its usefulness.

The publication of this Dictionary renders the further prosecution of the attempt to fill up some of the more serious gaps in Belsare unnecessary, for the present at least. It will suffice to note down from a list held in suspense a few fairly common words omitted from our authors' work, which words occur for the most part in the *Narma Gadya*, or in three plays by the well-known author, Ranchhodhbhai Udayarāma.

Avadya (adj.) "indescribable". *Kaḍhāman* (i) (f) "wages for removal" (*Dhīngalā sāru pīt-vā ga-ī ne unṭ-Kaḍhāman aḍadho beṭho* "King Log for King Stork"), *gaḍucho* (m) "medicine". *galebandh* (m) "neck-cloth". *Chemal* "foolish"; "a fool." *Choj* (f) "smart appearance". *Jambu-dvīpa* (m) "one of the 7 continents", "India." *Tīkaḍī* (f) "a tabloid". *Ḍokā-bāṇī* (f) "fan-light". *Tevāj* (adv.) "instantly". *Dvireph* (m) "a large black bee". *Nāda-bindu* (m) "the mystic syllable *Om*". *Bākasāi* (f) "a feast". *Bu* (m) "a bogie, hobgoblin". *Ratna-khachit* (adj.) "studded with gems". *Rājavan* (n) "a mourning song". *Samā* (f) "high water". *Hāsto* "Yes, indeed!"

W. DODERET.

A PAPUAN DICTIONARY.—WÖRTERBUCH DER KÄTE-SPRACHE GESPROCHEN IN NEUGUINEA. Dictionary of the Kâte-Language as spoken in New Guinea. Von CHRISTIAN KEYSER. Berlin, 1923. Verlag von DIETRICH REIMER (ERNST VOHSEN), A.-G. Hamburg: C. Boysen. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen Sprachen. Siebentes Heft.)

The aboriginal languages of New Guinea are remarkable for their number and diversity. For want of a better name they have been called Papuan, which suggests their principal location in the great island of the Frizzly haired. the Tanah Papuwah of the Malays. In the territory administered by the Commonwealth of Australia there are at least fifty of these languages, and there are many others in the Mandated Territory, and in the islands south-east of New Guinea. The differences between the languages are not those of aberrant members of one linguistic stock, but absolute differences of word construction, grammatical forms, and syntax. Some languages are simpler than others with words formed by transparent agglutinations to the stem.¹ Other languages incorporate in the verb the pronouns, objective² and subjective,³ or both,⁴ and even various adverbial modifications.⁵ Others again are polysynthetic with nuclei which are not easy to ascertain.⁶

Owing to this diversity, the study of Papuan is peculiarly interesting. One never knows what new form of word or bizarre construction may appear when a language is investigated for the first time. Unlike Melanesian (found also in New Guinea), in which even the most widely separated languages have some common elements, each Papuan language is unique, and a knowledge of one is no guide to the idioms of another. Unfortunately, for linguistic science, Papuan languages, with few exceptions,⁷ are spoken by very small communities, and these often find it convenient to use for trading

¹ As e.g. Kiwai (Fly River): *n-i-midai-bi-ru-mo* we took three, lit. we-more than one-take-three-did-we.

² As e.g. Namau (Purari Delta): *Kuru-i-na* tell me, *kuru-ni-na* tell thee, *kuru-na-re* told me, *kuru-ni-nare* told thee.

³ As e.g. Binandere (Mamba River): *te-na* I say, *te-ta* thou sayest, *te-sira* he says.

⁴ As e.g. Mailu (Cloudy Bay): *mini-la-uta* I give thee, *mini-la-a* I give him, *mini-la-esela* thou givest me, *mini-la-esa* thou givest him, *mini-la-esela* he gives me, *mini-la-ga* he gives thee, *mini-la-esa* he gives him.

⁵ As e.g. Mailu: *Auribaubauaa* I have been staying a long time, *awerowewewasibiau* come ye back quickly.

⁶ As e.g. Monumbo (Potsdamhafen): *ek atsaik* I saw, *ek tsek utsoro* I have seen thee, *nin nintaik* he has seen, *uk utsaik* she has seen, *ek awirak* I will see.

⁷ Perhaps Kiwai and Binandere.

purposes and communication with Europeans, the simpler language of Melanesian neighbours. To the missionaries, for the most part, is due the accurate knowledge of several Papuan dialects.

The Kâte-German-English Dictionary compiled by the Rev. Christian Keysser, of the Neuendettelsau Lutheran Missionary Society, is the first list of Papuan words of dictionary rank to be published with interpretation in English. It shows the language of the Kâte-ngic, (i.e. Bush-folk) of the mountain villages of the Huon Peninsula on the east coast of New Guinea. By their Melanesian neighbours, the Jabim on the coast at Finschhafen, the people are called Kai (bush), and they are usually called Kai also by Europeans. The language (*Kâte-dâng*) is spoken by about 4,000 people, and was first made known by the German traveller Zöllner in his book *Deutsche Neuuguinea* in 1891. Notices of the grammar have been published by Grube, Schmidt, and Dempwolff. According to Herr Keysser there are several dialects. The Wena which is used in church and school is that represented in the dictionary.

The dictionary contains 551 pages with 61 additional pages of relationship, animal, plant, and mineral names. Only Kâte words with German and English interpretation are given, and there is no German or English index or grammar. The English explanations are added to the German without punctuation, and there are a few misprints for which the author apologizes, and which are counter-balanced by the convenience for use by Anglo-American readers, as funds for the publication were provided by the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Iowa, U.S.A.

The compilation of a Papuan dictionary is not an easy task, but Herr Keysser has accomplished it in a very efficient manner. The extraordinary number of compound words must have required a good deal of thought. The author has somewhat simplified the arrangement by entering words of similar derivation and meaning under their primary component. An example will show Herr Keysser's method. I add a note following:—

“*Nalezo* mir etw. geben, mir etw. antun to give me s. th., to do s. th. to me. Objektivverb, wird nach dem Objekt abgewandelt objectiv verb, conjugated according to the object : sg. *nalezo*, *galezo*, *lácnezo* (in Zusammensetzungen : in compounds :—*cnezo*) ; dual. *náctezo*, *ŋactezo*, *ŋáctezo* : pl. *nálezo*, *ŋalezo*, *jalezo*.

“*Enalezo* (cf. *ezo*) mir etw. antun, zufügen to do me a good or bad turn. *banalezo* mir (für mich) etw. machen to do s. th. for me.

"*Nalengaleŋ* gegenseitiges Geben, Handeln, Tauschhandel mutual giving, dealing, barter. *Boleŋnalengaleŋ* Wertsachenaustausch exchange of valuables. *Dāŋnalengaleŋ* Redeaustausch, Gedanken-austausch exchange of speeches, of thoughts.

"*Nalezo* etc. drückt in Zusammensetzungen den Dativ (das ferne Objekt) aus, z. B.: expresses the dative (the indirect object) in compounds, e.g.: *wikenalezo* mir etw. zuwerfen to throw s. th. to me, *wikegalezo* dir etw. zuwerfen to throw s. th. to you *wikecnezo* ihm etw. zuwerfen usw. to throw s. th. to him, her etc." ¹

Note.—The words *nalezo*, *galezo*, *lácnezo*, etc., which mean: "To give me, to give thee, to give him, etc.," *zo* being the sign of the infinitive, are also entered in their alphabetical place in the dictionary.

Enalezo is given in its alphabetical place without definition as "*enalezo* v. sub. *czo*". It is also given under *ezo*. But *banalezo* is not given in its alphabetical place and is not found under *bazo*.

Boleŋnalengaleŋ is not entered under *boleŋ* (the valuable ornaments of the natives) and *dāŋnalengaleŋ* is not found under *dāŋ* (voice, sound, speech). Neither word is entered in its alphabetical place, and the termination *ŋgaleŋ* is not explained.

In *wikenalezo*, etc., *wike* is from "*wickezo* etw. werfen, fortwerfen to throw s. th. away". Under this is entered: "*wickenalezo* etw. nach mir werfen (aber nicht treffen) to throw something at me unsuccessfully. (*Hecnuzo* nach mir werfen und treffen to throw and hit me.)"

It is here evident, as Herr Keysser himself points out in his preface, that unless the stem of a word is easily recognizable a certain difficulty would arise in ascertaining the meaning. *Banalezo*, *boleŋnalengaleŋ*, and *dāŋnalengaleŋ* must be recognized as derivatives of *nalezo* before their meaning can be sought in the dictionary. The difficulty might have been avoided by the addition to the work of a grammar, or at least of a list of formative particles. A few only of the latter are given in the dictionary, as to have given all would have made the work too bulky.

The Kâte dictionary is a monument to Herr Keysser's patience and research. It is by far the most complete collection of words in any Papuan form of speech. Not only the student of languages, but the anthropologist also may find interest in its pages, for

¹ In Kâte orthography: *ā* = open vowel *o*, *c* glottal plosive consonant, *j* voiced palatal fricative, *ŋ* voiced velar nasal, *ʒ* voiced alveolar affricate (*dz*), *z* breathed alveolar affricate.

Herr Keysser is not content with mere definitions. I quote his entry (omitting the German) under the word *losa*. "*Losa*, antique stone bowls, found here and there in the wood and on the places of former villages, with which some kinds of superstition are connected. Some of them, with the opening on top, are said to announce famine; when found turned upside, they are said to announce a rich crop. Some have got special names. Professor Neuhauss is of opinion that they were made by a vanished race of inhabitants. As a heavy pestle belongs to these bowls (these are mostly lost), they have surely been used as mortars. From my view and old people still remember, the hard *falic*—and the still harder *zâkoloc*—nuts have been opened in them. The finding of some of these bowls near *zakoloc*-trees corroborates this view. Nowadays the nuts are easily opened by the axe; the *losa* have become superfluous and out of use."

It is to be hoped that Herr Keysser will complete his study of the Kâte-dân by a Grammar and Texts.

SIDNEY H. RAY.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES. Edited by Canon J. M. MACCULLOCH, D.D., and G. F. MOORE, A.M., D.D., LL.D. Volume VII: *Armenian*, by MARDIROS H. ANANIKIAN, late Professor of the History of Languages of Turkey, Kennedy School of Missions, Hartford, Connecticut. *African*, by ALICE WERNER. Archæological Institute of America; Marshall Jones Company, Boston, 1925.

The Armenian section of this volume—by far the smaller, but by no means the least in interest—must be reserved for notice on a future occasion. The African, though occupying about three-quarters of the total space, has nevertheless suffered from the necessity of compressing into these limits a subject for which the whole volume would scarcely have sufficed. It may also be pointed out, in explanation of some deficiencies (it will be obvious that various recent sources have not been utilized) that difficulties connected with the book-trade in the United States have held up the publication for several years.

The writer has found it convenient to treat Africa south of the Sahara as a unity, and while calling attention, as occasion arises, to differences of detail among the various races which inhabit it, finds, on the whole, a remarkable homogeneity in custom and belief. Hence, instead of adopting an arrangement according to racial or regional divisions, the subject has been treated under the headings "High Gods and Heaven", "Myths of Origins", "Ancestral Spirits", etc.

On the much-disputed question of a "High God", the writer preserves a somewhat non-committal attitude, admitting that it is difficult, if not impossible to be certain whether the names commonly accepted as applying to such a being may not really mean the sky or the sun. It seems to us that the two instances she gives (p. 126) as implying that "Mulungu" is regarded as a personal being might be equally susceptible of the other interpretation.

Miss Werner considers that "the bed-rock fact in Bantu and Negro religion" is "the belief in the continued existence of human beings after death and their influence on the affairs of the living"—in other words, ancestor-worship. She inclines to the view, apparently advocated by Klamroth, that all spirits recognized by the African are, in the last resort, ghosts of dead human beings. Perhaps this view requires some modification in the light of Mr. D. R. Mackenzie's recent work (*The Spirit-ridden Konde*), where we read: "Prior to the arrival of the first human spirits, the place was inhabited by the *owners of the land*," and other authorities speak of "earth-spirits", who, however, may or may not be ghosts. Some further light is also thrown by this writer on Mbasi, the "definitely evil power" referred to by Miss Werner on p. 159.

In the chapter on "Myths of Origins" there is an unexplained contradiction in the statement that "Bumba produced eight living creatures", whereas, in point of fact, nine are enumerated. The point may not be without importance as *eight* is a sacred number with some Bantu tribes (e.g., the Chaga, who, however, have been subjected to a good deal of non-Bantu influence, through the Masai), and *nine* with the Baganda, in whom there is, likewise, a Hamitic strain. The Galla, also, taboo *nine*, which they call "the spirits' number".

Farther on, this same chapter raises an interesting point in the curious belief of the Nandi that the first ancestor of mankind produced children from a swelling on his knee—a notion which probably underlies the confused and perplexing accounts of the Hottentot Tsüi-Goab. Strangely enough, there appear to be traces of some such belief in the most unexpected quarters. Miss M. E. Durham has pointed out that the Serbian word for "race", "seed", "generation" (*Koljeno*) had originally the meaning of "knee".

The Hottentots, by the by, are described, mainly on linguistic evidence, as a Hamitic tribe, long separated from the main stock, who assimilated various Bushman or other elements in the course

of their long migration south-west and south. It might, perhaps, with equal justice, be contended that they are originally of the same stock as the Bushman, but mingled their blood with the precursors of the present Galla and Somali, or some other Hamitic peoples. Whether their descent is to be traced from the Automoloi of Herodotus, as some affirm, is another question.

The chapter on "Totemism" is but a tentative approach to a difficult and much-disputed subject, and the writer cannot claim to have reached any definite and unassailable conclusions. But the specimens of folk-tales, to which it is the introduction, are at least adequate to give some notion of the wealth of fable existing in Africa, much of it as yet ungarnered.

On the whole it may be said that, in spite of a style somewhat cumbrous (probably due to a conscientious effort at presenting all aspects of the subject), though evidently much influenced by the late Andrew Lang, this book is readable enough, and has perhaps succeeded as well as could reasonably have been expected in pouring several quarts of matter into the prescribed pint jug. In any case readers of this book have the satisfaction of knowing that it is the work of one of the foremost living experts.

E. D. R.

SOMALI-TEXTE, UND UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR LAUTLEHRE. VON MARIA VON TILING. (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen, herausgegeben von Carl Meinhof, mit Unterstützung der Hamburgischen Wissenschaftlichen Stiftung. Achtes Heft.) Berlin, Reimer; Hamburg, Boysen. 1925.

The Somali language—an interesting member of the Hamitic family, closely related to Galla—has received little attention in this country of late years. Nothing seems to have been published since Kirk's Grammar (1905—superseding that of the late Colonel Hunter, 1880) and the only Somali-English Dictionary in existence is, so far as I am aware, that of Larajasse and Sampont (1897). The more recent work of Dr. Cerulli and P. da Palermo in Italian deserves to be better known.

Fräulein von Tiling has worked on this language for several years, with the assistance of Muhammad Nur, a Somali, from the Berbera district, who, having found his way to Germany in connexion with a performing troupe, was on the outbreak of the war interned in Ruhleben as a British subject, and released at Professor Meinhof's request, for work at the Hamburg seminary. The present volume

is the thesis which gained for the writer the degree of Ph.D. The texts which form its second part were dictated by Nur and embrace a considerable variety of subjects. His account of his own life and experiences in Germany, and of his journey to Benadir, whither he was sent by the then Sharif of Mecca, in or about 1910, will be read with interest, if only in the German translation. We have also the narrative of Muhammad bin Abdallah's (the "Mad Mullah") war, descriptions of Somali life, folk-tales, proverbs and songs. Dr. von Tiling has made a very thorough study of Somali phonetics. Previous studies (dealing in the first instance with the Jabarti dialect) have appeared in the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen* (1922); and the present volume contains an essay on two special points, the articulation of the "pressed" or "emphatic" sounds \tilde{d} (ض) and q (ق) and the laryngals, ح and ع.¹ Meinhof has formulated the rule that "the characteristic of the emphatic sounds is the *manner* and not the *place* of articulation", and he explains this by saying that "the articulation of all emphatic sounds is accompanied by a 'pressure', produced by strong contraction of the throat-muscles or of the muscles attached to the hyoid bone". He says, further, "In der Pressung liegt die Verwandtschaft der emphatischen Laute mit den Laryngalen \bar{h} (ح) und (ع)."

An important observation made by Dr. von Tiling is that these sounds vary according to position in a word (e.g. medial q has a sound rendered by \tilde{y} , "gleich \tilde{e} mit Pressung"); so that she has, very wisely, "die Laute des Somali immer nur als Bestandteile eines Wortganzen, und, soweit es möglich war, auch im fortlaufenden Satz untersucht." In fact, this is the only sound method to follow. It is interesting to note that her quite unsophisticated Jabarti informant stated that, in pronouncing q , he "pressed the back of his throat together", but uttered k "in his mouth", and drew a similar distinction between d and \tilde{d} . This pronunciation is illustrated by two radiographs and a number of kymograph tracings, which are specially commended to the attention of phoneticians.

The present work does not deal with grammar (except incidentally in notes on the texts), though previous studies on this subject have already appeared in Professor Meinhof's quarterly.² But the Introduc-

¹ It does not seem clear whether these sounds in Somali are in every case identical with those expressed by the Arabic characters.

² *Zeitschrift für Kolonial- (later Eingeborenen-) Sprachen*, ix, 132; x, 208; xii, 17; xv, 50, 139.

tion contains an extremely suggestive passage. After mentioning the two problems formerly discussed—the three different forms of the Somali article, and the seemingly anomalous concord of the adjective—she says :—

“ Ich bin immer mehr zu der Ansicht gekommen, dass die genannten und andre Fragen, die noch offen stehen—wie z. B. der sinngemässe Gebrauch der Tempora im Somali—im Grunde wohl auf ein und dieselbe Tendenz zuruckzuföhren sind, die die ganze Sprache beherrscht, nämlich auf die dem Somali eigentümliche Einstellung des Redenden zum Erlebten, das er sprachlich wiedergibt ; und zwar gliedert sich diese Einstellung in der Hauptsache nach zwei immer wiederkehrenden Gesichtspunkten, die sich bezeichnen lassen als Gegenwarts- und Nichtgegenwartssphäre, resp. Seiendes und Gewesenes, oder tatsächlich Wahrgenommenes und nur Gesetztes—noch andauerndes oder gelöstes Besitzverhältnis—wenn man will, kann man auch die Ausdrücke Gegenwart und Vergangenheit dafür anwenden, doch geben sie nicht das Wesentliche der inneren Zweigliederung des Somali an, und es ergeben sich bei ihrer Anwendung häufig Widersprüche.”

It is to be hoped that Dr. von Tiling will be enabled to continue her studies so far as to solve these and kindred problems, and perhaps, at last, to present us with a Somali grammar which shall be really satisfactory.

A. W.

CAUSERIES CONGOLAISES. Par E. TORDAY. Brussels : Vromant and Co., Imprimeurs-Editeurs, 1925.

Mr. Torday has, at the request of the Belgian Government, produced a popular account—greatly needed, if report can be trusted—of the Congo basin and its peoples. Those acquainted with this writer's more serious work—which will be a mine of wealth to anthropologists during many years to come—need not too hastily conclude that the *Causeries* are not for them, for this little book of less than 250 pages contains more solid information, conveyed in easy, picturesque French, than many a more pretentious work. Lecturers in Sociology or Anthropology might do worse than recommend its perusal to a class with no previous knowledge of specially African subjects. We have sixteen chapters dealing, under such headings as “Vêtements et Parures”, “L'Habitation”. “Agriculture, Chasse et Pêche”, “La Religion”, “La Famille”, etc., etc., with the material culture, social life, and religious ideas of the people. The different tribes inhabiting

this vast region are briefly characterized in the opening chapter, "Le Congo et les Congolais," where we have, *inter alia*, some extremely suggestive remarks on the much-disputed question of the Pygmies. Mr. Torday is inclined to think that these people are of the same stock as their taller neighbours, their so-called racial peculiarities being merely the result of environment. Their physique varies as does that of the tribes dwelling near them, those north of the equator being short-legged and stocky, like the "Forest Negroes" of the Aruwimi, while those to the south are "sveltes et fluets", like the adjacent Baholo and other peoples.

Students of Comparative Religion will particularly note the recognition in Chapter VI of ancestor-worship and fetishism as two distinct cults, the latter being a comparative innovation in the Central and Western Congo regions. It will be remembered that the late R. E. Dennett held more or less the same view. It may be mentioned in this connexion that the "crowned chief"—the head of the clan, who is *ex officio* the high-priest of the ancient worship—occupies the position of Sir J. G. Frazer's "Divine King", and is never allowed to die a natural death. This chief is not necessarily—indeed in many cases has been superseded by—the political head of the tribe. To quote all the passages one is tempted to extract would far outrun our space-limits, and selection is difficult. It only remains to add that the author's apology for the "frivolous" character of his work is quite unnecessary.

A. W.

JAKT-ÖCH FÄNGSTMETODER BLAND AFRIKANSKA FOLK. (Hunting Methods among African Peoples.) Del. I. AV GERHARD LINDBLOM. Stockholm: Victor Petterson, 1925.

Dr. Lindblom, whose ethnographical work has been noticed on a previous occasion, has here embraced in a comprehensive survey the results of first-hand field-work in Africa, as well as of an exhaustive study of the available African literature and the splendid collections in the Stockholm Ethnographic Museum. A brief "Retrospect" at the end, written in English, is intended to afford readers unacquainted with Swedish a bird's-eye view—necessarily a very sketchy one—of the vast amount of matter contained in the preceding 124 pages.

The method of arrangement is not the same throughout; in general, the facts are grouped according to the kind of animal hunted; thus we have chapters on the hunting of the ostrich, the crocodile,

and the elephant, and one devoted to the giraffe, rhinoceros, and buffalo. But another chapter deals with the hunting of various creatures by means of disguises (e.g., the Bushman method of stalking the ostrich) and yet another with the use of boomerangs and missile clubs in hunting. The variety of traps and snares used by various African tribes will be found surprising by anyone who has devoted no previous attention to the subject; the round foot-trap of Uganda and the Sudan (pp. 76, 101) is specially ingenious. Altogether a valuable monograph. A. W.

LA CULTURE MODERNE : CIVILISATIONS NÉGRO-AFRICAINES. Par MAURICE DELAFOSSE. pp. 142, 5½ × 4. Paris : Librairie Stock, 1925.

This little manual, for whose scientific accuracy the name of M. Delafosse is a sufficient guarantee, forms an excellent introduction to the study of African anthropology. Under the seven headings of "Religion et Magie", "La Famille", "Institutions Sociales", "Organisation Politique", "Régime des Biens", "Vie Matérielle", and "Culture Intellectuelle et Artistique", we have a clear and comprehensive survey of the whole continent—at any rate, of that portion south of the Sahara to which the name Africa most intimately belongs. The broad outlines here given are invaluable as a guide to the student, who can gradually fill in from other sources the details proper to the particular region in which he is interested. Differences of local detail cannot, of course, be allowed for in a bird's-eye view of this kind, and it is well to remember that, on the whole, the present work is *orienté* for Western—i.e. non-Bantu Africa—more especially the Ivory Coast and the Niger Basin. The cleavage between Bantu and non-Bantu is not, except from a linguistic point of view, very clearly defined (indeed, it may be doubted, whether, apart from language, it has any real existence); yet there are certain differences which at once suggest themselves to anyone familiar with the East and South. For instance, the notion of the Earth as a divinity (p. 97), which, according to M. Delafosse, underlies the African theory of property in land, does not seem to be definitely formulated among the Eastern Bantu, who, however, hold more or less the same view as to ownership of the soil. They appear to recognize, and propitiate, earth spirits, which are probably—in some cases, we may say, certainly—the ghosts of former occupants; but the conception of an Earth-goddess is foreign to them, though possibly not to the Congo tribes studied by the late R. E. Dennett.

Another part of the work which may be held to apply more particularly to West Africa is that dealing with the *régime des castes* (p. 72). Specialized occupations, sometimes hereditary, may be found elsewhere—but, except in the case of the smiths (the guilds of sorcerers, diviners, or herbalists—distinct but sometimes overlapping—are not quite on the same footing) nothing in the nature of a caste seems to have been recorded from Southern or Eastern Africa—though M. Delafosse says:—

“ La plupart des populations négro-Africains divisent la société en deux catégories : au sommet de l'échelle se placent tous ceux qui n'appartiennent pas aux castes dites professionnelles ; au bas de l'échelle sont relegués les artistes et les artisans, répartis eux-mêmes en castes nombreuses, étanches et hiérarchisées.

“ Ce n'est pas le travail en lui-même qui avilit ; la nature du travail effectué intervient pour une large part. Le travail de la terre est le plus noble de tous, sans doute parce qu'il implique une alliance directe avec la divinité du sol.”

Such a degree of specialization seems to imply a much longer settlement of the country than can be postulated for most Eastern Bantu tribes. It is also to be noticed that, in the area surveyed in this book, agriculture does not seem to be regarded as specially the women's province, as is so frequently the case in primitive cultures, and markedly among the Bantu.

Altogether, the value of this little work is quite out of proportion to its size, and it may be confidently recommended to students as the initial step for a course of reading in African ethnography.

A. WERNER

SCULPTURE IN SIAM. By ALFRED SALMONY. pp. xviii + 52, 12½ × 9, 70 plates, 1 map. London : Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1925.

The author of this work, who is Assistant Director in the Museum for Far Eastern Art in Cologne, has set himself the difficult task of disentangling not only the chronological development of plastic art in the geographical area he has selected but also its topographical classification and the various foreign and local influences that have contributed to its evolution. In this he has spared no pains ; and as he gives his evidence in the shape of a well-selected series of admirably executed plates it may fairly be said that he puts his cards on the table and submits his judgments on these matters to a public test. His delicate appreciation of nice points of difference in form

and treatment, of necessity required for such a task and trained thereto by a conscientious and detailed comparative study of the materials, is evident on every page of his descriptive and critical account. So far as a layman in these matters can follow him, his judgments appear to be well founded, and it is safe to say that he has truly laid down the general lines of the evolution of sculpture in Siam. Further discovery may add to, and perhaps in matters of detail modify, this result without upsetting its main principles.

It is to be noted that the title of the book is not *Siamese Sculpture* but *Sculpture in Siam*. That region was never an ethnic unity; and foreign influences, originally Indian in their source, from Cambodia, Malaya, Burma and elsewhere, have created a number of cross-currents in the local art. It is only gradually, and relatively late, that a typically Siamese sculpture emerges; and then only to end, all too soon, in a stereotyped formalism that makes one regret the more primitive variety. This is not a question merely of beauty: that conception is very relative. It has been said by a critic that these sculptures of Siam are not beautiful; but this may mean no more than that the particular critic could not bring himself to admire them. He may have forgotten that the models were Indo-Chinese, not Greeks, and that the conventions of treatment were necessarily alien to his European experience. These are limitations, if one may so style them, for which the artists cannot fairly be blamed. It is more to the point to frame an estimate of what they contrived to do within their limitations. Looking at the plates of this book one cannot but feel that many, especially of the earlier works, show power and a fine sense of form. The Indian inspiration, working in a new field, produced, as it did in Java and elsewhere, a fresh school differing somewhat from those of its original homeland. But gradually the impulse died away and a localized conventional routine took its place. That is a rough summary of the course of artistic development in several of what we may call the ancient colonies of India.

Like some others, the author is a trifle hard on the Gandhara School. But, after all, if that school had not existed the art of the Gupta period would not have been what it was; and it was Gupta art that gave the Indian colonies in Indo-China and Indonesia their exemplars. These are but links in a chain; or perhaps one should compare them to reaches in a long river, that was being fed now and then by some fresh tributary and ultimately spread out into a number of distant branches, fertilizing a delta of its own creation.

A few details in the text of the book invite criticism. "Upper India" (p. 1) is a curious term for Indo China, as is also "Lower India" for India proper. Makkara (p. 7) should be Makara; Ardjoen (p. 8), Ardjoena (i.e. Arjuna). The bearded personages discussed on the same page and figured on Plate 4 B are surely ascetics of the Indian type; but it does not follow that the beardless ones are aborigines. The Bangka inscription of 686 (p. 10), though containing many Sanskrit words, is not in Sanskrit, but in an Indonesian language closely cognate with Malay. It is surely too much to say that the art of the early period (say, about the eighth century) was originated by the Malay peoples (p. 11). It was Indian, and probably the early craftsmen in Java and Sumatra were Indians. Just how much it owed to its environment has yet to be assessed; and the same applies to Indian art elsewhere. Further, between Phrapatom and the furthest-known outposts of the Sumatran Śailendras there is a geographical gap, bridged only by certain resemblances in the sphere of art. Are these cause and effect, or are they both effects of a common cause, their Indian origin? Sawankolok (p. 13) is not Saṅgha-land but Svarga-land. Here, and in Sukhothai, although Camboja was the politically suzerain power, geographical considerations render it not unlikely that Indian influences may have penetrated at a fairly early date from the Talaing coastland of Lower Burma. There is no reason to suppose (*ibid.*) that the Mon-Khmers were of Aryan kin. Certainly their colour is no evidence that way, for the Khmer is darker than the Thai. For Plate II (p. 14) read Plate 11. The etymology of Lophburi as "New Town" (p. 19) is more than doubtful. Its Pali and Sanskrit name is Lavapuri; and a Mon inscription of about the eighth century has been found there. Racial kinship between Thai and Cham cannot be invoked to account for resemblances in artistic styles (p. 24), for the Chams are more closely related to Khmers and Malays than to the Thai. For Plate 51 B (p. 30) read Plate 52 B. For Abaya-mudra read Abhaya-mudra. For Dvarvati (p. 33) read Dvaravati. The number of the earthly forerunners of the historic Buddha (p. 38) was not confined, even by the Hinayana school, to six.

These are details which do not affect the substantial value of the work under review. But they deserve mention, because when occurring in a scholarly work like this they are liable to lead students into error.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE VOLGA POMPEI. By F. BALLOD. pp. 132. 1923. Ф. Баллод.
Приволжские Помпеи Госуд. Издательство. Москва, 1923.

It is very pleasant to read this account of the explorations and archæological research carried out by Professor Ballod, together with his friends and disciples, on the right bank of the Volga in 1919, 1920, and 1921.

The party had explored certain sites between Sarator and Tsaritsin at the time when everyone in Russia, including the members of the expedition, was undergoing incredible hardships. Professor Ballod is interested in the early ages, beginning from the paleolithic period, and for the study of this he had ample opportunity in the district mentioned above. But he gives more attention to the Middle Ages—particularly to the architecture and applied arts of the Zolotaya Orda.

He dismisses the traditional opinion that the Tartar rulers of Russia were nothing but savage nomads. He maintains that the material secured during the excavations of the "Volga Pompei" proves that the Tartars of the second half of the thirteenth and of the fourteenth centuries achieved a very high level of material civilization.

The text is accompanied by 32 plates, some of them in colour.

M. KASANIN.

A PHONOGRAPH COURSE IN THE CHINESE NATIONAL LANGUAGE.
By YUEN REN CHAO, Ph.D. Commercial Press, Shanghai,
China.

This book, with the accompanying gramophone records, will be of great value to foreign students of the Chinese spoken language. It is particularly interesting for three reasons. To begin with, it is the first effort that has been made to present a course in Colloquial Mandarin on systematic and scientific lines from the point of view of Modern Phonetics as well as that of grammar and syntax. It is interesting also because the author is a Chinese, who is not only a thorough master of his mother tongue, but also of modern linguistics in all its bearings. The work throughout reveals a high grade of scholarship and a wide knowledge of modern European languages. And the third reason is that accompanying the lessons is a set of gramophone records which, for the student working with or without a Chinese teacher, add immeasurably to the usefulness of the work. They are remarkably clear, especially in the tones, and are the more

valuable to the foreign student in that they are produced by a Chinese whose colloquial in pronunciation, as well as in idiom, is of a very high standard.

There are twenty-four lessons, each with a corresponding gramophone record. It is significant that the first six of the twenty-four are devoted to pronunciation, and of these six, two are occupied solely with tones. Significant, that is, both of the importance attached to tones by a Chinese philologist, and of his estimate of the difficulty which foreigners have hitherto found in acquiring the tones in a way satisfactory to the Chinese ear.

In the plan of the book, as a whole, each lesson begins with a few pages of theoretical explanation of the subject of the lesson, whether pronunciation or syntax. This is followed by the text, set out, with the transliteration and translation, on two pages. The transliteration is in the International Phonetic Alphabet, the tone of each word being indicated by a stroke preceding the word. After each character in the text the symbols of the Chinese National Phonetic Script are given. The first effect of this arrangement upon the English reader is somewhat confusing. To a Chinese reader there is probably no confusion, because in the National Readers used in the schools and in other literature the script has become common. But to the foreign beginner it is otherwise. It is a question whether it would not have been better to give the National Phonetic Script separately from the characters.

The title is somewhat misleading. It speaks of a course in the "National Language", whereas the lessons are in pure Pekingese, and there is a difference, as the author points out, between the two. It would have been better to avoid the discrepancy. The most important point in which Pekingese and Kuo Yü (National Language) differ is in what may be called the split sounds. Older foreign students are familiar with the difference between Wade's system and Williams', according to which Wade's *ch* and *hs* before front vowels are divided in Williams' into *k* and *ts*, and *h* and *s* respectively. The Kuo Yü has been adopted by the Peking Government with the object of unifying the Colloquial Mandarin of China, and it is very much to be commended that they adopt the split sounds, for the important reason, among others, that the number of sounds or syllables in the Chinese language is in any case all too small, and the division into two or more classes makes for clearness—very desirable in the case of a phonetic script. It seems, however, that there are two parties in China, one favouring

the adoption of pure Pekingese as the national language, asserting that the present Kuo Yü system is much more difficult to carry through as a unified system. This assertion may prove to be true, but if so, it is none the less to be regretted for the reason stated above. The author speaks of the Kuo Yü as the artificial Mandarin of the older sinologists. This, if it refers to Mandarin as presented, say, in the former Williams' Dictionary, is not quite accurate. It represented rather what used to be called Southern Mandarin or Nankingese, a form of Mandarin which, in its essential feature, namely, the split sounds, covered a large area, extending as far north as Shantung.

The National Phonetic Script symbols inserted by the side of the Chinese characters are according to the Kuo Yü, and therefore represent the split sounds, and not the Peking single initial before front vowels; while in the International Phonetic transcription the author has given the Pure Peking representation. This discrepancy may lead to some slight confusion to the student. It is, however, a distinct gain that in his International Phonetic transcription the author has distinguished between the initials *cj*, *cç* and *tʃ*, *tʃʃ*, the two former of which occur before front vowels only and the two latter before back vowels.

Perhaps the most interesting fact to the foreign student of Chinese is the author's adoption of *b*, *ɟ*, *ɟʃ* (unvoiced) instead of Wade's *p*, *t*, *k*. There has been much discussion from earliest days among foreign scholars with regard to the representation of these sounds, the older sinologists insisting, with good reason, that the Mandarin Colloquial has no *b*, *d*, *g*, but an unaspirated *p*, *t*, *k*, corresponding to aspirated *p*, *t*, *k*. Our author, in agreement with Dr. Calvin Mateer, one of the greatest experts in Colloquial Mandarin, says that the Chinese sounds "are somewhere between the two. You can get the sounds correctly either by pronouncing *p*, *t*, *k* with no aspirations. or *b*, *d*, *g*, without voice". The author in adopting the symbols *b*, *ɟ*, *ɟʃ*, as more easily to be distinguished from the aspirated stops *p*, *t*, *k*, has, we think, acted wisely. We are disposed to criticise his transcriptoin (*uə*) of such finals as are found in Wade's *po*, *mo*, *lo*, etc. We should be more inclined to give it as *oə*, as the more usual pronunciation in Peking.

The lessons on syntax are very comprehensive, and of special interest to the foreign student, as covering the ground usually covered by grammars in European languages. The introductory section on

theory in each lesson is well done, and of great value. But the author rightly counts on the student obtaining more or less unconsciously an instinct for correct grammar from the wealth of sentences provided in the lessons themselves. We heartily commend this book to all students of Colloquial Mandarin as one of the best that have yet appeared on the subject.

J. PERCY BRUCE.

THE MATHNAWÍ OF JALÁLU'DDÍN RÚMÍ. Edited from the oldest manuscripts available, with critical notes, translation, and commentary by REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A. Vol. I, containing the text of the first and second books. "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series. New Series IV.

In preparing a new edition of the text of the first two books of Rūmī's *Masnavī* Dr. Nicholson has used almost exclusively five MSS., of which two are in the B.M., two in Munich, and one in his own possession. He distinguishes them as follows :—

- A (B.M.), 1318–19 A.D.
- B (Munich), 1344 A.D.
- L (Nicholson), 1439 A.D.
- C (B.M.), c. 1320 (?) A.D.
- D (Munich), 1307 A.D.

He has, however, in addition collated these MSS. with Anqiravī's printed edition, which contains a Turkish prose translation and a Turkish commentary, and with the *Būlāq* printed edition, which includes a translation in Turkish verse.

For Book I he has relied principally on C, and for Book II on D. The date of C is only conjectural, the MS. being undated, but if that estimated be approximatively correct, we have a MS. dating perhaps from about 47 years after the death of Rūmī, who died in A.D. 1273, whilst in D we have one which dates from only 34 years after the poet's death.

These may be considered really old MSS., but of course earlier copies must have existed of various periods dating from the time of Rūmī, and it is quite possible that Rūmī may himself have made a recension of his great work. These two considerations are very important, and must always be kept in view when a new edition is contemplated.

Dr. Nicholson's reputation as a Persian scholar is ample guarantee for the accuracy of his transcription of the readings offered by the

MSS. used, and we can sympathise with him in the immense labour involved in the work of collation. At the same time we can scarcely see that the reasons he gives for the necessity of a new edition are absolutely convincing. Anqiravî's edition, which contains a prose translation into Turkish, and a Turkish commentary on nearly every distich, is a grand work, and in spite of its including a number of spurious verses may be considered a really critical edition, prepared with all the acumen, good sense, and exactitude of Turkish savants. It gives variants, quotes illustrative passages from the Qur'ân and the Traditions, as well as from Persian and Arabic verse, and frequently cites the views of other authorities, both Persian and Arabic. The errors are to a considerable extent simply typographical, and are easily corrected.

It is so good, indeed, that translations might be made from it alone to meet satisfactorily the requirements both of the advanced student and also of the general reader. There are also many other editions, some of which, though not so good as the above, *are, pace* Dr. Nicholson, very good, and may serve as valuable adjuncts.

From these considerations Dr. Nicholson's remark that "an annotated translation . . . would be of little use by itself," i.e., substantially, without a new text, seems uncalled for.

We do not for a moment dispute the necessity for a new text if those already existing are really unsatisfactory, but in our opinion, at least, they are not all so, and the difficulty of obtaining them is not a sufficient reason.

After comparing Dr. Nicholson's new text with that of Anqiravî, we find that a great number of the emendations, made on the authority principally of the older MSS., are of so slight a character as to be but little needed by the advanced student, and it is to him alone that the text of so abstruse a work would appeal.

In preparing a new edition the main difficulty of course is to establish the authority of MSS. Dr. Nicholson offers arguments why certain MSS. are to be preferred; but then there is nearly always the certainty that older MSS. have been lost, which might, if extant, invalidate such arguments. The historical method, in general, is almost exclusively the only trustworthy one. The personal element is most often to be distrusted, since an author in many cases probably did not write what an editor of sound judgment may think he should have written, and what he might have written if he had made a recension of his work. A good illustration of this

is Gray's *Elegy*, in which the later script is vastly superior to the earlier.

Dr. Nicholson says, "There is ample evidence that at an early period the copyists began to alter the text of the poem for reasons which I will set forth in detail presently." We do not observe, however, that he does set forth any reasons of importance for the altering of distichs except that of rhyme; thus, e.g., MS. B (A.D. 1344) reads:—

روبه آن دم بر زبان صد شکر راند که مرا شیر از پس آن گرگ خواند

in place of the reading of MS. C (A.D. c. 1320 ?)

گفت روبه صد سپاس آن شیر را کز پس آن گرگ وا خواند او مرا

which contains the faulty rhyme (we should say rather non-rhyme) شیر را and مرا. Dr. Nicholson implies that شیر را may be taken as شیرا and thus by "nīm-fatḥa" supply a (faulty) rhyme to مرا, but we do not think any but an Indian would read so. Then, too, if "nīm-fatḥa" be admitted as a (faulty) rhyme to "fatḥa" why should not two "nīm-fatḥas" be admitted in a distich as rhymes to each other, and any two words ending in a double consonant and a common termination be taken as rhyme? Thus, e.g., ملک ترا should rhyme with برگ را! It is true indeed that some Persian rhymes are of a most peculiar character; cf., e.g., some of those in the گشن راز, but I do not think they go so far as this.

As regards faulty rhymes, a difference in the short vowel of the rhyming syllable is so common, not only in Rūmī but also in most other Persian poets, that we cannot take it that a different reading giving a perfect rhyme is necessarily a correction, and hence a false reading.

Dr. Nicholson says that a reading with a faulty rhyme could not be based upon a correct one. This is true, so far as it goes, but who can account for the vagaries of copyists, or know the contents of older MSS. no longer extant?

With reference to this difference of the short vowel in the rhyming syllables, we are strongly of opinion that no copyist would considerably alter the lines simply because, e.g., گُنی was (as it often is) made to rhyme with کی. He would scarcely be likely to notice so common

a fault in rhyme, and his alterations would be based rather upon his own particular fancies.

Dr. Nicholson does not seem consistent with himself in this matter when he rejects Anḡravī's distich with the faulty rhyme *کند* and *گند* in favour of the following, which offers a perfect rhyme (Book ii, line 2752):

جهل را بی علتی عالم کند علم را علت کز و ظالم کند

Altogether Dr. Nicholson speaks of ordinary poetic licenses as if peculiar to Rūmī. He also implies that Rūmī's style is unpolished and rugged, a judgment with which we think few Persian scholars would agree. To contrast his versification too with that of Ḥāfiz, in whose department of verse, the lyric, perfection of form is most carefully studied, is scarcely justifiable.

Before leaving the subject of rhyme we should observe that to give a "majhūl" sound as a rhyme to a "ma'rūf" one would be considered, if not exactly inadmissible in a classic poet, an ultra-poetic license to be generally avoided, and would suggest that it is doubtful whether, in some cases at least, lines be genuine which contain "ō" as a rhyme to "ū". In all cases the "ma'rūf" sound is given even by Indians if the rhyme require it.

In support of his assertion Dr. Nicholson quotes six cases, of which, at least, four are very doubtful. Thus lines 2589, 2590 are probably catalogue work. In line 2935, if it be not even a very doubtful reading, the rhyming word is just as probably the Arabic "zūr" used in a Persian sense, and not the Persian "zōr". In 3657 زور is more probably than not the Arabic "zūr" used in a Persian sense. Apart from this, too, "zūr" is given as an alternative to "zōr", the Persian word, and this pronunciation is supported by the Old Persian and the Younger Avestic "zūrah", 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 𐬰𐬀𐬭𐬀 (Behistān Ins., Col. IV.)

The "ma'rūf" alternative is found also in a number of other words.

To extend the argument, "dāl" preceded by a vowel in a Persian word would not be considered a perfect rhyme to "dāl" in an Arabic word, and although this rule is "more honoured in the breach than in the observance" it is not altogether ignored, as, e.g., in the Masnavī, Book vi, where بود printed بود rhymes with شوق. Thus in Dr. Nicholson's text of Book i the line 3658, which reads,

هیچ ماه و اختری حاجت نبود که بدی بر آفتابی چون شهود

is possibly the variant, and the line quoted as such in his footnote, namely,

کی ستاره حاجتستی ای ذلیل که بدی بر نور خورشید او دلیل

the genuine line. In any case it is somewhat surprising that Dr. Nicholson has decided to the contrary in face of the fact that B (1344 A.D.) and the Būlāq text omit the first distich, whilst retaining the second, and that C (c. 1320 ?) cancels the first distich and gives the second on the margin.

Another argument against the genuineness of the first distich is that it contains a syntactical error, namely *نبودی* for *نمود*.

Dr. Nicholson's statement that "ē" is found in MSS. A, C to serve as a rhyme to "ā" is remarkable. This could be only in the case of *اماله*, and even then the spelling "ā" is almost invariably changed to "ē". E.g., *رکاب*, "rikāb," may by "imāla" become "rikēb", and would then rhyme with "shēb", e.g., but the spelling *رکاب* would be very rarely kept, though it is occasionally seen. Dr. Nicholson, we observe, invariably keeps it, so that we see, e.g., *حجاب* as a rhyme to *نیب* ! (Book ii, line 2783).

The readings of C, the MS. on which Dr. Nicholson lays most stress for Book i for reasons which he gives, are sometimes questionable. What, e.g., is the authority for *نسکد* instead of *نگسلد* ? The present writer does not remember to have seen it even in the "Shāh-nāma", though he has read a considerable portion of that voluminous work. He cannot speak as to the "Lughat-e Furs", as he has not a copy of it.

As regards the settlement of the orthography by the insertion of the short vowels, the distinguishing of *ك* from *گ* and the marking of *اضافت* both short and long—all this in our opinion might act not as a help but simply as a disturbing influence for other advanced scholars, to whose personal judgment it should, we think, have been left. The student may also be misled. To give an example from Dr. Nicholson's text, Book i, line 346, *مَنادی گاه* should of course be *مَنادی گاه* if *مَنادی* be an irregular plural of *مَناد*.

which it is said to be. If, however, as might, we think, be conjectured, the term should be read as *منادی گاه* the affixing of the vowel point "fatha" might be useful, but not that of the "zamma".

On the whole, however, since Dr. Nicholson has adopted mainly the historical method in his arduous task, his text will generally, we estimate, meet with the approval of Persian scholars. Where the personal element enters there will be always room for discrepancy of opinion, but on this score we have not observed much to which exception might be taken.

Dr. Nicholson hopes to finish the whole text and translation of the six books within seven years, postponing a commentary till a later date. Some, perhaps, may question the possibility of a translation of such a work without an accompanying commentary.

C. E. WILSON.

NOTES AND QUERIES

By the courtesy of the Editors of the *Catholic Herald of India* we are able to give further publicity to the following note by our learner collaborator, the Rev. Father H. Hosten, S.J.

FILIPPO SASSETTI OF FLORENCE

DIED, GOA, 1588.

A lady writes from Florence, 14th July, 1924:—"In order to take my college degree I have to write a thesis on Filippo Sassetti, Fiorentino, son of Giambattista and of Margherita dei Gondi, who died at Goa in 1588, after having lived there eight years. He was a spice merchant and traded between Goa and Cochin; he was buried in the Church of the Company of Mercy (*Edes sacra Societatis Misericordiae*), and his epitaph, which was placed there, reads: 'Philippo Sassetto, patritio fiorentino,' etc., etc.

"In Florence we have the last will and testament of the above-named Sassetti. It is written in Portuguese and says among other things:--

"(a) I bequeath 400 *raafini* to the Establishment of Mercy in order that a service and nine ordinary Masses be said each year. (There is a note on the will to the effect that the Mercy did not accept the bequest.)

"(b) I bequeath all my brass and copper mathematical instruments, an astronomical radius, a planisphere of gilt brass, a quadrant of brass, a quadrant of wood with wheels, a brass globe with 48 emblems, and all my Latin and Greek books to the Society of Jesus.

"(c) The two large framed globes and appliances to Father Guaspere Stiven, Jesuit.

"The information I want is:--

"(a) Why did the Society of Mercy not accept the bequest, and, if that Society still exists, I should like to know the name and address of the Superior.

"(b) If the astronomical instruments are still in the possession of the Society of Jesus, and, if not, what has become of them?

"If it were possible to have the titles of the Latin and Greek books, it would be of the greatest interest for my thesis.

"(c) If Father Guaspere Stiven was a savant, and if he wrote any book on geography or science?

“(d) If there is a library or archives in Goa with records concerning the life of Sassetti in India ?

“I am aware that research may be necessary, and, if you can give me some idea of the cost, I will forward the money for the research and copies of any documents of interest, the essential being :—

“1. An exact copy of the record of the death of Filippo Sassetti (for us, Italians, that would be most interesting).

“2. Some postcards or small photographs showing the Church of Mercy, the memorial stone, and any other existing monuments of the sixteenth century. Can you also give me the name and the address of some person who lives in Cochin, to ask if there is any document about Sassetti there . . . ?

“I am, etc.,

“Giuseppina Maranca.

“*Via Carour, 78—Firenze (Italy).*”

The Very Rev. Fr. J. D. Alberti, S.J., Calicut, to whom the letter was addressed, adds, on referring this matter to me on 6th January, 1925 :—

“On receiving this letter, I applied for information to the Secretary of the Patriarch of Goa, who was kind enough to supply me with some photos (of Albuquerque, the ruins of the Church of Mercy, etc.), some news about the Confraternity of Mercy, as it exists at present, its coat of arms, etc. I communicated all these things to the writer of the letter, but should like to furnish more details. May I trouble you, Rev. Father, for any kind of information you may have at hand in answer to the questions put by the said Signorina ? You may either write to her directly or send your reply to me ; she is ready to defray any expense we might incur.

“I have been interested in Sassetti for many years. The Goethals Indian Library, St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, has a copy of his letters : *Lettere di Filippo Sassetti sopra i suoi viaggi nelle Indie Orientali dal 1578 ad 1588*, Reggio, dalla Stamperia Torreggiani e C., 1844.

“Sassetti was one of the first Europeans to speak of Sanskrit and of its similarity with European languages. He wrote in 1586 : ‘Their sciences are all written in a language which they call Samscrutta,¹ which means “well-finished” (*bene articolata*) ; there is no remembrance when it was spoken, though (as I have said) they

¹ The Sanscrit vowel *ri* is pronounced *ru* in the Telugu country. *Krishna* becomes *Krushna*. Old books by French travellers have *Krustna*.

have very ancient remembrances. They acquire it as we do the Greek and Latin tongues, and they spend much more time on it, so that they master it in six or seven years. The present-day language has many things in common with it : it has many of our words, and chiefly among the numbers [it has] 6, 7, 8 and 9 *Dio* [God], *serpe* [serpent], and many others.' Cf. Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v., Sanskrit, under the year 1586, quoting de Gubernatis, *Storia*, Livorno, 1875, p. 221.

"I find that Sassetti's stay in India and chiefly at Goa was much shorter than Signorina G. Maranca had led me to understand. His letters of 1578 up to 12th March, 1583, are of Lisbon and Seville : in December, 1583, he is at Coccino (Cochin), whence all his letters of 1584 up to 11th January, 1588, are dated, with the exception of a letter written at sea between Goa and Cochin, 23rd December, 1585, and of one from Goa, 9th November, 1585, which he despatched however from Cochin on 22nd January, 1586. His letter of 20th January, 1584, preserves the interesting name of 'Santacroce di Coccino,' which, according to F. de Souza, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado*, was forgotten a century later.

"I have looked in vain through Sassetti's letters for references to Catholic Missionaries. Spices and trade, customs and manners, are the topics of his letters. Sometimes he indulges in learned disquisitions, e.g., on cinnamon.

"The name of Sassetti and of Gaspar Estevao is likely to turn up in accounts of contemporary travellers. The travels published by the Hakluyt Society, London, books provided with good indexes, should be searched in the first instance, e.g., van Linschoten, Pietro della Valle, etc.

"Gaspar Estevao went to India in 1571. He was one of forty-two whom Father Alexander Valignano, the Visitor, took to the East. Jeron. P. A. da Camara Manoel's *Mossoes dos Jesuitas nos seculos XVI e XVII*, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1894, p. 111, calls him Padre, which would show that he was a priest on leaving Europe.

"A. Franco, S.J., *Synopsis Annalium Soc. Jesu in Lusitania ab anno 1540 usque ad annum 1725*, Augustae—Vindelicorum et Graecii, MDCCXXVI, mentions in his catalogue of Missionaries to the East 'Gaspere Esteves, Valent,' without the title of 'Pater', as one of thirty-nine who left in 1574 with Fr. Alex. Valignano. On p. 101 he says they left in five ships. 'Not on 18th February,

as Sacchinus has it, but on 19th March they got on board'; but only on 21st March did they get out of the Tagus.

"Fr. Manoel Xavier, S.J., *Compendio universal de todos os Viso-reys* . . . Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1917, p. 30, marks as leaving Lisbon on 21st March, 1574: '1. Captain-in-Chief Ambrosio de Aguiar, in the *Chagas*, and Father Alexandre Babrano [read Valignano] of the Company; 2. Dom Diogo Rolim, in the *Sta. Fee*; the President returned in her to the Kingdom; 3. Pedro Alvares Correa in the *Sta. Catharina*; 4. Diogo Vaz Rodovalho, in the *Annunciada*; 5. Manoel Pinto in the *Sta. Barbara*. She took to the Kingdom Rebate, the Idalcao's Ambassador.'

"Father L. Besse, S.J., in his *Appendix ad Catal. Miss. Madurensis, S.J., exreunte Februario* 1918, p. 5, mentions in 1604, Father Gaspar Estephanus, as Rector, Preacher and Confessor of the Collegium Coulanense (Quilon) and the Travancore Coast. On p. 20, he sums up what he had discovered about him up to 1918: 'Estephanus (Gaspar), Valentianus; came as a scholastic, 1574; Professor of Theology and Rector at Damaum; in 1604 at Coulam' [Quilon]. This is all I can find about him in Father Besse's very useful Appendices to the Catalogues of the Madura Mission.

"Father de Sousa, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado*, Pte. 2, Conq., 1, D. 1, § 63, says that Father Valignano left Lisbon on 21st March, 1574, with 42 Missionaries distributed in five ships. Among them was Gaspar Estevao, 'Valenciano, who for many years was a lecturer in Theology at Goa, and was Rector of Damao.'

"I do not find Gaspar Estevao in Canon Viz' lists of Vicars of the Goa Churches. (*Heraldo*, Goa, 28th September, 1916-18th July, 1917.)

"Father C. Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibl. de la C. de J.*, III, col. 461, mentions Father Gaspar Estevam: 'of the Province of Goa, sixteenth century (?).' He quotes of him as MS.: *Relacao do martyrio que deu Tay-Cosama Emperador de Japao a seis religiosos de S. Francisco, tres Irmaos da Companhia, e desasete Japonezes*, 1597 (?). Kept at the Professed House of Goa. (Machado, III, 519.) de Backer, I, 1756." This MS. is possibly now in the British Museum, Addl. MSS. Nos. 9853-55, 9859-60.

"I have no idea of what may have happened to Sassetti's mathematical instruments and books. At the suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese dominions, everything was confiscated by Pombal. Much may now lie in the Torre do Tombo,

Lisbon, and not a few things may still be in the Government Archives or in the National Library of Goa.

"W. Marsden bought up a number of MSS. and parts of the Archives of the Provincial of Goa, and gave them to the British Museum and King's College, London.¹ The King's College collection is now in the School of Oriental Studies. In St. Paul's Cathedral Library, Calcutta, there are a number of fine folio volumes, writings of the Fathers of the Church, which I suspect to have come from the Jesuit houses in Goa.

"Some 40 volumes of the Goa State Archives are in the British Museum. Cf. a note in my edition of A. Monserrate's *Mongol. Legat. Commentarius*, in *Mem. As. Soc. Bengal*, III, No. 9, introduction, p. 517, n. 2.

"The Jesuit archives and library at Cochin were confiscated by the Dutch when they took the town about 1663. For a time the Dutch soldiers used the books and papers of the library to light their pipes with. I do not know what was saved and where it is. The same for the town archives, though we may suppose that much passed into the hands of the English, when Cochin became theirs.

"I understand that the National Archives of Goa are extremely rich in MS. documents, but that there is no inventory or indexes to the volumes.

"My friends on the Goa side may know whether articles on Filippo Sassetti have appeared in their learned reviews, or where a copy of his epitaph may exist, also where studies on the *Casa da Misericordia* can be found.

"The word *xarafin* will be found explained in Yule-Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*.

"*The Goethals Indian Library*,

"*St. Xavier's College, Calcutta*.

"28th January, 1925."

MARSDEN MSS.

Among the Marsden MSS., in a bundle labelled "South and East African Languages", I find a short vocabulary of a language called "Mi-a-u", which is said (in a note on the back of the slip) to be "taken from an extensive vocabulary compiled by Mrs. Anne Ewbank Staveley, from the mouths of African children that had

¹ Cf. J.A.S.B., 1910, pp. 437-61; 1911, p. 115; *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, Vol. II, Pt. 3, pp. 513-38; Vol. III, Pt. 1, pp. 129-150.

been taken from the coast by an Arab ship and afterwards carried to Bombay". The vocabulary was transmitted by her from Madras in May, 1817, to the African Society (Qy. Association ?) in London, who handed it to Sir Jos. Banks. "Mi-a-o" is certainly Yao—though not all of the words can be identified as such. This is not surprising under the circumstances, as the journey was long and the cargo no doubt a mixed one. "The natives were embarked in boats at a place named Cuich-i-rna [Kilwa, in the Yao pronunciation Chilwa: the prefix *Ku-* 'to' or 'at' being taken as part of the word] and came down to Cu-hu-gu-ia [= Ku Lunguja: i.e., to Unguja or Zanzibar, the initial *l*, dropped in Swahili, shows the Yao pronunciation], and there sold by the Negroes [Swahili slave-traders] to the Moors [Arabs]—were then embarked in larger vessels, touched *Masamba* and finally arrived at Muskat."

"Masamba" is possibly Mombasa.

Is anything further known about this Mrs. Staveley (her name does not occur in the D.N.B.), and is it possible to ascertain what has become of her complete collection? Marsden seems to have selected from it only the forty-five words contained in his skeleton vocabulary.

A. WERNER.

THE STHIRATATVA INSCRIPTION

An account of this inscription by Dr. Barnett appeared on pp. 670 ff. of Volume III, Part IV, of the *Bulletin*. Part of this inscription is in a local dialect, which Dr. Barnett described as "apparently something between Mārṡārī and old Gujarātī". I think that there can be no doubt about the dialect being one of the many forms of Eastern Mārṡārī, of which Mēṡārī is that best known. Eastern Mārṡārī is a border language between Standard Mārṡārī and Jaipurī and in many cases uses indifferently forms current in one language or the other. Thus the genitive may end in (Mārṡārī) *rō* or in (Jaipurī) *kō*, and the present of the verb substantive may be (Mārṡārī) *hñ* or (Jaipurī) *chñ*, I am. The use varies from place to place . . . even from village to village. In some places both forms are used indifferently.

A reference to the Map of Rājasthānī in volume ix, part ii, of the Linguistic Survey of India, will show that the local dialect of Khajurī where the inscription was found—about 46 miles west of Indargarh—is now known as Khairārī. A brief account, with a short specimen, of this dialect will be found on pp. 85 ff. of the above-mentioned volume of the L.S.I. (see also pp. 70 and 78).

Khairārī is a form of Eastern Mārwarī, so that the peculiarities found in the inscription are only what are to be expected. The specimen in the L.S.I. consists merely of six lines, and yet it has both *hū* and *chū*. The use of *ro* for the genitive is nowadays not so common in Eastern Mārwarī as that of *ko*, but it does occur sporadically. The Inscription shows that its use was more general in the early part of the sixteenth century.

G. A. GRIMSON.

MUSICAL ACCENT AND WHISPER

The paragraph about whispered speech in tone languages occurring in the article by O. Gjerdman under the title of "Critical Remarks on Intonation Research" (*Bulletin*, Vol. III, Part IV, p. 495 seq.) is sufficiently interesting to require examination.

For convenience the portion of the paragraph which calls for special consideration is here given.

"I think it would be very useful for the solving of the mysteries of the musical accent if those who devote themselves to the investigation of these accents would lay to heart the fact that a whispered language has as many distinct musical accents as the same language when voiced. A Chinaman, whom I once asked if the Chinese have any difficulties in understanding one another when they are whispering, looked at me with a smile full of pity, and answered, 'No'. Certainly he had never thought that a man could be stupid enough to ask such a question."

If, as here stated, the essential features of a so-called "tone language" are not obscured when that language is whispered, the difficulties of those of us, whose business it is to investigate such languages, are multiplied beyond measure. Fortunately for phonetic investigators the *prima facie* evidence is strongly against such a view.

But, instead of discussing the physical nature of whisper we determined at once to put the question of recognition of significant tones in whisper to the test of observation and experiment. We were undeterred by expressions like "stupid" and "mystery", which only serve to obscure the issue, and we resolved to treat the question as we would treat any other natural phenomenon. Attempts to wrap linguistic questions in obscurantism are greatly to be deplored. The days of casting horoscopes should be over.

The method of procedure adopted by us is sufficiently obvious to be considered by some as "stupid", but one is so accustomed in one's own country to the superior person "with a smile full of pity",

that one does not attach too great a critical value to the condescending pity of Mr. Gjerdmann's Chinaman.

In the experiment, the language chosen was Panjabi, which has three significant tones. The words chosen were **ṭoea**, **kori**, **tʃa:r**, **ti**, **na**, **saũ**, **ka:r**, **kera**. Each of these words when said in isolation can be uttered in three tones, which for convenience were called (1) low-level, (2) high-falling, (3) mid-falling.

When "*ti*", for example, is said on tone (1) it means "daughter", on tone (2) it means "thirty", on tone (3) it means "woman".

The following table gives the meaning of the words when uttered on tones (1), (2), (3) respectively:

ṭoea :	carry, grope, pit.
kori :	mare, leper, score.
tʃa:r :	to fall, to rise, hang-nail.
ti :	daughter, thirty, woman.
na :	to bathe, a denial, not.
saũ :	—, an oath, to sleep.
ka:r :	to fashion, to be boiled, to imprison.
kera :	a circle, a proper name, to scatter.

A preliminary experiment was made by B.D.J. (a native of the Panjab) on S.J., and vice versa. The words were first uttered as in normal speech. There was no doubt about the results. Whatever the tone employed, the meaning was given correctly and without hesitation in every case. In other words there was perfect correlation between the tone and meaning.

When the words however, were whispered, the meanings given were wrong in most cases and uncertain in others.

Further trials were then decided upon: the "Versuchsperson" in this case being Mr. S. Varma (another native of the Panjab).

With Mr. Varma, as with ourselves, when the utterance was normal the meaning was invariably given correctly. In whisper, the results were as follows:—

ṭoea	1	right out of 3	times
kori	1	„ „	5 „
tʃa:r	0	„ „	1 „
ti	3	„ „	6 „
na	1	„ „	1 „
saũ	0	„ „	3 „
ka:r	1	„ „	1 „
kera	1	„ „	1 „

This shows that out of 21 trials only 8 were correctly given, which sufficiently shows that the attempt to establish a correlation between utterance and meaning in whisper signally failed.

It is interesting and instructive to remark that out of the 21 answers given, 17 belonged to the level tone. In every case where the monosyllables *ti*, *tʃaːr*, and *na* were given, they were heard as level tones. This is just as one would expect, for a change of pitch with average energy of utterance is only obtained by changing the vowel. In words of more than one syllable, the attempt at high pitch was occasionally recognized because of the concomitant alteration in stress.

Continuing our short investigation into whisper, we discovered that *kaːmi* (a voluptuary), where the [k] is unaspirated, and *gaːmi* (going) were indistinguishable. On the contrary, *khɑːn* (mine), where the [k] is aspirated, and *kaːn* (ear) were readily distinguishable in whisper.

In conclusion we would point out that in whisper (1) while a small rise in pitch (from two to three semi-tones) can be obtained by considerably increasing the energy of utterance in the same vowel, under normal circumstances a change of pitch is only effected by changing the vowel quality.

(2) Any attempt to alter the pitch while whispering the same vowel is heard as a change in stress.

(3) Ordinary whisper is a glottal phenomenon produced with the ligamentous glottis nearly closed and the cartilaginous glottis open. Any vibrations observed in the vocal chords by the laringo-stroboscope were too feeble to be reinforced by the supra glottal cavities and they gave no tracing on the kymograph.

STEPHEN JONES.

BARNASI DAS JAIN.

Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society, vol. iv, part i, contains Welsh Gypsy Folk Tale, No. 24, by Dr. John Sampson, with note by Professor W. R. Halliday, and German Gypsy Songs by Engelbert Wittich. The Editor is E. O. Winstedt, 181 Iffley Road, Oxford.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

OBITUARY

**Edward Granville Browne, M.A., M.B., F.B.A., F.R.C.P.
1862-1926.**

A stock of Gloucestershire landowners producing soldiers and business men, with divines and doctors of medicine in former generations, threw up in Edward Granville Browne a genius for Oriental scholarship. Nothing in ancestry or in environment goes any way to explain it, but from the first the boy was not like other boys, and took his own way. Hence most unhappy schooldays at Glenalmond and at Eton, where not only boys but masters objected to his pursuing "bugs" rather than balls. At first destined for engineering, a profession in which his father, Sir Benjamin Browne, had attained distinction, he turned to medicine as a career not too uncongenial and yet of practical value. But already he had found his true path: infected with enthusiasm for the cause of the Turks at the time of their war with Russia in 1877 he set himself to learn their language, and by it was inevitably drawn on to Persian and Arabic. When he came up to Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1879, he found it possible in the new atmosphere to work at his Eastern languages side by side with his medicine. As a reward for his second class in the Natural Science Tripos (1882) his father allowed him to take the old Indian Languages Tripos in 1884, and he was of course in the first class and in it alone.

Then followed a period of reading and learning medicine in London relieved by every opportunity of reading and talking with Orientals, particularly Persians, to whom Browne came to be more and more attracted. As a result, though he qualified for the medical profession in 1887 and was preparing to come into residence as house physician at "Barts." early in 1888, suddenly the door opened upon quite another path of life. On 30th May, 1887, he was elected Fellow of his College and was thus enabled to spend that wonderful "year of his life among the Persians". He came to them still young and so attractive and yet steeped in the Qur'ān, in their poetry and history, ready to understand their talk and think their thoughts. We can see in his first book how he penetrated the Persian mind and allowed his mind to be penetrated by it. So that for the rest of his life his whole outlook was that of an *intelligent* of the Near East rather than that of a

Westerner; or, at any rate, so it appeared to his Western friends. In this year in Persia we may find the sources of the main streams of his interest which flowed on through his life. He never seemed to me really interested in language as language, certainly not in grammar or comparative philology. Language was to him the means to understand and to communicate: life, thought and literature were his ends. Life he first described in his travel-book. A vague tendency towards the occult had shown itself in the London period, it was the London of the first appearance of Theosophy, for the first time English society was feeling drawn to the mysticism of the East. So Browne took an interest in the sects derived from the Assassins, and his earliest papers dealt with those. In Persia the persecuted sect of the Bábís came to his notice, and his first real achievements were along this line. Only a man with his attractiveness, his patience and his obvious freedom from any ulterior purpose could have gained the confidence of the Bábís and been allowed by them to come into possession of documents of vital importance for the history of their religion and by comparison for the history of other religions in the obscure stages following the founder's life and death.

On his return from Persia he took the position of University Lecturer in Persian, but pupils were not yet so many as fully to occupy him. So he had time for his next main interest, the history of literature, and produced papers dealing with various sources, especially the *Chahar Maqála* and other biographies of Persian poets, work preparatory to the greatest of his books, the *Literary History*, which is essentially one though more than twenty years separated the fourth volume from the first.

In the later nineties the arrangement by which aspirants for Consularships in the Near East came to be sent for special training to Oxford and Cambridge provided Browne with a succession of pupils whom he could lead in the way of knowledge and sympathy. Though not officially head of the school until 1902, when he succeeded Rieu as Professor of Arabic, he was always its mainspring, teaching a great deal himself, and managing both the men and the Oriental instructors. These required careful handling, but afforded him constant practice in talk, which kept his knowledge fresh and his mind in perpetual *rapport* with those of Eastern man: in them again he inspired real affection and made their necessary exile tolerable. During this period Browne made many journeys to Paris for study and some further afield to Tunis, Egypt, Cyprus, and to Constantinople. The death

of his friend, E. J. W. Gibb, brought two new activities : one was the great task of seeing through the Press the last four volumes of a *History of Ottoman Poetry*, only the first having appeared during the author's lifetime. The other was the administration of the Gibb Trust for publishing Oriental texts : in this the other trustees did their share to help or hinder, but Browne was the main moving spirit, and the splendid row of volumes are as much a memorial to him as to Gibb himself.

The establishment of the Egyptian and Soudan Civil Services brought another set of pupils, and more organization of teachers and taught. Looking back on those years one cannot sufficiently wonder at Browne's marvellous energy. His own production would have been sufficient for a scholar-recluse, but at the same time he was bringing out another man's book, directing a great enterprise for publishing texts, and managing a living machine for instruction in four languages. And all the while he was the most accessible of men, and in his rooms people could find a welcome at every hour of the day or more especially the night. And once there the difficulty was to get away again. It is on record that one caller who came at 6.30 p.m. did not depart till the College doors opened at 6.30 next morning. We came to hear Browne talk, and talk he did on every conceivable subject, and what his talk meant for us Pembroke undergraduates only those who remember it can say : all sorts came up to listen, not only the "highbrows" but the stupid people, and all enjoyed it and were the better for it.

In the early years of the century, Browne's sympathy was engaged by the political decadence of Persia and the threat to its independence from its great neighbours, especially Russia, against which he had a strong prejudice founded originally on disagreeable incidents of his return from Persia in 1883. This appeared to him as one phase of a general aggression by Europe upon the independent powers of Islam, and particularly upon the position of those educated classes in Islamic countries among whom he made his friends. His actual political writings were mostly concerned with Persia, particularly his *Persian Revolution of 1905-1909* and his *Press and Poetry of Modern Persia* : but he made no secret of his distrust of both British and French policy as well as Russian, and this gave him a leaning towards Germany which had not the same temptations or opportunities. So he sympathized with all oppressed nationalities and liked to trace kindred with the heroes of '98 or declaim a few verses of a Welsh hymn. But if the

oppressed peoples were Slavonic (except Poles), or Eastern Christians, they somehow failed to touch him ; they savoured too much of Russia.

Another great interest was in MSS. : besides his full catalogue of Persian MSS. in the University Library, he made a hand-list of its Muhammadan MSS. and Supplementary Hand-list of the many MSS. bought under his advice and a List of Muhammadan MSS. in the other Cambridge libraries. His own collection of MSS. was the result of life-long choice, slowly growing from year to year, and in recent times, when means allowed, enriched by great acquisitions from the Schefer collection, from Houtum-Schindler's and 'Abd'ul Majjīd Belshah's. Containing hardly any books of outward comeliness, by which in books or things Browne did not allow himself to be drawn aside, it was almost restricted to texts of the rarer authors, especially those of importance for the history of life and literature. Browne had almost finished a detailed catalogue of his MSS. and strictly charged his executors to publish it. The books themselves will probably find a home in the University Library.

In 1906 Browne married Alice, daughter of F. H. Blackburne-Daniell, sometime Fellow of Trinity College, and a well-known authority upon Stuart records. He left two sons, Patrick, now in his first year at Pembroke, and Michael, still at Eton. After his marriage (as he had always forewarned us) College ceased to be the centre of his life, and his rooms became merely classrooms in which was housed most of the work of the University School of Oriental Languages. But at Firwood, his house a mile or so out, he and his wife continued his unbounded hospitality to all kinds of people, and it became a centre to which everyone in need of help would turn at once.

To few could the war bring deeper distress than to Browne with his liking for the Turks, and his strong feeling for the oneness of the learned world. By the end of it his friends began to see him as strangely old, and to wonder what was happening to him. But tired though he felt, he kept on with his work, and finished his great Literary History. He even struck into a new line, a revival of his interest in medicine, in his Fitzpatrick Lectures, before the Royal College of Physicians, upon "Arabian Medicine". In 1922 he received for his 60th birthday, besides letters and addresses from all Europe and the Nearer East, a volume of Oriental Studies by scholars of every nation.

A year last November a sudden heart attack brought his active time to an end ; he rallied a little, and there was some hope that he might begin his lectures once more, but in June last the sudden death

of his wife, worn out with caring for him, was a blow from which there was no possibility of recovery : he steadied himself a little to put his affairs in order, and then swiftly sank to die on the 5th of January. He is buried by his wife at his home, Benwell, outside Newcastle.

In our College Library his works take up more than two feet of shelf room : there is no space here to enumerate all his books, to say nothing of the numberless papers in *JR.IS*.¹ But the man was more than his books, and not merely among Orientalists, but among all sorts of people, his life will remain a delightful memory, and an abiding inspiration.

ELLIS H. MINNS.

¹ A complete list of Professor Browne's works will be found at the end of his *Materials for the Study of the Bāhi Religion*, Cambridge University Press, 1918, and in his *Persian Literature in Modern Times* (A.D. 1500-1924), Cambridge, 1924 - [Ed.]

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DE VOULTON'S NOTICIA

Translated with Introduction and Notes by LAURENCE LOCKHART

THE full title of this little work, which occupies 19 pages in 8vo, is as follows :—

Verdadeira e exacta Noticia dos progressos de Thamas Kouli Khan Scach da Persia no Imperio do Gram Mogôr, Escrita na lingua Persiana em Delhy em 21 de Abril de 1739, e mandada a Roma por Mons. Voulton.

Acrecentada com outras chegadas por varias partes, com hum Mapa do Thesouro do Gram Mogôr levado a Hispahan pelo mesmo Schach.

Dadas a luz na lingua Portugueza.

Lisboa Occidental. Na officina de Antonio Correa Lemos. MDCCXXX. Com as licenças necessarias e Privilegio Real.

INTRODUCTION

I. De Voulton

No particulars are available as to the date or place of de Voulton's birth or of his early history, but as will be seen below, it is known that he was a Frenchman and that he, while a young man, served as a private soldier in the Pondichery garrison until he deserted in or about the year 1725.

The following extract from an entry dated the 7th March, 1750, in the diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai,¹ who was *courtier* or chief *dūbāsh*

¹ See p. 375 of vol. vi of Professor Dodwell's translation (from the Tamil) of *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* (Madras, 1918).

to Dupleix, gives or purports to give the motive for de Voulton's desertion, together with some particulars as to his subsequent adventures :

" . . . In M. Lenoir's time, M. de Voulton, a soldier, won some money at play, borrowed more under pretence of trade, lost it all at play, then fled by the Madras road to Covelong with his wife the daughter of Mijneer de Vos. M. Lenoir sent some peons to catch him and bring him back : but Miyân Sâhib's son, Badê Sâhib, declared that he was not there and thus brought him safely to Nellore. His good fortune led him to Golconda and Aurangabad and thence to Qamar-ud-Din Khân, the Pâdshâh's wazir at Delhi, where he set up as a physician. When Nâdir Shâh invaded the country, imprisoned Muhammad Shâh, plundered Delhi and slew about 230,000 people, this man by good fortune secured plunder worth ten or twenty lakhs. moreover, he vigilantly guarded Qamar-ud-Din Khân's house and family, and prevented Nâdir Shâh's people from attacking it, thus proving himself a faithful servant."

Cultru, in his work on Dupleix,¹ also states that de Voulton (or de Volton, as he calls him) was a deserter from Pondichery and that he, after curing the Great Mogul of some illness, became his physician.

In July or August, 1739, de Voulton, according to Cultru, " était rentré en relation avec ceux de sa nation, très probablement pour s'assurer sa grâce, et il mettait son influence au service du gouverneur. Il offrit à Dupleix, par l'intermédiaire de Groiselle, chef à Patna, des concessions de terre, le titre de *cinq azaris* (commandant de ou mansebdar de 5,000 chevaux, titre honorifique des Mogols . . .) et un *serpeau* ² (présent consistant en un costume de seigneur indigène ordinairement de grand valeur) . . . Dupleix raisonne en 1739 comme la Compagnie raisonnera plus tard. De Volton disait qu'il faudrait payer le firman et indiquait la somme. Dupleix alors s'écrie qu'il était fou, s'il croyait la Compagnie disposée à dépenser une grosse somme pour un *cinq azaris*, un simple titre qui ne ferait que la constituer en dépenses pour l'avenir."

Some two years later, Dupleix procured a royal pardon for de Voulton, but the latter nevertheless remained on in the service of the Great Mogul for a number of years, as is shown by the following extract from a paper which Robert Orme, the author of *A History of*

¹ See p. 173 of Cultru's *Dupleix : ses Plans Politiques : sa Désgrâce, Etude d'Histoire Coloniale*. (Paris, 1901.)

² For Saropā.

the British Nation in Indostan,¹ wrote and enclosed in a letter to Lord Holderness, dated the 11th March, 1755² :—

“ Thirty years ago a Private Soldier named De Volton deserted from Pondicherry and went to Agra in (*sic*) Delhi, where he has been ever since in great Favour with the Grand Mogul : rising to be his Principal Physician and of the Privy Council : this Man was dispatched about two years since in Quality of Embassadour to the French and came along with Gazulide Can (Ghāziu'd-Dīn Khān) one of the Mogul's Generalissimos and above 100,000 Horse as far as Aurengobatt, where somebody making shift to empoison Gazulidecan put a stop to their Proceedings : the Embassadour however came on to the French Camp at Hitherbatt (Hyderabad) and proceeded directly to Pondicherry.

“ What were the real Designs of this Man few can tell, for the French are so abstruse and secret in their Proceedings it is hard to find out what they intend : all their Affairs at Camp being managed by the General De Bussy, by a Learn'd Sagacious Jesuit and a European Renegade called Abdallah now Rumi Can, who has been many years in that country and served them at their first coming there as an Interpreter.

“ The Embassadour told me he had Orders to give the French whatever country they should chuse and what wages they pleased if they would abandon Sanabeljang (Salābat-Jang) the present Nabob, and embrace the Interest of Gazulidecan, for which purpose he really shewed me a Carte Blanche with the Mogul's broad Seal : though further I could learn nothing from Him : except that I heard him privately tell a great many officers that if M. Dupleix would give him leave, he would conduct the Army to Delhi and make all their Fortunes. Why his Proposals were not accepted I know not, but I believe they were afraid to trust Him, some imagining it was only a Bait to have them all cut of (*sic*) and effectually at his Return from Pondicherry, he was a Month or more imprisoned, though afterwards dismissed about his Business.”

The above accounts, which agree in their main points, render it possible to form an idea of de Voulton's character and career. Though an adventurer and not over-burdened with scruples, he nevertheless had some sense of honour and duty, if Ananda Ranga Pillai is to be believed : moreover, he tried (though perhaps not altogether disinterestedly) to assist his own countrymen by obtaining concessions and privileges for them.

¹ Published in London in 1803, and reprinted in Madras in 1861.

² See p. 274 of the Orme MSS, at the India Office Library.

The extract from the Orme MSS. given above takes us down to the year 1753, when de Voulton must have been nearly sixty years of age or possibly rather more. It does not say whether he afterwards succeeded in reinstating himself at Delhi or whether he availed himself of his pardon to return to France or, at any rate, to his compatriots at Pondichery: we are therefore left in doubt as to de Voulton's ultimate fate, but it is possible that some further references to him may be discovered that will disclose how he spent the concluding portion of his adventurous career.

II. *The Verdadeira e Exacta Noticia*

In view of his position at the Mogul Court, de Voulton must have had exceptional opportunities for gleaning information of everything of importance that occurred; his "*Verdadeira e Exacta Noticia*", which is a contemporary record of the events immediately succeeding the battle of Karnāl, is therefore of considerable historical interest and value.

The Portuguese text of the "*Noticia*" is made up in the following manner:

(a) A letter or a long extract therefrom which de Voulton wrote to some person unnamed on the 21st April, 1739.

(b) Extracts from two letters dated the 6th and 13th May.

(c) Translation of a portion of the document in which Muḥammad Shāh ceded certain territory to Nādir Shāh.

(d) Extracts from two further letters dated the 13th and 15th May.

(e) List of the booty captured by Nādir Shāh.

(f) Two letters from St. Petersburg and one from Paris (written over a year later than (a), (b) and (d), embodying information received from the Russian Resident at Iṣfahān).

It is stated on the title page that the "*Noticia*" was written in Persian on the 21st April, 1739, the same date as that of the first letter or extract, but extracts (b) and (d) were, as seen above, from subsequent letters; moreover, these extracts are in the third person while (a) is in the first, and it is stated in the text that M. Groiselle forwarded in July an extract from the letters of the 13th and 15th May to some unknown destination.

It is known that de Voulton was in touch with M. Groiselle a couple of months or so later,¹ so it is possible that these last two letters, and perhaps the previous ones too, were addressed to him; if this is so,

¹ See page 224.

it is only reasonable to suppose that de Voulton wrote the letters in French and then made a Persian translation of the extracts therefrom.

The Persian text is unfortunately lost, but it is probable—despite what has been noted above—that it contained the extracts from the later letters, as well as (a) and (c). It is very doubtful, however, whether it contained the list of booty (which was sent to St. Petersburg by the Russian Resident at Işfahān), and it could hardly have included the much later St. Petersburg and Paris letters with which de Voulton seems to have had no connexion. It is, perhaps, noteworthy that a Spanish translation of the Portuguese text, which appears to be very nearly contemporary, does not contain the list of booty or the St. Petersburg and Paris letters. The list and these letters appear to have been added by de Voulton's editor or translator in Europe.

It may well be asked why de Voulton wrote the "Noticia" in Persian. A possible explanation is that the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, who was one of de Voulton's patrons, may have commissioned him to draw up a record of the negotiations with Nādir Shāh and the events connected therewith, in which he played such a prominent part. The "Noticia" contains many references to the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, and presents him in a very (but not unduly) favourable light.

In view of what is said in the "Noticia" regarding Muḥammad Shāh, de Voulton could hardly have written it at his command, while if he had done so at the request of Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān, he would undoubtedly have given the latter more prominence, and would almost certainly have mentioned the fact (if it be a fact) that he had guarded the Khān's house and family at Delhi during the massacre. In any case, it is perhaps curious that de Voulton makes no mention in the "Noticia" of his having so protected Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān's house and family.

There are numerous mistakes in the Portuguese text, but these for the most part are attributable to the ignorance and carelessness of de Voulton's translator or translators and to printer's errors. The principal difficulty in translating the work into English has been the identification and correct transliteration of many of the personal and place-names mentioned: in some cases these names have suffered such mutilation as to render their identification impossible. It seems scarcely conceivable that anyone capable of translating the work from Persian into Portuguese could commit such errors as to give *Campo de Nichoque* for "Chandni Chok" or be so ignorant and careless as

to refer to the Nizāmu'l-Mulk variously as *Marza Mahmoodouk* and *Nirtamehniououk*.

It is a well-known fact that names frequently get mutilated or distorted when a writer, who is himself unacquainted with any Oriental language, translates or draws material from a work in some other European language on Oriental subjects.¹ It therefore seems quite possible that the "Noticia" may, in the first instance, have been translated from Persian into Italian or Latin (it will be recalled that it was sent to Rome by de Voulton), and thence into Portuguese and Spanish.

My friend, Monsignore Mercatti, has been kind enough to make inquiries on my behalf in the Vatican Library and Archives, but has been unable to trace either the Persian original or any Italian or Latin translation.

Copies of the Portuguese text and also of the Spanish translation are preserved in the British Museum Library and in the Biblioteca Nacional at Madrid, while Sir Arnold Wilson possesses a copy of the Spanish version, to which some reference must now be made. This Spanish edition, which is undated, appears to be a translation from the Portuguese, since all the mistakes in the latter are reproduced and in some cases magnified. As already noted, it does not contain the list of treasures or the "other accounts" referred to on the title page of the Portuguese translation, and on page 11 there is a textual difference (to which attention is drawn in the second footnote on p. 229); this difference may perhaps be accounted for by supposing that the Spanish translator also worked from the (hypothetical) Italian or Latin text.

The only reference to Voulton's "Noticia" that I have been able to discover is in an almost contemporary and very rare Spanish history of Nādir Shāh by a writer named Le Margne. It is entitled "*Vida de Thamās Kouli-Kan*", and was published in Madrid in 1741. Le Margne twice mentions de Voulton by name, and draws somewhat largely upon his "Noticia" when describing Nādir Shāh's Indian campaign and the incidents arising therefrom. Le Margne does not, however, give us any information in regard to de Voulton himself.

¹ Creasy, in his well-known *History of the Ottoman Turks*, besides being indebted for much of his material to von Hammer, adopted the latter's German system of transliteration without reflecting on the different value of certain letters in English. Thus, to quote but one example, we find Creasy referring to Sultan Bayazid as "Bajazet."

The "Noticia" begins with a description of the chaos reigning in the Indian army after the battle of Karnāl, the famine from which the unfortunate troops were suffering, and the state of absolute consternation and despair into which Muḥammad Shāh and most of his advisers were thrown. A striking contrast is drawn between the weak and vacillating Muḥammad Shāh and his stern and resolute opponent, Nādir Shāh, and also between the able Nizāmu'l-Mulk and the rest of the Mogul's ministers and advisers, the bulk of whom were worthless and pusillanimous to the last degree.

The negotiations between the Nizāmu'l-Mulk and Nādir Shāh are described at some length, as are also the Indian rising at Delhi and the terrible massacre that followed it. Perhaps the most interesting part of the "Noticia" is the account of how the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, when he went to the Mosque of Rawshanu'd-Dawla to intercede for the populace with Nādir Shāh, found the latter calmly eating sweetmeats as he watched the massacre. Though there is no mention in other contemporary records of this incident,¹ this does not necessarily mean that it is not true.

As will be seen from the footnotes, there has been much difficulty in reconciling some of de Voulton's dates with those given by other authorities. Carelessness on the part of his translators and printers may account for some, at any rate, of the discrepancies.

In conclusion, I must express my sincere thanks to Sir William Foster, Mr. C. A. Storey, and Sir Arnold Wilson for their many valuable suggestions. It was the late Mr. S. C. Hill, who, by drawing attention to the reference in the Orme MSS. to de Voulton, enabled the problem of the latter's identity to be solved.

TRANSLATION OF THE "VERDADEIRA E EXACTA NOTICIA"

(The "True and Exact Account")

In my letter of the 3rd March last, I had the honour to inform you how Tahmāsp Qulī Khān,² now Shāh Nādir, King of Persia, (whom we here call Nādir Shah), after gaining the battle against Muḥammad Shāh, Emperor of the Moguls, held peace conferences with the latter.

¹ Le Margne refers to it, but he was merely quoting from de Voulton.

² Given in the text as Thomas Kauli Khan. The Portuguese spelling will not be given in this translation unless it happens to be correct (as is rarely the case) or unless identification is doubtful or impossible. In the latter cases, the Portuguese form will be given in italics, followed (whenever possible) by what is surmised to be the proper spelling of the name.

In my second letter, I informed you of the Persian King's entry into Delhi, but as it is possible that these letters may have got lost through there having been nearly 300 *patomares*¹ or couriers slain by the enemy at that time, you will permit me to repeat that this battle was fought near Karnāl, in the course of which 10,000 men perished, among them Khān Dawrān,² one of the Viziers, his brother,³ and the *Omhras* (or general officers) who were with that portion of the army; Saidal Ram⁴ was wounded and taken prisoner, and died eight days ago, it being suspected that he had poisoned himself.

After this defeat, the Mogul army occupied an area five or six leagues in extent; it consisted of 400,000 horsemen, 800,000 infantry,⁵ 30,000 camels, 2,000 armed elephants and 1,000 pieces of artillery.

Nādir Shāh's army contained no more than 30,000 fighting men,⁶ although it had numbered 60,000 persons, composed of Turks, Persians, Arabs, Armenians and Georgians, there being also 40 Russians and three Englishmen.

On the 16th and 17th of the month of February, 1739, this small army seized the passes and ways into our camp, in such manner that it was impossible to bring in provisions and forage, and some 4,000 men of those who tried to go and look for these beyond the barricades lost their lives.

The famine, which lasted till the 28th day, was so severe that

¹ *Patomar* is the Hindi word پاتمار, meaning a messenger or courier.

² Khwāja 'Azīm Sam-samn'd-Dawla Khān Dawrān was Amīrū'l-Umarā or Commander-in-Chief.

³ Muzaffar Khān. See page 278 of P.C. Belfour's translation of the *Tārikh-i-Ahwāl-i-Shaikh Ḥazīn* (London, 1831).

⁴ Possibly a misprint for Sa'adat Khān, the Sūbahdār of Oudh (who is often referred to in works of this period as Sadat Kam or Kan).

⁵ These figures are greatly exaggerated. According to the journal of Mirza Zamān, who was secretary to Sar Baland Khān, the total numbers of Muhammad Shah's forces did not exceed 200,000. Even in the *Tārikh-i-Nādirī* of Mirza Mahdī Khān (who might be expected to put the figures somewhat on the high side in order thereby to make Nādir Shah's triumph appear the greater) the total is only 300,000. Professor Sarkar, on page 33 of his *Nadir Shah in India* (Patna University, 1925), says, "Anandram, who was a secretary to the Wazir (Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān) and accompanied the army to Panipat, puts the number as 50,000 horsemen besides the personal contingents of the three nobles (Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān, Khān Dawrān, and the Nizāmu'l-Mulk). We know that the Nizām had brought with himself only 3,000 men. So the total Indian fighting force at Karnal could not have exceeded 75,000 men." If this number is approximately correct, the other estimates must have included the large numbers of camp followers that accompanied the army.

⁶ This is an under-estimate. Nādir Shāh had between fifty and sixty thousand fighting men with him.

50,000 men and almost all the domestic animals died of hunger ; in fact, the measure of wheat and rice which used to cost the tenth part of a rupee was sold at ten rupees or 100 *sous*. All the provisions having been consumed, the troops were compelled to eat the remainder of the baggage animals : to crown these disasters, it happened that of the 200,000 or 400,000 men who left the camp on being put to flight more than 50,000 were killed by the enemy, and the same fate attended nearly all the rest at the hands of the peasants called *Zattas* (? Jats) and Balūchīs, at distances from 20 to 30 leagues from the army.

On the 18th the Emperor, whose quarters were at the end of the camp, summoned the Nizāmu'l-Mulk or Āṣaf Jāh,¹ one of the principal nobles of the Court, in order to consult him, but he, before going, gathered together Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān, *Bengueche*,² and *Azmolalkam* (? 'Azīmu'llah Khān) and other Viziers : he asked them whether they were brave enough to leave their trenches with their brigades on the following morning and attack the enemy, offering to put himself at their head. He said that Muḥammad Shāh was so distant from them that he would not even hear the sound of the musketry. As regards this proposal, it was decided that it was necessary in the first place to receive the order from the Emperor, for which reason Āṣaf Jāh went to him, and, having obtained his approval of the sortie, returned to his quarters to give the orders. The Emperor, however, having taken the advice of his flatterers, changed his mind during the night, and these timid people all decided to abandon the army.

There being nobody on the following day (the 19th)³ of the same way of thinking as the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, who took into account the

¹ Chīn Qulīch Khān, the Nizāmu'l-Mulk. He was Governor of the Deccan at the time of Nādir Shah's invasion. Because of his great experience and ability, he was summoned to Court to advise Muḥammad Shah during the crisis : he obeyed with great reluctance on account of his age, and also because he knew that he had many rivals and enemies at Delhi. For obeying the Mogul's command, he was rewarded with the title of Āṣaf-Jāh or " he who has the Pomp of Āṣaf ". In a footnote on page 64 of his *History of Nādir Shah* (London, 1742), Fraser remarks : " *Asaf Jah* is a title commonly given to Viziers. It signifies *in Place and Rank* as Asaf, who, they say, was *Solomon's Vizir*. At the same time that they honour their *Vizirs* with this title, they flatter their own vanity, by comparing themselves to *Solomon*."

² Possibly Muḥammad Khān Bangash, the Nawab of Farrukhābād. See Fraser, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

³ Malcolm, on page 27 of the second volume of his *History of Persia*, also gives the date as the 19th February, but says that this was " Thursday, the 17th of Zilkadeh ". The correct equivalent of this is the 15th February, Old Style (Thursday, 26th February, New Style) : this corresponds with what is said by Hanway and other authorities, namely, that this visit was paid on the second day after the battle of Karnāl.

despair of his Emperor and the fact that the rest of this great army was going to perish either from hunger or the enemy's steel, the Minister set out from the camp with 10,000 men, after having received the Emperor's order, and went in search of the King of Persia, whom he reached at three in the afternoon. After the usual compliments, he explained to him the object of his mission. Nādir Shāh received him graciously, welcomed him much, and, seating him by his side, put to him the following questions :—

"After the four years¹ that have elapsed since I sent my Ambassadors to your Emperor in order to ask him to pay the sums which he owes to Persia, why has he detained them without sending any answer, and why has he put me to the trouble of coming so far to ask him this question, obliging me to go to the expense of this army?"

Āṣaf Jāh answered him as the Emperor had said: "When he was in the Deccan and returning to Delhi, he intended to satisfy you, but the Empire was not then able to carry out what you asked; also, the desire which we had of seeing you was partly the reason for our omission, so that we might have the honour of kissing your feet, at no matter what price."

Nādir Shāh smiled at hearing this speech, and showed the Nizāmu'l-Mulk the memorandum containing his claims, the first item in which was the value of a royal throne which had cost nine crores of rupees (each crore is worth five million *palacas*) which the great Shah 'Abbās, King of Persia, had sent to Delhi²: "This sum," the King said to him, "is owing to me: is there any dispute as to this?"

"No, Sir," Āṣaf Jāh replied, "it is just to satisfy it."

"Muhammad Shah's grandfather, the uncle of Gehanguire (*sic*)³ had need of 10,000 Persian soldiers, who were sent to him; these expenses were undertaken on condition that they would be repaid when the Empire could do so⁴; this was not done. Is this complaint justified?"

¹ "Months" in Hanway. See vol. II, p. 479.

² This is incorrect; the throne is said to have been begun by Tamerlane and finished by Shah Jahān.

³ See note below.

⁴ The text is corrupt here, but the wording in Hanway (vol. II, pp. 479-80) is almost identical. The force of Persian troops mentioned may be that which Shah Tahmāsp sent against Qandahār under the leadership of Humāyūn in 1545. If this is so, Voulton (and Hanway too) is guilty of a very serious anachronism, for Muhammad Shah's grandfather was Qutb-ud-Dīn Bahādur Shah, the great-grandson of Jahāngīr, who, in turn, was the grandson of Humāyūn. Alternatively, the reference may be to a force of Persian troops which was lent to Akbar, one of Aurangzīb's sons, and brother of Bahādur Shah, to enable him to invade India on his father's death and

"Yes, Sire," replied Āṣaf Jāh. "it is right to give satisfaction for it."

"You made a treaty with us for the granting of mutual aid whenever one of us should have need of the other," said Nādir Shāh, "notwithstanding this, because of your not having assisted us, Persia has been ruined with various wars. You have asked us for the same assistance which you had been given beforehand; what have you done for us in return? Who will pay the money which I have spent in preventing the Turks from seizing, thanks to the disturbances, the provinces of our Empire? Who will pay the interest on the money that I have borrowed, and still owe?"

"Allow me, Sire," said Āṣaf Jāh, "to write to my master, and forgive what has passed. While his answer is coming, I will leave my head in your hands: do what you think fit with me, I lay myself under your orders."

"Since you speak so well," replied Nādir Shāh, "I will pardon the lives of your Emperor and his troops, whom I had intended to put to the sword: for this reason, I order you to go and inform him that we are each here in the midst of our two armies, that each one (of us) shall advance from his side, and that there we will make peace, according to my way of thinking."

Āṣaf Jāh went in search of the Emperor, whom he told of all that had happened, and on the following day, the two kings, having reached the appointed spot, embraced each other, and Muḥammad Shah presented the Empire to Nādir. To this Nādir replied, "I salute your throne and Empire, and, although I am master of it, I give it to you, if you will only satisfy my claims."

Matters being in this state, they agreed to talk no more that day of affairs which Āṣaf Jāh would settle. After six hours' conversation both retired, and it remained agreed that Nādir Shāh would entertain the Emperor on the third day, and on the one after there would be a feast in the tent of Muḥammad Shah.

On the 22nd of the same month of February, the Emperor went

to claim the succession for himself. Akbar was defeated and forced to retire by Bahādur Shah, and it is difficult to see how the grandson of the latter could be held to be in any way responsible for the payment of compensation in respect of the assistance given to Akbar. Akbar was the uncle of Jahāndār Shāh and of his brother Jahānshāh, the father of Muḥammad Shāh, and "Gehangure" ("Jeanguire" in Hanway) may have been used in error for one or other of these princes. In no case can Jahāngīr be right; as already stated, Humāyūn was not the uncle, but the grandfather of Jahāngīr. There was no member of the Mogul family entitled Jahāngīr in the time of Bahādur Shāh or later.

over, as he had promised, to the King of Persia's camp, where he was given a sumptuous feast, of which the cost amounted to three lakhs of rupees (each lakh is one hundred thousand rupees, and each rupee is worth half a *pataca*¹). The most famous dancing girls of Persia entertained the Emperor, who remained there till eight in the evening : he then immediately sent Nādir Shāh a present of an elephant laden with different kinds of jewels and precious stones and two others bearing three lakhs of rupees.

On the 23rd Āṣaf Jāh went to see the King of Persia, bringing with him twenty carts filled with gold rupees, and one hundred camels bearing three crores of rupees which was the sum which the Mogul Emperor had brought with him to the army.

Nādir Shāh raised his claims to 40 crores, that is, 200 million *patacas*, asking as much by way of impost as he did for the expenses which he had incurred during 11 years, including the cost of his army up till its return to Persia.

Āṣaf Jāh, after having made the strongest appeals to Nādir Shāh, arranged a treaty which provided that, in addition to the money which he had brought with him, his Emperor undertook, in four years, to give him (Nādir Shāh) the equivalent of five crores in jewellery and nine crores more for the royal throne sent to Delhi to (*sic*) the great Shāh 'Abbās.² Āṣaf Jāh then returned very satisfied at having arranged that the Persian Army should retire two days after ratification of the treaty, and that, in the meanwhile, they would give free passage into the Mogul camp for the necessary provisions and forage, because all were dying of hunger. Latterly, no one had dared to leave the trenches, and it sufficed for one of the enemy cavalry to show himself to put thousands of the Moguls to flight, although the latter discharged a quantity of cannon shots at them. The uniform of the cavalry appeared so extraordinary to the Mogul forces that they could not look upon them without experiencing mortal terror. They wore a four-cornered hat, eighteen inches in height, a sheepskin or goatskin wrapped round them, a cloth garment in the style of the *Heyduque*,³ a vest like that worn by women leaving the breast bare, short breeches, leather boots, a sword, a flint lock and an axe.

When Āṣaf Jāh reached the Emperor's presence, he handed him the treaty drawn up, but he (the Emperor) disapproved of it, saying

¹ Piece of eight.

² See footnote on page 232.

³ Hungarian frontier militia or guards.

that he had not the money to undertake to pay such a large sum, and that he would prefer to abandon the country and withdraw to Bengal rather than to agree to such hard conditions. Āṣaf Jāh pointed out to him that he could not help signing the treaty and that he ought to give thanks to God for having preserved his life and the Empire, and further, that he should not make the sum any smaller as means would be found to collect double the amount for the treasury by imposing the former tax on the *Gentios*.¹

The Emperor postponed the decision of the affair till the following day, but his council, which dominated him, forced him to retract and not ratify the settlement, and to declare to Āṣaf Jāh that he would never give his consent to the conditions which he had arranged.

"But, Sire," said Āṣaf Jāh, "you have entrusted me with the carrying out of this matter, you have pledged your word to Nādir Shāh, and I have given him mine to return to-day to his camp with the ratification of the treaty: then, Sire, do you not wish for peace now? If not, you may well prepare for war."

The irresolute Emperor made no reply to this speech, but summoned Qamaru'd-Dīn Khān and the other Viziers or Ministers, in order to ask their opinion. Some said that it was necessary to fight: others that it was not possible, the soldiers being without spirit and dying of hunger; as a result, no decision whatever was taken.

Confused and sad, Āṣaf Jāh did not wish to break his word, as much for his honour as for his own life and those of so many people; this consideration impelled him to adopt the course of going in search of Nādir Shāh, to whom he offered his head, saying; "I have given you my word, but it has not been possible to execute the treaty; you may therefore do with me what you please."

The King of Persia said to him: "I have kept my word to you; you do not keep yours. I am going to make you die of hunger and I will then behead your Emperor and your generals." He immediately has Āṣaf Jāh arrested, ordering that he was to be given nothing to eat or to drink that day. The messengers, who are there called *Patomares*,² went to and from the Emperor's camp without settling anything. Nādir Shāh, however, had our camp so invested that all were dying of starvation, and on this occasion the King of Persia sent word to Muḥammad Shāh that he would have all his people, himself and all his generation slain: upon which, he gave orders to his army

¹ The Hindus.

² See note on page 230.

to attack that of the Moguls on the following day, destroying everything with fire and sword, not sparing even the Empress.

During the night Muḥammad Shāh repented of not having approved the treaty, but it was already late. Seeing himself in such straits, he had poison brought for himself and all his family to take : this, however, his Viziers prevented with their pleadings. When Āṣaf Jāh learnt Nādir Shāh's decision and the orders which he had given to his army, he entreated him to delay their execution until the following day. This was granted to him, on condition that the Emperor would go that same day in person to give himself up as a prisoner, and that it would rest in his (i.e. Nādir Shāh's) power either to put him to death or to pardon him, since he had broken his word.

Āṣaf Jāh informed Muḥammad Shāh of Nādir Shāh's intentions, and the former decided at three in the afternoon to surrender himself at the discretion of his enemy. When Muḥammad Shāh arrived, Nādir Shāh made him his prisoner, sending immediately 10,000 men to seize our artillery and take all the Viziers prisoners.

Nādir Shāh's troops had many provisions and at the same time seized those destined for our soldiers, which they then sold to us at so high a price that our men, who had not much money, died in misery.

Nādir Shāh had some *Omhras* beheaded; Todatarem, his prisoner, who belonged to their (i.e. the Indian or Hindu) nation, advised him to make himself master of the Empire, either by killing the Emperor or having him imprisoned within four walls : to this the Shāh replied that if the Emperor had broken his word, he did not wish to follow his example, that he had promised him not to harm his person, but said that he would take his treasures.

After disarming us and taking his precautions, and having ordered his army to join with ours, Nādir Shāh made us march with his troops to Delhi, the capital of the Empire, where we arrived on the 7th March, 1739.¹

His troops immediately took possession of the fortress, in which they gave a lodging to the Emperor, together with his ordinary guard. Afterwards, a detachment seized the approaches to the city, so that no one can now enter or leave without his consent. Owing to this, it is necessary to buy provisions and forage from the enemy at such

¹ This is the correct Old Style date for the arrival of the combined Indian and Persian forces at the gardens of Shalimar (or Sha'lahmāh) outside Delhi. Muhammad Shāh and his followers went on to Delhi that evening, but Nādir Shāh did not enter the city until two days later, on the 9th Dhū'l-Hijja (9th, 20th March).

high prices that wheat and rice are sold at more than twenty times the ordinary rate and the money which they thus obtain is sent to the Royal Treasury of Nādir Shāh. The latter has published a decree that any soldier of his army who has seized more than 100 rupees will be put to death by having his stomach ripped open. So much of Muḥammad Shāh's possessions have been seized, even his own jewels and the silver of the Royal Palace, the walls of the hall of which were ornamented with beaten silver and gold embossed work: all this has been moulded into bars with a hole in the middle to which to attach a cord, in order to load two on to each camel. Already a month has been taken up solely with the work of coining money, on which he has had engraved the following inscription: "Shāh Nādir born to be King of all the World, King of Kings:"¹ a thousand carpenters are continually working at the construction of boxes in which to put the gold, of which there are already 12,000 full of rupees.

On Easter Saturday,² four young *Omlras* of medium rank,³ having become intoxicated at eight in the evening, spread the rumour that the Emperor had killed Nādir Shāh with a blow.⁴ These vicious young men were accompanied by twenty Persian horsemen who acted as

¹ This appears to refer to certain coins struck at Ahmadābād which bear on one side the Persian inscription:—

هست سلطان بر سلاطین جهان

شاه شاهان نادر صاحب قران

"Nādir, King of Kings and Lord of the (fortunate) conjunction (of the stars), is Sultan over the Sultans of the World." The obverse has the following wording in Arabic:—

خلد الله ملكه ضرب في احمدabad ١١٥٢

"May Allah perpetuate his reign. Struck at Ahmadābād in 1152."

² As is well known, the rising took place on the day following Nādir Shāh's entry into Delhi, that is, on the 10th Dhū'l Hijja or Saturday, the 10th 21st March.

³ The Portuguese text reads: "... quatro moços *Omlras* de nobreza ordinária..."

⁴ Here the Spanish text is, for once, slightly fuller than the Portuguese. While the latter says: "... de que o Emperador tinha morto a Naderchā de humma punhalada," the Spanish version reads: "... de que el Emperador havia matado à Nadercha de un golpe de *Catay*." (N.B.—*Catay* is the Hindustani word *katārah* (کتاره), "a short sword" or "dagger".

Professor Sarkar (*op. cit.*, p. 62) says that, according to the "Tazkira" of Anandram (who was in Delhi at the time of the rising), mischief-makers spread the rumour "that Nader Shah had been treacherously shot dead at the instigation of Muhammad Shah by a Qalmaq woman-guard of the palace when he was returning from his visit to the Emperor."

supervising guards : having made their servants and people join with them, they killed these men. This news being spread through the city, the populace rose and attacked the Persians, of whom they slew more than 5,000, each one taking refuge in his barracks.¹ Thereupon the Persians shut themselves up in the fortress and turned the artillery on the city, on which they fired until midnight.

In the morning, on Easter Sunday,² Nādir Shāh was filled with fury, and ordered his troops to enter the city with fire and sword and sack it, which was done. He went out in person and sat in the Mosque of Rawshanu'd-Dawla in the Chandni Chōk,³ where are the shops of the bankers and merchants of Delhi. From there, this Barbarian amused himself by ordering the pillaging and sacking of all that belonged to the people in that unhappy quarter, which he afterwards had burnt.

A large part of this beautiful city suffered the same fate, not so much at the hands of the enemy as at those of a body of vagabonds who took advantage of the misfortune of their countrymen.

The Nizāmu'l-Mulk, one of the most respectable nobles, escaped from their clutches and went in search of the King of Persia, whom he came upon eating sweetmeats, of which the King offered him some on a plate. Excusing himself from taking any, the Nizāmu'l-Mulk said to him : " I have not come to eat, but to let thee take my life with thine own hand, since thou art causing so many unfortunate persons to lose theirs without acquainting thyself of the origin of the trouble. Dost thou not fear lest God should cause this Mosque to fall upon thy head and avenge so many innocent people who are the victims of the miserable persons who furnished a motive for this disturbance ?" ⁴

After peacefully listening to what he said, Nādir Shāh commanded

¹ Hanway (vol. ii, p. 486) ascribes the cause of the rising to Nādir's general, Ṭahmāsp Khān, having fixed the price of corn in such a way as to anger the populace and so provoke a disturbance.

² See second note on preceeding page.

³ There is a curious mistake here in the Portuguese text which reads : " . . . na Mezquita de Rochemdalla, no Campo de Nchoque." The Spanish translation faithfully reproduces this error.

⁴ Malcolm (vol ii, p. 33) says that it was Muhammad Shāh himself who went to the mosque to intercede with Nādir, " exclaiming ' Spare my people ! ' Nādir replied ' The Emperor of India must never ask in vain '." According to Fraser (*op. cit.*, 185), Nādir Shāh returned from the mosque to the castle after giving orders for the massacre to begin, and " about two-o'clock Mohammed Shah and Nizam al Muluck waited on him, who having made great Intercession for the City, the soldiers were ordered to desist . . . "

Āṣaf Jāh to eat what he had given him, and at the same time gave orders for the massacre to cease. Speaking to Āṣaf Jāh, he ordered him to ascertain who was the author of the disturbance so that he might be punished, and said that no severe measures would be taken in future without consulting him beforehand.

This massacre did not cease until nightfall, when a brigade went through the city, proclaiming the orders and causing those who continued to pillage to be slain.

These misfortunes were followed by illnesses caused by the quantity of dead bodies, as much of men as of animals, of which the corruption had infected the air. A large number of wounded, whose sad cries were vainly imploring help, have perished without receiving any assistance, as much by pain as by hunger. Many of these unhappy Moguls have, with the fear of approaching death, carried their despair so far that they have put an end to themselves with poison.

Nādir Shāh, insatiable of riches and without the slightest knowledge of true greatness, although he is vain enough to look upon himself as a second Alexander, causes those who are suspected of having hidden gold to be tortured, and with torments worthy of a barbarian has compelled them to hand over to him their last resources, leaving them with almost nothing for their subsistence.

It is thus impossible to ennuerate the riches that have been collected by these unjust means.

The square of the fortress and that of Āṣaf Jāh are full of gold, silver, precious stones and other belongings. To-day, these treasures have risen in value to 300 crores (which are equivalent to fifteen hundred million *patacas*) without counting the carpets, furniture and cloth of gold and silver which are without number.

It is eight days since Āṣaf Jāh discovered the authors of the disturbance, and, although he is of their family, he has had them strangled.

Nādir Shāh, as a skilled politician, has married his second son to a princess, the niece of Muḥammad Shāh, to whom he has given forty *lakhs* of rupees, and a *lakh* to the Emperor for his maintenance.

It is rumoured that Nādir Shāh will leave on the 27th April, with a limited force, after re-establishing Muḥammad Shāh on the throne, that a treaty will be concluded by which the country of Qandahār, as far as the river *Catel* (?), will be joined to Persia : that in the event of wars, the two Empires will mutually assist each other, and that Āṣaf Jāh will be Prime Minister.

¹ Nasru'llah Mirza.

We are informed that 200,000 Kalmuks have reached a point five leagues from *Seffis* (? Tiflis) against the Persians and that their ambassadors have to come here, being already at *Honor* (?).

In his letters dated the 6th and 13th May, Mr. Voulton says that the prisons are full of people from whom they want to obtain money, that all ransom themselves, the Christians not being more privileged than the Moguls, many of the former having been killed, their two churches burnt, and the Portuguese Jesuit Fathers having been obliged to hide themselves.

He says that all the edicts have been issued in the name of Nādir Shāh as sovereign, and that he has had made with his die ¹ 900 coins of one rupee each : that he will soon leave for Persia, with the intention of making war on the Grand Signor,² taking Babylonia (Baghdad), seizing Mecca and of then returning here in order to conquer China.

Finally, he says that the city of Delhi is entirely ruined, that there are neither *Banians* ³ nor merchants, because some are dead and others have fled.

Copy of the Edict and Declaration of the Mogul Emperor, corresponding to Mr. Voulton's letter of the 21st April

Muhammad Shāh begins with the compliments which he pays to Nādir Shāh, addressing him as King of Kings, Sovereign of the Age, Asylum of the Muhammadans, and the second Alexander, and then says :—

“ You have sent me an Ambassador to deal with certain affairs. I did what I had to do so as to secure promptitude, and you would not have been obliged to send Muhammad Khān Turkoman ¹ to me but for the omission of my ministers and men of affairs, who always delayed replying to your letters and sending off of your Ambassador, preferring to entangle us and to sow discord between our States rather than to do what I ordered them. This has compelled you to come here to seek me : we have fought, you have obtained the victory, and fortune has protected you up to the point of making you master of my countries. You have entered Delhi and you have made yourself

¹ See footnote on p. xxxviii of Lane-Poole's *The Moghul Emperors of Hindustan and their Courts*.

² The Sultan of Turkey.

³ Sutlers.

⁴ Given in the text as *Mamerlan Tourkam*.

lord of it : you have secured my person : you have seized my treasures, precious stones and jewels, and have forced me to hand over to you the statement of all my revenues. However, supposing that you promise to restore my throne and Empire to me, I give you, make you, and declare you sovereign and lord of the lands on the eastern side (? on the western side of the Indus), of the country of *Nanlabek*, of the Indian Ocean (*sic*), and the river *Santgaza*, of the *Horor*, of Kābul, of the mountains of *Batan* and *Jar*, of the fortress of *Yexel-coudabat* and of all that appertains to Tatta and *Lesta*, reserving for myself all Hindustan.”¹

In the letters from the same person dated the 13th and 15th May, from which an extract was sent by Mr. Groysselle from Chandernagore on the 13th July, it is said that Nādir Shāh left Delhi on the 13th May.² 1739, with a salvo of artillery and musket fire from the city, in order to return to Persia, that Muḥammad Shāh accompanied him as far as *Ehelamar*,³ with Āṣaf Jāh, who is entrusted with the government of the Empire, and who has to contribute to the Emperor only five erores of rupees each year for the upkeep of his Court : that Muḥammad Shāh did not wish to accept the Empire on these conditions, and that he offered his son in his place, but was obliged to sign. It is also said that the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, Āṣaf Jāh, has dismissed the former servants of the Emperor and has to provide others for him to-morrow, but he (that is, Mr. de Voulton) will continue in the same employ as one of the surgeons of Muḥammad Shāh and Āṣaf Jāh, that there will doubtless be much change in the government and that after all has been settled, the Emperor will go to Agra to spend the winter there, where, it is believed, he will remain with all his Court so that Delhi will never recover its (former) position.

* * * * *

List of the booty which Tahmāsp Qulī Khān, otherwise known as Shah Nādir, King of Persia, captured during the expedition which he made to the territories of the Great Mogul :

¹ The names given here in italics are very corrupt, and much of the document has been omitted : the latter part of *Yexelcoudabat* is apparently Khudabād. A translation of the full text of this document is given by Fraser, *op. cit.* pp. 223-6. Malcolm says, " It is an extraordinary paper, and was no doubt dictated by the conqueror."

² Nādir Shāh left Delhi on the 5th 16th May. The date of de Voulton's letter (of the 13th) may have been inserted in error.

³ Evidently a misprint for Shalimar.

<i>Items.</i>		<i>Value in crores (of rupees).</i>
I. The elephants	} Amount to the value of 3 crores.	3
II. The camels		
III. The artillery		
IV. The tents		
V. The munitions of war captured in various battles		
VI. The gold rupees and silver taken from the Imperial Treasury		15
VII. Pearls and precious stones of all kinds		8
VIII. The Imperial bed of state all adorned with jewels		7
IX. The Imperial throne, all ornamented with diamonds valued at		9
X. Table plate and other articles, some of which are adorned with precious stones valued at		11
XI. Current money of the Treasury and jewellery taken from the concubines and their children		3
XII. The (proceeds of the) sacking of the City of Delhi amounts to		10
XIII. Sum raised by a special tax levied on the inhabitants		10
XIV. Sums contributed by the <i>onquils</i> ¹ and other servants of the <i>Omhras</i> , Nabobs and Rajahs or feudatory Princes amounts to		10
XV. The value (of the belongings ?) of the Great Mogul which Qamaru'd-Din Khān was made to pay ²		16
		102

¹ I have been unable to identify this word, but the context shows that an *onquīl* is some sort of servant or attendant. It might possibly be a corruption of *wakīl* (وكيل).

² The text is obscure here, and it is doubtful what particular payment is referred to. Hanway (vol. ii, p. 495) says: "Kummir O'Din Khan, the visier, . . . endeavoured to elude the payment of the large contribution demanded of him; Nadir therefore caused him to be exposed openly to the sun, which is reckoned a punishment contumelious as well as painful, and in that country dangerous to the health. At length he extracted from him a whole crore of rupees, besides a great value in precious stones and elephants." This "contribution" would, however, presumably be one of those referred to under item No. XIV. Items Nos. I to XI would seem to include all the possessions of the Great Mogul that were seized by Nādir.

XVI. The value of the belongings of *Carordam* (?), Muzaffar Khān, 'Alī Hamid Khān, *Sadaskhan* (? Sā'adat Khān), and other ministers whom the Great Mogul ordered to be slain for having been in communication with Ṭahmāsp Qulī Khān added to the sums referred to above, makes a total of 111 crores.¹

In India the money is reckoned by lakhs, crores, padans and nīls; each lakh is worth 100,000 rupees: each million lakhs makes one crore; 100,000 crores make one padan and 100,000 padans make one nīl.² Others say that one crore is worth 10,000,000 rupees, each rupee is worth 500 *reis* or 50 French *sous*, in which currency the whole of this sum amounts to 2,000,775 millions of *livres*, and in Portuguese currency to 1,000,387 million *cruzadas*. The whole of these immense riches was taken almost entirely from the City of Delhi, which would be difficult to believe were it not that all who are of the Empire of the Great Mogul go there with products of the country and with manufactures. This brings in every year large sums of gold and silver from Asia and from Europe which are not sent again to other parts.

In addition to this booty, Ṭahmāsp Qulī Khān levied on the Great Mogul a tribute of 3 crores, that is, of 75,000,000 French *livres*, and made his Court pay 5 crores of rupees, which are equivalent to 110 (*sic*) million *livres*.

The Russian Resident at Iṣfahān sent this list to his Court.

*Letter from St. Petersburg of the 5th September*³

By a courier, who reached the Court of St. Petersburg from Darband on the 5th September, news was received that Shāh Nādir

¹ This total is much exaggerated. Fraser says: "Nadir Shah carried away to the value of 70 *Crores* in Jewels and other Effects; and his Officers and Soldiers 10 *Crores*." Hanway adopts this estimate which, he says, "is the highest calculation that the nature of the thing will warrant: this is equal to eighty-seven millions five hundred thousand pounds of our money." Hanway prefaces these remarks, however by saying "the different relations we have had of this extraordinary rapine, are for the most part upon the marvellous; and several writers have suffered their imaginations to travel much faster than their judgment."

² These figures (except in regard to the *lakh*) are incorrect. There are 100 lakhs in a *crore*, or more properly, *karōṭ* (کر و د). 100 *crores* in a *padan* (پدن), and 100 *padans* in a *nīl* (نیل). Thus a *nīl* is a billion.

³ The year is not given, but it must obviously be 1740.

left Isfahān at the beginning of June last with the object of beginning his campaign with the siege of Babylonia (Baghdad).¹ The Turks had, however, received news of his intention, and had laid waste the whole country for many league around, trampling upon and cutting all the forage, and in other parts setting fire to all the hay, depopulating the districts, and taking away the Persian troops' means of subsistence. Seeing that the troops were suffering from a great lack of provisions and at the same time from the effects of the excessive heat of that climate, he (i.e. Nādir Shāh), in order not to lose his men, retired to Isfahān again, and placed his army in rest quarters. The same letters, which were written by the Resident whom the Russian Court keeps at Isfahān, say that the Shāh himself will order the distribution of a large number of gold and silver medals, which he had taken from the Treasury of the Great Mogul: among these are some which weigh six gold sequins. These medals will be distributed by the generals and officers of his army and by the provincial governors of that kingdom, and he (Nādir Shāh) will cause the same to be done by the foreign ministers (at his Court), requesting them to be good enough to deliver them in his name to their sovereigns.

Another letter from St. Petersburg, dated the 9th September

From the same Court of St. Petersburg it is stated in letters of the 9th September that a Persian Ambassador ² is already very near to the city of Astrakhan, and that he has a suite of 2,000 persons, consisting of servants and guards. As he has to obtain provisions for them at the cost of the Empress of Russia, to whom Tahmāsp Qulī Khān sent such a solemn embassy, he was asked how much he would require each day for the maintenance of his suite. He replied: 70 poods ³ of rice, which are weights of 10 (Russian) pounds; large quantities of sugar and all other kinds of provisions in the same proportion. This Minister brings with him a present of enormous value for the Empress. He has been much delayed *en route* by the

¹ It is difficult to account for this statement, as Nādir was at Herat in June, 1740. According to Mīrza Mahdī Khān, Nādir did not go to Isfahān either in 1740 or 1741. Le Maigne states, but I do not know on what authority, that Nādir, when starting from Isfahān (*sic*) on his march towards Bukhārā, purposely spread the rumour that he was going to attack the Turks, in order to put the Uzbegs off their guard.

² Husain Khān by name. The mission, which was dispatched on the 23rd October, 1739, was originally under Sardār Khān Kīrklu, but he died before it reached Astrakhan and was succeeded by Husain Khān.

³ Given in text as *poodos*, which is evidently a misprint for "*poodos*", the Russian пуд.

bad state of the roads and by the difficulties caused by always having such a numerous following.

It is stated from Smyrna that Tahmāsp Qulī Khān, in order to render his Empire happier, is determined to make the trade of his subjects flourish, and that he has written to the consuls or factors (*feytores*) whom the European nations have in his parts, particularly to those of the French, to be good enough to communicate this resolution to their sovereigns, so that their subjects may come with goods (*fazendas*) which can be used there (i.e. in Persia), in order to export what is in excess in his country. It is also said that he will grant them (the foreign subjects) various privileges and rights, and that he will place on the sea a large fleet in order to make his flag known and to assist the trade of his subjects and the vessels of the nations with which they have dealings.

Letter from Paris dated the 29th October

There are letters from Rome of the 8th October which state that on the first day of this same month Monsignore Mori,¹ Secretary of the Congregation of Propaganda of the Faith, presented to His Holiness a letter written in the Persian language by the elder son of T. K. K. (Nādir Shāh), whereby this Prince ratifies and confirms all the advantages and privileges granted by his father to the Christians of Erivan, and adds that all the religious (orders) which have missions in Işfahān may live in complete freedom, teaching the Catholic religion, and administering freely the sacraments to all that profess it.

¹ His correct name is Edippe Monte: he was Secretary of Propaganda from 1735 to 1743.

THE SWAHILI SAGA OF LIONGO FUMO

By Professor A. WERNER

IN the great mass of material already collected for the study of African folk-lore—to which fresh additions are daily being made—we do not find any considerable number of what may be called heroic legends. Yet some there are, as in the traditions of Kintu and other early kings of Uganda, in the tale of Mbega, current in Usambara, and probably many others, as yet unrecorded.

Not least in interest among these is the story of Liongo, called by the late Bishop Steere “the nearest approach to a bit of real history I was able to meet with”. Steere was informed that “a sister of Liongo came to Zanzibar and her descendants are still living there. Sheikh Mohammed bin Ali told me that in his young days he had seen Liongo’s spear and some other relics then preserved by his family; there seem, however, to be none such now [1869] remaining. No one has any clear notion how long ago it is since Liongo died, but his memory is warmly cherished, and it is wonderful how the mere mention of his name rouses the interest of almost any true Swahili”.

Some further light on the person of Liongo—whom there seems every reason to think a historical character—was obtained during a visit to Lamu in 1912. Some years before this the late F. W. Würtz, a missionary in the Tana Valley, had inquired into the subject and come to a similar conclusion. The story of Liongo is a living tradition to this day (unless it has been obliterated by the war!) both among the coast Swahili and the Pokomo, whose forefathers had felt his heavy hand too often to forget it.

One man at Witu told me that Liongo carried on war against the Portuguese, which, if correct, would date him as flourishing during the sixteenth or seventeenth century. But the general consensus of opinion appeared to place him much earlier, his town of Shaka having been taken and destroyed some time after Liongo’s death by Sultan Omar of Pate, variously said to have reigned A.H. 740–95 and A.H. 706–15. Other information seems to fit in best with this earlier period.

His story, as generally told—most people give it pretty much as it stands in Steere’s collection—clearly contains some mythical elements; and one point in particular is emphasized by Sir James Frazer in his study of the Balder myth—the fact of the hero’s invulnerability

except to one particular weapon. This belief, occurring in the folk-lore of all countries (witness the silver bullet which killed Dundee at Killiecrankie), is common enough in Africa at the present day. Chibisa, in Nyasaland, could only be killed by "a sand bullet", and Chikumbu, a well-known character in the same country about thirty years ago, had charms against every possible means of death, save "a splinter of bamboo".

The historical Liongo belonged to a line of Persian chiefs—" *Ajemi asili yake Liongo—Taharani*," said Sharif Abdallah at Witn—who held the little principality of Shaka, near the mouth of the Tana. They are more especially associated with the Ozi, the small river whose estuary (out of all proportion to the stream itself) now forms the outlet for the much larger Tana. On this estuary are the small modern towns of Kau and Kipini—the latter on the long sand-spit which divides it from the open sea. Some distance away in an easterly or north-easterly direction are some ruins, said to be those of the town of Shaka.

I cannot do better than reproduce here a document supplied to me by the kindness of the late Mr. C. S. Reddie, then Provincial Commissioner of Lamu. It only reached me in an English translation—the work, I conjecture, of his native clerk—which is so quaint that I make no apology for reproducing it *verbatim et literatim*—though I should naturally have preferred to see the Swahili original. (This was written by Mshahame bin Kombo, who, I believe, at one time occupied some position in the Government service.)

"History of Liongo Fumo, who was not a ruler, but his brother, Shah Mringwari was the ruler. Their origin is Persian, they were brought by Haroun Alraschid to increase the power of Africa (?!). This was after Abdulmalik bin Marwan.¹ Liongo was one of the descendant[s] of the senior member [branch ?] of those who were brought to Africa. They were equal to King. When one of them was chosen as a ruler, they used to call him a Shah according to the custom of the Persian Kings. The year of the power of Liongo and his brother Shah Mringwari is not recorded, but it was before the reign of the fifth Sultan of Pate, called Sultan Omar. Liongo was very brave and strong man, and he was older than his brother Shah Mringwari, but he Liongo did not rule. After the death of their father Fumo

¹ According to a MS. *History of Lamu* written by Faraji bin Hammad al-Bakari, the first colonists of Lamu were sent out by Ab-lul Mahk.

Mringwari, the second son. Mringwari was chosen as ruler by the people, because they were fond of him : hence Liongo lost his chance of being a ruler, and also because his mother was a concubine. When his brother, Shah Mringwari, came into power as a ruler, Liongo wanted to assassinate him¹ : when Mringwari heard about this, he called conference of the people of the town and arrested Liongo, first having been given wine to drink. After his arrest, he was locked up in a room, and his legs was chained, and he was under the impression that he will be killed. Liongo sent a message composed in songs to his mother, requesting her to make a bread and put a file inside it and send it to him, accordingly his mother complied with his request, and the bread containing a file was sent to him, but he thought, if he tries to cut the leg-iron by the file, people will hear the noise and therefore he sent a request to his brother, the King, saying that he is perfectly aware that he, the King, will kill him but before taking this steps (*sic*), he asked his brother the King to give an order to play² *gungu* (an ancient play) for three days, and on expiration of three days he could kill him. Mringwari the King complied with the request of his brother Liongo and the play was carried on for three days. The *gungu* was considered in those days a great play, and was often joined by the elders and royalties, and poetic language was used. On the first day of the play Liongo, during the noise of the people and drums outside, began to cut the leg-iron untill third day he cut it completely and on the fourth day he broke down the doors and escaped inland, and the people tried their best to recapture him, but they failed, and since that time Liongo resided at Kiziwiliani³ and on every Thursday used to [go to ?] Gani⁴ opposite to Kau to wash his clothes. When the people thought

¹ This throws some light on points which seem obscure in Steere's version : it supplies a reason for the attempts on Liongo's life, and explains the presence of his mother and (apparently) other attached friends at his death.

² I.e., "dance." The verb *lucheza* (*kuteza*) means both "dance" and "play". Two "Gungu Dance Songs" are printed in Steere's *Swahili Tales* (pp. 472-81) and some account of the *gungu* given in the Introduction, p. xii. The song in which his message was conveyed has been preserved by tradition, and will be given later.

³ Muhamadi Kijuma tells me that Kiziwiliani is "between Shaka and Kiyunga", and its harbour is Tenewi.

⁴ Usually called Gana—on or near the site of the present Chana, at the head of the Tana delta. There was a large lake here, which disappeared during one of the many changes in the course of the river. A fragmentary ballad, recited by Mzee bin Busharo, seems to commemorate these expeditions. The Pokomo tradition speaks of his going once from *Shaka* to Gana and returning the same day—an exploit related to illustrate his gigantic size and strength—*ni muntu mnyega na uwe na ng'wau mmoja*, say the Wapokomo.

that they could not recapture him, they made a *shauri* with his son,¹ as Liongo would not trust to any one else except his own son who one day met² his father sleeping and with a nail poked his Father's belly and he died then the son of Liongo carried the body to Shah Mringwari who buried (*sic*) him.

"After this the Sultan Omar of Pate came and ruined their country and the places called Wangwana wa Mashah and Pa Mwana, the latter place was named after the name of the ruler, who was a woman, and she was very clever. When the people of Pate entered into the town she set fire to the gunpowder which was inside her house. The place Pa Mwana is situated between Tenewi and Ziwa Yu[u] in the mainland.

"Written by Msham bin Kombo, 13th December, 1912."

This somewhat bald account entirely omits the mythical element above alluded to, and also an incident which seems to be a favourite, as it is also commemorated in Pokomo folk-lore. Steere's version places it after his escape from prison. His enemies "sent crafty men and told them, 'Go and make him your friend, so as to kill him!'" The friendly overtures consisted in proposing a *kikoa*, explained by Krapf as "a banquet among friends given according to agreement by turns", and usually held at the end of the dry season just before the rains—probably because this is a time of scarcity and people find it advantageous to pool their provisions. He objected on the ground of insufficient means, whereupon they suggested that the banquet should consist of *makoma*—the fruit of the *dum*-palm, a common, though not very satisfactory resource in time of famine. Each of the guests in his turn climbed a palm—no very great feat³—and threw down the fruit for the rest; the plan being to shoot Liongo in the tree when it came to his turn to climb. But he defeated them by bringing his share of *makoma* down with skilfully aimed arrows.

The legend further adds that, when Liongo had got his death-wound

¹ His sister's son, in Steere's version: a closer relation according to Bantu ideas, even where the matriarchal system of kinship has been disused. A trace of this system survives in the fact that Swahili has a distinct word (*mjomba*) for the maternal uncle, while the father's brothers are simply "elder" or "younger father" (*baba mkubwa*, *baba mdogo*) according to seniority.

² A common mistranslation of *kuta*, which really means "find", "come upon"; the reciprocal form, *kutana*, is the equivalent of "meet".

³ The Pokomo tradition, as recorded by Würtz, also gives *mukoma*, but I cannot help wondering if this is not a mistake for *muhafa*—the borassus palm—the fruit of which, eaten to-day by women and children (but despised by men, unless in time of famine), was formerly made into an intoxicating drink by the Wapokomo. This tree would indeed require a daring climber to pluck its fruit and a mighty bowman to shoot it down.

(stabbed in the navel with the "copper needle", which was the only weapon with power to harm him), he took his bow and arrows and went out of the city gate, and, his strength failing, sank down on one knee, still holding his bow, and so died, facing towards the well at which the townspeople drew their water. Seeing him there, and not knowing that he was dead, none dared to go near the well, till, at last, tormented with thirst, they induced his mother to "go and speak to your son, that he may go away". "And she went and . . . took hold of him to soothe him with songs (*kuntumbuiza kwa nyimbo*), and he fell down. And his mother wept; she knew her son was dead."

His grave, said Steere's informant, who was probably vague about the topography of the story, "is to be seen at Ozi to this day."

Ozi, of course, is not a town, but the river at the mouth of which Kipini is situated. Being at Kipini in August, 1912, I inquired about Liongo Fumo's grave and was informed that it was "on Tost's shamba". "Bwana Tost," it appeared, was a German, who, several years before (as nearly as I can gather in the later nineties), had owned an estate a short distance from the town. It proved so far from a paying speculation that he became bankrupt and had to return to Europe with his family. His house was still standing—a curious, rather pathetic structure, like a dream of the German romantic period ("Hast du das Schloss gesehen . . . ?") carried out in stone and plaster with floriated arches and walls colour-washed in blue and yellow by Indian masons.

Having hired a donkey at Kipini, with the owner and one or two volunteers to guide me, I made my way to the *shamba*, which was then occupied by a British concern engaged in the planting of rubber and cotton. We found two native labourers at work, who willingly laid down their hoes in order to point out the site of Liongo's grave. There was nothing to mark it, unless a slight rise in the ground—roughly thirty paces in length from east to west—could be described as a sort of barrow. The labourers said that a former proprietor had removed an inscribed stone, seven hundred years old. (This was confirmed, quite independently, some months later, by Sharif Abdallah, at Witn, who said that Bwana Tost had shown him the stone, and he, Abdallah, had read the inscription.) The then District Commissioner of Kipini, Mr. G. N. Crisford, said he knew nothing of this, though he had once stopped Mr. Tost from making excavations on the spot. The soil had certainly been disturbed on one side of the mound—which was not cultivated, but had evidently been covered with scrub, the

stumps of small trees still remaining—but whether this was due to the excavations in question, it is impossible to say. I have never been able to ascertain whether the stone at last found its way to some museum in Europe.

Some distance from this was a depression in the ground, overgrown with bushes, which the labourers—who were evidently well acquainted with the legend—declared was the well from which the Shaka people used to draw their water. They also pointed out the spot, in a line between the grave and the well, where Liongo knelt, bow in hand, when the death pains came upon him.

It does not seem likely that this was information manufactured on the spot, for the benefit of tourists: the inquiries of "Bwana Würtz",¹ over twenty years before (and possibly of stray Europeans since) could hardly have resulted in turning "Tost's shamba" into a show place. And I am, on the whole, inclined to think there may be something in the story of the inscribed stone, though there is probably now no hope of its recovery.

A short walk from the plantation brought me to some ruins, almost hidden in the bush—a mosque and some houses, one of which is said to have been Liongo's own. This is the place known as *Kwa Wangwana wa Mashah*. The two men who had so far acted as guides declined to come any farther, saying that the ruins were haunted by ghosts (*wasuka*). A little Giryama boy, who had come with me from Kipini, told me he had heard that once upon a time there were many great buildings here and many cattle and goats, but "Mwenyiezi Muungu destroyed the town" because of the wicked pride and extravagance of the people who took to washing their babies in milk—in short, a similar legend to that referred to in Krapf's *Dictionary*; s.v. *Ungama*, where it is stated that what is now Formosa Bay was believed to have been a flourishing country, swallowed up by the sea for the sins of its inhabitants. Later on, at Witu, I heard of a queen, Mwana Mtama, in whose time millet (*mtama*) was so abundant that she would not have it beaten out on mats (as is the usual custom), but on the bare ground, to show how much she could afford to waste. She may be the same as the queen mentioned in the Lamu document, which gives a different account of her end and does not represent it as a Divine judgment.

The people on the spot insisted that these ruins were not Shaka,

¹ Locally known as "Bwana Mwalimu" and much beloved by the Pokomo, whose women composed, on receiving the news of his death, a little dirge, still known and sung in 1913.

but that the real Shaka was some miles away to the north-eastward, whither accordingly we proceeded, and after crossing alternate stretches of bush and cultivated ground found a roofless mosque and a number of houses all built of the local coral rock and presenting, on a superficial view, no remarkable features. There was no time—even had I been otherwise competent—to make a detailed examination; and I am not aware than any has been attempted since.

On a second visit to Kipini, I inquired for a woman named Chacha binti Wakaimu, who had been mentioned to me as knowing the songs about Liongo. She was found without difficulty, and with a companion sang a version (very corrupt, according to Mzee bin Bisharo, of whom more presently) of the ballad printed on p. 440 of the *Swahili Tales*. They seem to have mixed it up with a fragment of another song about Liongo's march to Gana, which I afterwards heard, in a probably mutilated and scarcely intelligible form, at Witu.

Here it is, as sung by the two women. The name of the maid-servant, not given by Steere, is preserved in their version and also in the local variants:—

Liongre (sic) Fumo, endapo Gana
Twaa nami, Liongre Fumo . . .
Kijakazi Saada, nakutuma
Huyatumika maneno yangu
Nenda kwa mama, kamwambia
Afanye mkate buruburasa,
Na ndani ya mkate atie tupa,
Ninolee pingu zangu zilo maguuni.

“Liongo Fumo, when he went to Gana,
 Take with me, Liongo Fumo . . .
 Handmaid Saada, I send thee,
 (Thou hast not yet obeyed my words)¹
 Go to my mother and tell her
 To make me a loaf of bran,
 And inside the loaf let her put a file
 That I may cut through my fetters which are on my feet.”¹

¹ Or possibly the sense should be distributed thus:—

“Thou hast not yet served (me). (now these are) my words:”.

Buruburasa, in the sixth line, was said by Mzee and Muhamadi Kijuma to be a mere nonsense-word; but the Sultan of Witu (the late Omar bin Hanud), who was present, recognized it as an old word for *wishara*, “bran”, the husks of manze after pounding—in Zanzibar Swahili also *chacha*, the word used in Steere, though Madan's Dictionary gives its meaning as “yeast” or “leaven”.

A rough metrical rendering (omitting the irrelevant opening lines) might run as follows :—

“ Handmaid Saada, hence I send thee !
List my words, and speed may they lend thee !
Go to my mother, bid her bake
With chaff and bran a mighty cake—
Chaff and bran, the guards to beguile,
And in the cake let her hide a file.
That the fetters I from my feet may break.”

The second woman added three lines which are sufficiently obscure and need not be given here, as they were rejected both by Muhamadi Kijuma and Mzee bin Bisharo, who thought that the singer had probably made them up on the spot.

This Mzee bin Bisharo (I Ausii) was a blind man, met subsequently at Witu, where I spent a few days in December, 1912. He belonged to the Bajun tribe (“Wagunya” or “Watikuu”) who live on the coast between the Lamu Archipelago and the Juba River, and his recitations were to some extent coloured by his peculiar dialect, which substitutes, e.g. the sound usually written *ch* for “cerebral *t*” and *th* (θ), *dh* (δ) for *s* and *z* respectively. Besides his version of the above ballad, to be given presently, he recited, from a prodigiously stored memory, a number of stanzas ascribed to Liongo, which I wrote down from his dictation. Some of these I afterwards recognized as very much corrupted reminiscences of the *Mashairi ya Liongo* printed by Steere—others, I feel sure, have never been in print before.

Two poems generally attributed to the hero and circulating in MS. at Lamu, are those beginning :—

Pijiani pasi, pembe ya jamsi, kwacha mtutusi, ao Mwana Ninga
and

Alika kama harusi, uwakusanye unasi, kwa kula alofarisi, hawa azalomngia,

copies of which have been obtained by more than one European.

Mzee recited the Liongo ballad as follows :—

*Kijakazi Saada, nakuchuma [-tuma], hujatumika,
Kamwambile mama ni njinga hayalimka
Hafanyi [afanye?] mkate, pale kachi [kati] tupa kaweka.
Kakeleza pingu, Mandakozi (?) yakamiuka,
Katata dari na makuta kijametuka
Kangia muini kadiririka
Cha mwana nyoka, waume kawa,*

The dialect, as will be seen, is not consistent throughout, e.g. *-chuma* and *-tumika* in the first line, and the variation between *-ja-* and *-ya-* in the three cases where the "not yet" tense is used. The first three lines correspond (with unimportant variations) to Steere's version, the rest vary considerably and are possibly corrupt. I translate as literally as possible :—

"Handmaid Saada, I send thee, thou art not yet sent¹ (or 'hast not yet served'): tell my mother (saying), he is a simpleton, he has not yet learnt sense. Let her make a loaf and there in the middle of it place a file. And I² (will) loosen the fetters and rise up like a young eagle (?) and climb the roof and the walls before it is light and enter the town and slip through (?) like a young snake, and slay men."

Besides Mzee, I had an important source of information in Sharif Abdullah bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Abdul Aziz bin Darwesh bin Ridani, a Pate man by birth, but the grandson of an immigrant from Basra. He it was who read the inscription on the stone found by "Bwana Tost", "fourteen years ago"—i.e. in or about 1898. He gave the name of Liongo's brother as Daudi bin Mlingali (or Mringari) and said that "Shaka remained till destroyed by Bwana Tamu of Pate". As Bwana Tamu, otherwise Muhammad bin Abubakar il-Nabhan, "reigned successfully as a friend of the Portuguese," and died in 1570, this does not help to clear up the chronological question. He maintained, in opposition to the Kipini people, that the ruins I had first seen were the real Shaka—and that those shown me as Shaka were really called Mwana-ntama, after the queen already mentioned. Both towns were destroyed by Bwana Tamu, and the inhabitants fled to the bush and hid there so successfully that for seven years no one knew where they were (*watu hawana habari miaka sabaa*). After that time they built the present town of Kan on the Ozi. But this is scarcely pertinent to the story of Liongo.

¹ Steere has *ucatumika*, for which his Zanzibar informant gives the equivalent *utatumika*—the ordinary future.

² The subsequent verbs (which, in Steere, are more logically, in the first person singular of the subjunctive) are here in the narrative tense without a pronoun, which may either be rendered as above, or, by an abrupt change, hardly warranted even by poetical licence, be taken as the third person, and as relating Liongo's subsequent exploits. But, as already stated, the lines are very likely corrupt. *Mandakozi* possibly represents *macana kozo*, "child of an eagle," an epithet applied to Liongo by himself in his *Mashairi* (Steere, p. 458). For *kanika* I have the gloss *kinemka*—but can make nothing satisfactory of either. *Diririka* is not in the dictionaries—perhaps, indeed probably, it should be *tiririka*, "glide".

A critical edition of the *Mashairi*, for which three MSS. have been collated, was recently published by Professor Meinhof, in the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen*, xv, 4 (December, 1925).

DEUX RESIDENTS MONGOLS EN CHINE ET EN ASIE
CENTRALE. DE TCHINKKIZ KHAGHAN A KHOUBILAI

Par E. BLOCHET

LE grand homme d'état des commencements de la dynastie mongole fut un personnage énigmatique auquel les Chinois donnent le nom de 耶律楚材 Yaloutchhou Thsaï¹ ; les chroniques du Céleste Empire racontent qu'il était de la race des Tatars Khitan, et qu'il appartenait à la famille impériale des Liao, laquelle avait été dépossédée par les Tatars Kin, les Altan Khagan, auxquels Tchinkkiz fit une guerre sans merci pour s'emparer de leurs possessions du Nord de la Chine.

Ce fut en l'année 1215 que Yaloutchhou Thsaï entra au service du Conquérant : ses talents administratifs, sa haute valeur morale, complètement inconnus au sein des tribus mongoles, étonnèrent les barbares ; ils lui attirèrent la faveur et la confiance de Témoutchin, dont il sut déjouer les projets inhumains. Ce fut ce Mandchou, élevé dans l'admiration des rites du Céleste Empire, qui empêcha Tchinkkiz Khaghan de donner suite au dessein monstrueux qui lui traversa l'esprit de faire massacrer toute la population chinoise pour n'avoir point la peine de la gouverner et de pourvoir à ses besoins : ce fut lui qui fit comprendre au Conquérant qu'un vaste domaine ne se gouverne pas comme un clan tonghouze, et qui osa lui conseiller de conformer sa conduite aux préceptes de Confucius, lequel avait écrit : " Certes, il faut bien se dire que le monde, si l'on peut s'en emparer sur le dos d'un cheval, il est impossible de le gouverner en restant sur sa selle." ²

Yaloutchhou Thsaï devint le conseiller intime et le favori de l'Empereur jaune, qui le nomma son exécuteur testamentaire ; Ogotaï, dont il avait favorisé l'élection, lui témoigna la même faveur que son père, et il lui laissa toute liberté de gouverner ses états à sa guise : il lui confia l'administration financière de tout le pays qui avait formé la monarchie des Kin (1230), et sa gestion fut à ce point heureuse que, l'année suivante (1231), il lui remettait le grand sceau, en lui conférant l'administration générale de ses domaines impériaux. Le tout-puissant ministre inspira au nouveau souverain toutes les mesures politiques et administratives qui permirent à la dynastie mongole

¹ En prononciation vulgaire et moderne Yé-liu-tehhou Thsaï.

² 且謂天下雖得之馬上不可以馬上治.

de vivre et de subsister,¹ et, si l'on en croit l'autorité des historiens de la terre de Han, il mourut en 1243, immédiatement après Ogotaï, tout au début de la singulière régence de Tourakina Khatoun, comme si cette princesse avait redouté que la fidélité que le Khitan gardait à la mémoire de ses maîtres ne pût devenir un obstacle invincible aux desseins qu'elle nourrissait.

Les chroniques persanes rapportent que lorsque Tchinkkiz Khaghan eut conquis et dévasté la Transoxiane, dont les deux capitales étaient Boukhara et Samarkand, il confia le gouvernement de ces vastes contrées, avec la mission de relever leurs ruines, au très grand ministre Yalwatch, et à son fils, Mas'oud Beg² : ce fut en cette qualité que Yalwatch se vit mêlé à l'insurrection de Mahmoud Tarabi et aux aventures étranges qui la signalèrent.³

Les Mongols, au commencement du règne d'Ogotaï, traitèrent le Khitaï, la Chine du Nord, l'empire des Altan Khaghan, le royaume des Kin, avec la même férocité : quand le pays fut entièrement dévasté, saccagé à fond, Ogotaï s'en retourna, gai et content, à Karakorouni, sa capitale, tandis qu'il envoyait ses armées contre la Chine du Sud, pour la mettre dans le même état que ses provinces septentrionales : ce fut alors qu'il laissa 'Aziz Yalwatch dans les contrées du Nord en la qualité de vice-roi.⁴

Rashid ad-Din, dans sa *Tarikh-i moubarak-i Ghazani*,⁵ raconte qu'Ogotaï nomma le sahib Mahmoud Yalwatch résident mongol dans toutes les provinces du Khitaï, c'est-à-dire qu'il lui conféra le gouvernement de tout le Nord de la Chine, en même temps qu'il confiait l'administration de tout le pays qui comprenait Besh-Baligh et Kara-Khotcho, qui formait l'ancien royaume des Ouïghours, Khotan, Kashghar, Almaligh, Kayaligh, Samarkand et Boukhara, jusqu'aux rives du Djaïhoun, de l'Oxus, c'est-à-dire tout le royaume de Tchaghataï.⁶

¹ Yaloutchhou Tshai, en 1229, persuada à Ogotaï d'instituer le *tchin* mongol, avec son étiquette, à l'imitation des rites du Céleste Empire ; ce fut lui qui, conformément à la mentalité chinoise, et contre toutes les idées des Mongols, restreignit fortement le pouvoir des militaires, en même temps qu'il établissait l'assiette d'un budget ; ce fut lui qui, en 1230, obtint de son souverain que l'on divisât les contrées qui avaient été arrachées à la domination des Altan Khaghan en dix provinces, organisées suivant les dogmes administratifs du Céleste Empire, et d'après les idées des Chinois.

² 'Ala ad-Din 'Ata Malik al-Djouwami, *Djhangousha*, édition de Mirza Mohammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Kazwini, tome I, pages 75 et 84.

³ Ibid., pages 86 et 90.

⁴ Ibid., page 154.

⁵ Edition des Gibb Trustees, tome II, pages 85 et 86.

⁶ L'apanage constitué par Tchinkkiz Khaghan en faveur de la lignée de Tchaghataï s'étendait de Kara-Khotcho, sur la frontière du Céleste Empire, aux rives de l'Oxus, sur les marches du plus grand Iran : mais, dans l'esprit de Tchinkkiz, qui fut celui

à Mas'oud Beg, fils de Yalwatch, les contrées qui s'étendent depuis le Khorasan jusqu'aux frontières de l'empire grec et au Diar Bakr, c'est-à-dire toute la Perse, à l'émir Kenrgueuz.

Tourakina Khatoun, après la mort d'Ogotai, au cours de l'interrègne qui commença à sonner le glas de l'empire mongol, s'empressa de révoquer Yalwatch de ses hautes fonctions, et elle confia la vice-royauté de la Chine à un Musulman, nommé 'Abd al-Rahman¹ ; Mas'oud Beg fut enveloppé dans la disgrâce qui frappait son père, mais Kouyouk, dès son avènement, s'empressa de les rétablir dans leurs dignités. Ce prince et, après lui, Mangou Khaghan, conservèrent toute leur confiance à ces hommes qui furent les véritables administrateurs de tout l'Orient, jusqu'au jour où la monarchie, avec l'élection du khaghan Khoubilaï, avec l'indépendance des gouverneurs de l'Iran, avec l'insubordination et l'esprit démoniaque des princes du Tchaghataï, commença à se disloquer, et à courir à sa ruine.²

d'Ogotai, de Kouyouk, de Mangou, de Khoubilaï, cette souveraineté, comme celle de l'Oulous de Russie, était purement nominale et honorifique, la réalité du pouvoir temporel devant être exercée par un résident qui relevait directement du khaghan mongol. Ces dispositions tinrent et durèrent jusqu'à Mangou ; il est vraisemblable que Mas'oud Beg fut le dernier résident à la cour de l'Ouloug Ef, qu'après lui commença la lutte déloyale et sans merci que les souverains du Tchaghataï menèrent contre les empereurs de Khanbaligh, et contre leurs vassaux, les princes de l'Iran ; elle se poursuivit, implacable et criminelle, et, après des vicissitudes sans nombre, elle se termina par l'asservissement de la Perse au descendant d'un maire du palais du roi du Tchaghataï, si tant est que Témour-le-Boiteux ait jamais puse prévaloir d'une semblable origine, et par l'indépendance de la Chine, qui se sépara d'un monde qui s'en allait à la dérive, pour s'en retourner à ses destinées traditionnelles et séculaires. Le bon plaisir du successeur de Tchinkkiz donnait ainsi à Mahmond Yalwatch et à Mas'oud Beg un pouvoir absolu, une autorité sans appel, sur la Chine et sur toute l'Asie Centrale, le khaghan se réservant l'administration de la "yourte originaire", le pays des Mongols. Les contrées iraniennes, à l'Occident du Djaioun, dans ce système, furent gouvernées par des généraux d'armée, jusqu'au jour où le prince Houlagou, par ordre de son frère Mangou, s'en vint prendre la souveraineté de la Perse, avec le dessein de poursuivre, conformément aux volontés de Tchinkkiz, les conquêtes des Mongols dans l'Occident, dans l'empire byzantin, et dans les contrées soumises au sceptre des sultans Mamlouks. Ces fonctions de résident dans les pays conquis par le Thaï-Tsou des Yuan donnaient à ceux qui en étaient investis une autorité absolue ; le résident, comme le naniestnik que l'empereur de Russie envoyait en mission spéciale, comme plénipotentiaire, en Sibérie, ou au Caucase, ne relevait que de la couronne ; il n'avait aucun compte à rendre aux bureaux de Karakorum et à leurs scribes.

¹ " Il y avait, dans ce temps-là, dit Djouwami, dans le *Djhangousha*, page 199, une femme, nommée Fatima Khatoun, qui se mêlait des affaires du gouvernement ; elle envoya 'Abd al-Rahman dans le Khtai, à la place de Yalwatch."

² Kouyouk fut à peine monté sur le trône qu'il fit mettre à mort le favori de Fatima, 'Abd al-Rahman, et rendit la Résidence à Yalwatch ; il est vraisemblable, quoique l'histoire n'en dise rien, que Mas'oud Beg avait été révoqué par Tourakina, car Rashid ad-Din dit dans son histoire, page 248, que Kouyouk " donna le gouvernement du Khtai au sahib Yalwatch ; le Turkestan, c'est-à-dire l'Asie Centrale et la Trans-

Il est impossible de séparer le *sahib*, très grand *sahib*, *sahib* étant le titre des administrateurs civils, Mahmoud, ou 'Aziz Yalwatch, auquel la confiance des khaghans donna le gouvernement des contrées orientales de la monarchie mongole, la toute-puissance dans le Céleste Empire, du Yaloutchhou Tsaï, auquel le prince qui succéda à Témoutchin remit le soin de l'administration de ses immenses domaines.

Le *Yuan-shi*, la chronique impériale chinoise, prétend bien que Yaloutchhou Tsaï mourut immédiatement après le fils de Tchinkkiz, en 1243, tandis que l'histoire persane affirme que ce personnage était dûment en vie au cours de l'année 1251, huit ans plus tard, et qu'il ne se regardait point comme assez âgé pour se retirer des affaires publiques et prendre sa retraite.

Ces deux assertions sont antinomiques, irréductibles, inconciliables ; il est inutile de chercher à résoudre un problème dont l'énoncé contient une inexactitude ; je n'hésite point à admettre la version d'Ala ad-Din 'Ata Malik al-Djouwaïni, qui a été adoptée par Rashid ad-Din, contre les prétentions du *Yuan-shi* ; la rédaction de la chronique chinoise a été menée avec une rapidité invraisemblable, qui en fait la plus médiocre des vingt-quatre histoires dynastiques, tandis que Djouwaïni vécut les événements qu'il raconte, tandis qu'il fut le contemporain de Yalwatch et de Mas'oud Beg, à tel point qu'il est impossible que, dans ses voyages en Asie Centrale, l'auteur du *Djihangousha* n'ait pas été renseigné d'une manière absolument certaine sur l'identité véritable des deux hommes d'état auxquels la confiance impériale avait remis la souveraineté de toute l'Asie orientale.¹

oxiane, jusqu'à l'Oxus, à l'émir Mas'oud Beg : le Khorasan, l'Irak, l'Azarbaïdjan, à l'émir Arghoun Agha". Ces dispositions, à une personne près, le résident de Perse, rétablissait dans son intégrité le statut des débuts d'Ogotai ; elles rendaient à Yalwatch et à Mas'oud leurs dignités, dans la forme même où elles leur avaient été conférées par le successeur du Conquérant du Monde ; 'Ala ad-Din 'Ata Malik, dans le *Djihangousha*, man. supp. persan 205, folio 143 verso, dit formellement que Mangou, "confia tous les pays, du commencement du cinquième climat, des rives de l'Oxus, jusqu'au point le plus extrême de ce climat, au très grand *sahib* (*sahib-i mu'azzam*) Yalwatch ; la Transoxiane, le Turkestan, Otrar, le pays des Ouïghours, Khotan, Kashghar, Djand, Khwarizm, Farghana, à Mas'oud Beg." ce que Rashid ad-Din répète (éd. des Gibb Trustees, page 309), en disant qu'au début de son règne, Mangou confia le gouvernement de toutes les contrées orientales au *sahib* Mahmoud Yalwatch : le Turkestan, la Transoxiane, le pays des Ouïghours, le Farghana, le Khwarizm, à Mas'oud Beg.

¹ Il est inadmissible que Djouwaïni ait fait vivre Yalwatch à une époque à laquelle il était mort, ou qu'il se soit trompé sur les liens et le degré de parenté qui unissaient Yalwatch et Mas'oud Beg ; le *Djihangousha* n'est pas une œuvre livresque, exécutée à coups de fiches et de dépouillements, dans lesquels peuvent se glisser de singulières erreurs, dont tout un lot peut se perdre, sans laisser la moindre trace ; il n'est pas un ouvrage

Par trois fois, 'Ala ad-Din accompagna l'émir Arghoun dans les voyages pénibles que le résident dut faire à Karakorum, soit pour traiter des affaires de son gouvernement, soit pour se disculper des infamies lancées contre lui par ses calomniateurs ; c'est ainsi qu'il se rendit en Asie Centrale au cours des années 1246-1247, sous le règne de Kouyouk : en 1249-1250, après la mort de ce prince, durant la régence d'Oughoulghaïmish Khatoun ; en 1251-1252, quand l'émir partit pour assister à l'élection du nouvel empereur et à l'intronisation de Mangou Khaghan, alors qu'il arriva très en retard, après avoir perdu beaucoup de temps sur la route, quand tout le monde fut rentré chez soi, ce qui n'arrangea pas ses affaires.

Ce fut au cours de son second voyage, en 1249-1250, qu' 'Ala ad-Din passa avec son maître par la capitale du prince du Tchaghataï, Yisou-Mangou, auquel Arghoun le présenta : il est impossible que Mas'oud Beg, résident mongol à la cour de l'Oulough Ef, n'ait pas assisté, pour rendre compte au Trône de ses péripéties, à la visite que le résident de Perse faisait à son souverain : que si l'on veut admettre qu'un tel usage ne fut pas suivi à cette date du moyen âge, on sera bien forcé de reconnaître que les convenances les plus élémentaires voulaient qu' Arghoun allât rendre une visite officielle, de courtoisie pour le moins, à son collègue et confrère, et qu'il se fit accompagner jusqu'à la porte par son secrétaire. Dans les deux cas, 'Ala ad-Din ne pouvait se tromper sur l'identité du résident mongol à la cour du royaume de Tchaghataï, ni sur ses tenants et aboutissants, ni sur le rang de son père, et, s'il a écrit que Yalwatch, à cette date, dirigeait la politique du Céleste Empire, c'est que le *Yuan-shi* se trompe en affirmant que

comme la chronique de Rashid, qui fut rédigée sur des documents morts, en Perse, à Tauris, à des centaines de lieues de l'Asie Centrale ; c'est un livre dans lequel Djouami n'a fait que consigner et mettre par écrit ce qu'il vit et entendit, en Perse, en Asie Centrale, dans l'entourage d'Arghoun Agha, en quelque sorte les mémoires d'un témoin oculaire de l'épopée mongole. Qui pouvait être mieux renseigné sur les cadres administratifs et les questions politiques que le secrétaire intime et favori du vice-roi de l'Iran ? Et l'on ne saurait alléguer que Djouami s'en laissa conter ; Abagha n'aurait certainement pas confié à un niais une charge qui faisait de celui qui en était investi, en quelque sorte, le successeur du khalife de Baghdad ; sans compter que Rashid ad-Din qui, dans la *Tarikh-i noubarak-i Ghazani*, professe la même doctrine que le *Djhangousha*, était officiellement renseigné, de première main, sur le statut administratif des commencements de la monarchie, et que ses collaborateurs travaillaient sur des listes et sur des documents qui venaient directement des archives de Karakorum, dans lesquels il ne pouvait point se glisser de telles erreurs : c'est un fait évident que l'on savait en Extrême-Orient, quand avaient commencé, et quand s'étaient terminées les fonctions de Yalwatch ; si l'histoire mongole ne dit pas d'une façon formelle à quelle date Yalwatch quitta la Résidence, c'est que Khoubilai le releva de sa charge quand il prit en main les rênes de l'empire.

Yaloutchhou Tsaï mourut immédiatement après Ogotai, fils de Tchinkkiz Khaghan.

C'est un fait évident que beaucoup des pièces administratives du commencement de la monarchie, qu'un grand nombre des commandements de Tchinkkiz, d'Ogotai, de Kouyouk, de Mangou, se perdirent dans les chariots du Conquérant, ou dans les médiocres bureaux de Karakoroum, avant que Khoubilaï n'ait installé l'empire à la chinoise dans Yen-king, et encore ne devait on pas conserver la minute de toutes les pièces que l'on faisait copier par les scribes de l'administration.

Tourakina, visiblement, avait condamné Yaloutchhou Tsaï à mort, en même temps qu'elle le révoquait ; l'un n'allait guère sans l'autre chez ces barbares ; le hasard voulut, en 1330, quand on écrivit le *Yuan-shi*, que les yarlighs de Tourakina destituant Yalwatch et intronisant 'Abd al-Rahman fussent conservés à Pé-king, alors que l'on ne trouva aucune trace de ceux que Kouyouk et Mangou avaient signés dans leurs campements de Mongolie, pour rétablir Yaloutchhou Tsaï dans ses dignités, prérogatives et préséances. Les rédacteurs de la chronique impériale en inférèrent que le personnage avait disparu de la scène du monde en cette année 1243, puisqu'on ne trouvait aucune trace de son existence, aucun acte à son nom, aux dates postérieures ; des historiens modernes, avec leurs méthodes, connaissant le tempérament et les mœurs des Tonghouzes, en l'absence de tout autre renseignement, n'eussent guère pu en décider d'une façon différente, et conclure en autres termes.¹

L'identité des deux personnages ne se révèle pas moins par l'analyse de leurs noms que par la similitude de leur carrière politique ; la restitution de la forme tonghouze originale qui se dissimule sous la transcription Yaloutchhou Tsaï s'opère sans difficulté dans les deux mots Yaloutchou Tsaï, qui, d'après les règles de la grammaire des langues altaïques, signifient : " Tsaï, le magicien,"² et non " le bon magicien ", qui serait Tsaï Yaloutchou.

¹ Il ne faut point perdre de vue que c'est seulement à dater de l'époque à laquelle Khoubilaï Khaghan s'installe à la Cour du Nord, en la qualité d'empereur chinois et de Fils du Ciel, que le *Yuan-shi*, l'histoire officielle, commence à parler de l'administration des Mongols ; les rédacteurs de la chronique impériale n'eurent entre les mains qu'un nombre infime des pièces qui remontaient au règne des prédécesseurs de Khoubilaï.

² Tsaï signifie " qui est convenable, agréable " ; ce mot ne se trouve plus dans la langue mandchoue, où *dshai* " second, en second lieu " est un vocable tout différent ; il s'est conservé en mongol, *dsai* dans la prononciation moderne, " aisance, commodité, agrément," d'où l'adjectif courant *dsai-tou*, *dsai-tai*, " convenable, digne d'éloges " ; ce mot existe également dans les dialectes altaïques, avec la dissimulation fréquente

C'est par suite d'une circonstance aussi remarquable qu'elle est exceptionnelle que le nom Tsai se trouve, en chinois, transcrit, en même temps qu'il est traduit, par 材 *tsai*, qui désigne un homme vertueux, doué de qualités éminentes.

Mahmoud Yalwatch et 'Aziz Yalwatch, Yalwatch étant la forme ouïghoure du participe turk Yalwa-tchi = Yalou-tchou, constituent deux traductions-transcriptions très exactes et très judicieuses de Yaloutchou Tsai; le fait que, dans deux passages consécutifs, Djou-waïni nomme le premier ministre des Mongols, Mahmoud Yalwatch et 'Aziz Yalwatch, suffit à montrer que Mahmoud et 'Aziz ne sont point les noms de ce puissant personnage, mais bien la traduction de celui sous lequel il était connu dans le Céleste Empire; il serait

t-s = s; il est en turk *saï* ساي "ressource, faculté", et la même alternance phonétique se retrouve dans le turk *saïdam* سايدام "blanc", en face du mongol *tsaidam* "lait"; Yaloutchou-Yaloutchi est, sans qu'il soit nécessaire d'y insister plus longtemps, le doublet de la forme tonghouze-mongole *yalwa-tchi*, avec ses variantes et ses aspects *yilwa-tchi*, *yalii-tchi*, *yilbi-tchi* "envoyé céleste, prophète, devin, sorcier", dont le sens étymologique est "celui qui emploie les apparences pour faire agir les hommes". *Yalwa-tchi* est en effet un nom d'action dérivé, par le suffixe participial chinois *-tchi*, du mot *yali*, **yala*, de **yalwa*, qui se retrouve dans *yalwa-tchi*, *yalii-tchi*, et qui a les deux sens de "flamme", traduisant le sanskrit *jvāla*, et de "fantôme", puis, par suite du passage du nom d'agent "celle qui trompe", au nom de l'action, "tromperie, supercherie," d'où *yali-khai*, *yali-ghai* "magicien", *yali-la-khou* "duper les gens". Si éloignées en apparence que soient les deux significations de "flamme" et de "fantôme", d'entité qui trompe les hommes, elles n'en sont pas moins intimement liées sémantiquement: la flamme qui déchire les voiles de la nuit ne demeure-t-elle pas éternellement insaisissable aux mains qui la veulent saisir, et auxquelles elle se dérobe en les dévorant de brûlures cruelles? Du mongol *yali*, *yala*, la voyelle étant ambiguë, comme dans tout le phonétisme tonghouze et altaïque, dérive *yala-ghou*, et, avec la chute de la gutturale intervocalique, *yala-ou*, qui a passé dans le tchaghataï يالو, avec son sens primitif de "flamme", qu'il a vite perdu pour prendre celui de "drapeau", par l'intermédiaire de "fanion". La flamme s'élève conique et triangulaire sur le brasier ardent qu'ont allumé les hommes, et c'est sous cette forme qu'elle est représentée dans les peintures qui enluminent les livres persans, sous les espèces d'un triangle isocèle aux bords déchiquetés; c'est un triangle d'étoffe qui flotte aux lances des chefs de section et des parlementaires, et c'est par une extension abusive que ce mot a fini par désigner la pièce de soie qui forme le *sandjak*, mot dont j'ai donné l'étymologue autre part; c'est par un fait de sémantique analogue que le mot "flamme", dans la marine militaire, désigne la longue banderolle terminée en pointe aigue, interdite aux navires de commerce, qui flotte aux mâts des bâtiments des armées navales, tant que dure la clarté du jour. De *yala-(gh)ou*, s'est formé, par l'adjonction du suffixe *-tchi*, *yalaou-tchi*, primitivement "celui qui porte le fanion du parlementaire" يالوچى, puis "messager, envoyé"

l'ouïghour répond à la forme *yalaou-tchi* par celle de *yalaou-tch* يالاوچ, avec la réduction du suffixe *-tchi* à *-tch*, comme dans la formation des nombres ordinaux;

inadmissible que, sous le règne des descendants de Témoutchin, le vice-roi de la Chine ait porté dans l'administration impériale les deux noms simultanés de Mahmoud et de 'Aziz, accompagnés du titre de Yalwatch.

Quelles qu'aient été les préoccupations mentales des personnes qui ont créé la forme Mahmoud Yalwatch, et son doublet 'Aziz Yalwatch, en traduisant le nom de cet homme d'état, et en transcrivant l'épithète qui le qualifie, alors que la logique eut indiqué de faire tout le contraire, il n'en est pas moins certain qu'elles se sont rendu exactement compte que, d'après les normes de la grammaire tonghouze, Yaloutchou Tsai signifiait Tsai le Yalwatchi, dans une forme syntactique inverse de celle du persan, et qu'il faut intervertir les deux termes de la traduction-transcription pour qu'ils signifient Mahmoud, ou 'Aziz, le Yalwatchi.

Cette forme à l'allure islamique est loin d'impliquer, comme on le pourrait croire au premier abord, que le personnage que Djouwaïni nomme Mahmoud Yalwatch et 'Aziz Yalwatch était musulman : l'homme qui ne craignit pas de commenter au Thaï-Tsou des Yuan

la forme tchaghataï *yalaghau-tch* يالاقچ recouvre un mot ouïghour qui est identique à *yala-ghou-tchi*, avec l'alternance des deux suffixes *-tchi* et *-tch*. De *yala* "mirage" dérivent les mots tchaghataï *yul-ghin* يالغين, *yul-ghoun* يالقون, avec *i* = *ou*, qui signifient "flamme et mirage", comme le mongol *yali*, la forme *yul-un*, affaiblie de *yul-ghin*, يالين, par la chute de la gutturale, ayant conservé uniquement le sens primitif de "flamme"; de *yala* dérivent encore *yul-ghan* يالغان, qui ne signifie plus que "flamme", et *yul-kouy* يالكوك celui qui est faux dans son essence, qui passe sa vie à mentir". De *yala-ghou—yala-ou*, par suite d'un phénomène épenthétique sur lequel je me suis longuement expliqué, dérive **yola-ghou* "flamme", d'où *yol-akh* يولاخ "arc-en-ciel", ce mot turk étant visiblement dérivé de la forme mongole **yolu-ghou*, par la chute de la désinence, lequel mot *yolu-kh* est devenu *yola* يولا, par suite de la chute de la gutturale; du mongol **yola-ghou*, est dérivé un participe actif ouïghour **yola-ghou-tch*, qui est devenu *yola-ou-tch* يولاووتچ en tchaghataï, avec le sens de "celui qui porte le fanion du parlementaire, messager"; de la forme **yola*, se sont formés le turk-tchaghataï *yol-douroum* "éclair", comme *keu-turum* "estropié, malade", dont la prononciation a évolué en *yol-dereum* يولدريم, puis en *yil-drim*, qui est l'osmanli يادریم, et *yol-douz* يولدوز "étoile"; *yala* est devenu **yana* dans le dialecte qui a abouti à l'osmanli, d'où *yan-mak* "brûler", *yan-ghin* et *yan-ghoun* "feu"; ces mots n'ont rien de commun avec *yan-tchouk* "porte-manteau de cheval", *yan-djik*, *yan-dji* "courrier, palefrenier", qui dérivent, comme le montre suffisamment le doublet *yan-djik* de *yan-djik*, du mot turk-mongol *yam* "cheval de la poste", lequel transcrit le chinois 驛馬 *yé-ma* "cheval de poste", ou 驛務 *yé-mu* "la poste à cheval".

une sentence de Confucius, qui, en 1236, établit dans l'empire des collèges où les dignitaires mongols durent envoyer leurs fils pour étudier les livres canoniques, sous la direction de maîtres qu'il avait choisis, n'était certainement pas, et ne pouvait être musulman : la famille tonghouze des Liao, comme celle des Kim, comme les Mongols eux-mêmes, avait adopté les usages et les rites de la Chine, quand elle était arrivée à la souveraineté du Céleste Empire.¹ Les Tonghouzes,

¹ La forme *yālou*, dont dérivent *yāloutchou* et *yālcatch*, se retrouve dans le nom d'autres personnages de la famille royale des Liao : les historiens chinois donnent au fondateur de la puissance des Khitan Liao, au commencement du x^e siècle, le nom de Yalou (ou Yalouk, 耶律 aujourd'hui *lut* dans certains dialectes, *ryul* = *ryut* en coréen, *rit* = *rit* en japonais, *lvet* en annamite) — apoki, c'est-à-dire Yalou-aboki, dans lequel *abo-ki* est une forme participiale tonghonze à sens imprécis, par l'affixe — *ki*, lequel se trouve en mandchou sous les aspects *kha*, *khé*, *khi*, *ka*, *ke*, *ki*, suivant le thème verbal auquel il s'applique : *ara-* " écrire ", *ara-kha* " écrit ", ou " écrivant " ; *abo-ki*, pour *amo-ki*, avec *m* = *h*, est une forme participiale d'un verbe *amo-* " être heureux, " *amo-khou* en mongol, d'où *amo-l*, *amo-r*, *amo-gholauk* " bonheur " ; *amo-ki* signifie " qui jouit du bonheur ", ou " qui procure le bonheur ", d'où pour Yalou-aboki le sens de " celui qui a la puissance d'illusionner les hommes pour leur bonheur, ou pour le sien " ; un général khitan, qui vécut vers 975, est appelé par les chroniques Yalou-uka 耶律休哥 (休 a la double prononciation, par l'aspirée, *heu* en coréen et en annamite par la gutturale, *khu* en japonais, *yau* en cantonais moderne, pour *ou*, *u*, l'esprit doux dans cette forme étant l'affaiblissement du *k*, comme dans la transcription chinoise Yu-thien du nom sanskrit de Khotan, Kustana, voir Rashid, *Histoire des Mongols* Appendice, page 68), dans lequel nom *uka* transcrit une forme tonghouze *uga*, *uka* " parole ", en mongol *ugé*, la transcription de *gé* mongol par 哥 étant constante ; Yalou-uka signifie " celui dont la parole produit l'illusion chez les hommes " ; d'autres formes analogues se trouvent dans l'histoire des Thang : Yalou-yenhi 耶律延禧, qui transcrit Yalou-khanggi, entendu par les Célestes Yalou'enghi, avec le transfert inattendu de l'aspirée de *-khanggi* au deuxième élément *-gi* de ce mot, transformé en *-ghi*, cette aspirée étant remplacée dans la première syllabe par un élément consonantique équivalent à l'esprit doux du grec, par la transformation de ladite aspirée en gutturale, ce qui est un phénomène insolite. Ce nom tonghouze est une formation participiale en *-khanggi*, identique à celles en *-khanggi*, *-kanggé* de la langue mandchoue ; elle signifie, à proprement parler, " celui qui pratique l'illusion ", et elle est identique, pour le procédé de dérivation qui lui est appliqué, à Yalou-tchou, Yalwa-tch ; le personnage qui porta le nom de Yalou-khanggi régna sur les Liao ; en l'année 1115, il fut battu par Akouta, qui fonda la dynastie des Kim ; le reste de la nation des Liao marcha vers l'Occident, passa dans la vallée de l'Hi, où ils fondèrent le royaume des Kara Khitan, dont Yalou-tashi 耶律大石, descendant à la huitième génération du fondateur de la dynastie des Liao, fut le premier souverain ; son nom se restitue, sans aucune difficulté, en Yalou-tash, qui est un dérivé de *yālou* " illusion ", par le suffixe *-tash*, lequel, en turk, signifie " compagnon ", et, postposé à un nom, forme un adjectif indiquant le possesseur de la qualité désignée par ce mot ; Yalou-tash signifie donc " celui qui possède la faculté de se servir de l'illusion ", dans un sens très voisin des deux noms Yalou-tchou et Yalou-khanggi : Yalou-tash régna de 1124 à 1136 ; il eut pour successeur son fils, Yaloulilik 耶律夷列, qui exerça l'autorité de 1136 à 1154, d'abord, de 1136 à 1142, sous la tutelle de sa mère ; le nom de ce souverain

qu'ils appartenissent au clan des Liao, à celui des Altan Khaghan, à la nation mongole, ne témoignaient aucune hostilité à l'islamisme, qu'ils admettaient au même titre que toutes les formes religieuses : un illustre poète persan, Shams-i Tabbassi, a loué Tayangou dans des vers splendides : mais ces faits ne permettent pas un seul instant de supposer que Yaloutchou Tsaï se soit converti à la foi de Mahomet. Les membres de la famille des Liao qui demeurèrent dans le Céleste Empire, après la ruine de leur nation, en 1115, restèrent confucianistes ; ceux qui s'en allèrent fonder, dans la vallée de l'Ili, le royaume des Kara-Khitan oscillèrent entre les diverses formes religieuses qui se partageaient la conscience des Altaïques, turks et tonghouzes¹ : est Yalou-lik, adjectif formé par le suffixe turk *-lik*, qui n'est pas tonghouze, du mot *yalou* = *yalou*, qui se retrouve dans les formes mongoles *yalu-tchi*, *yilbi-tchi* (voir plus haut) ; Yalou-lik est " celui qui joint de la faculté de faire illusion " ; il signifie un aspect de la faculté dont Yalou-tchou est le nom d'agent. Un autre de ces Khitan joua un rôle important dans l'histoire des Mongols, au commencement de la souveraineté de Tchinkkiz, comme le personnage qui fait l'objet de cette notice ; le *Yuan-shi* le nomme 耶律留哥 Yalou-louka, c'est-à-dire Yalou-louk, qui est une forme absolument équivalente à celle de Yalou-lik. Yalou-louk souleva le Liao-toung contre les Kin qui avaient dépossédé sa famille, et s'empara de Liao-yang, dont il fit sa capitale ; Tchinkkiz le fit roi du Liao-toung ; Yalou-louk n'écouta pas les conseils des anciens sujets de sa famille, qui le poussaient à prendre le titre impérial, et à se proclamer indépendant des Mongols ; ce personnage, qui fut très utile aux Mongols, à leurs débuts (1213-1214), savait qu'il ne faut pas jouer avec le feu. L'analyse de ces noms ne manque pas d'intérêt ; elle montre que les formes turkes, comme Yalou-tash, Yalou-louk, Yalwa-tch, Yalou-tchou, voisinaient dans la langue de ces Tonghouzes avec des formes purement mandchoues, comme Yalou-khanggi, Yalou-aboki, tandis qu'aujourd'hui, et depuis de longs siècles, la discrimination est absolue entre ces deux séries de formes, les unes spéciales au turk, les autres au mandchou ; c'est de même qu'au moyen âge, le mongol connaissait le participe passif en *-mish* à côté de sa forme *-khsan*, *-ksen*, alors que cette dernière seule est usitée depuis le xiv^e siècle dans la langue des Mongols. Ce nom de Yalou n'a certainement rien à voir avec celui qui se trouve transcrit dans le *Liao-shi* sous la forme 亞剌 *ya-la*, que le vocabulaire annexe à cet ouvrage historique considère comme la transcription d'un mot mandchou *yarou* " requin " ; si l'on en croyait les auteurs de cet ouvrage lexicographique, ce serait le même mot *yarou* qui se cacherait sous les espèces des transcriptions *yen-lou* 延留 et 燕六 (chapitre 7, page 23 verso) ; *yalu*, dans ce vocabulaire (chapitre 1, page 12 recto, et chapitre 9, page 10 recto), est, de l'avis des philologues qui l'ont rédigé, un mot mandchou, qui signifie " viande " ; enfin *yu-lou* (chapitre 9, page 13 verso) serait un phonème mandchou *yarou* qui désigne les quadrupèdes en général ; ces assertions philologiques, comme toutes celles que l'on trouve dans ce livre, témoignent de l'imagination des linguistes chinois de l'époque khien-loung, qui eurent la singulière idée de refaire les transcriptions des xi^e-xiv^e siècles, mais non de leur science.

¹ Au xiii^e siècle, les Kara-Khitan étaient Nestoriens ; en 1140, Yalouïlik professait le Christianisme, et le pape Alexandre III écrit à son fils Tchourlouk " Indorum regi sacerdotum sanctissimo ". Ces princes firent une guerre terrible aux Musulmans, ce qui n'est d'ailleurs pas une preuve de leur foi en la mission du Christ ; les Mongols de la Perse, au xiii^e et au xiv^e siècle, professèrent le Bouddhisme et l'islamisme, ce qui ne les empêcha point de se faire passer pour Chrétiens aux yeux du roi de France

il semble que le fils de Yaloutchou Tsai, avec son nom de Mas'oud Beg, ait pratiqué la religion musulmane, à laquelle il se serait converti

et du roi d'Angleterre, pour capter leur alliance, et les précipiter dans une croisade insensée à leur unique profit, contre les sultans Mamlouks; le fait est encore plus visible après la conversion de Ghazan que du temps de ses prédécesseurs bouddhistes, lesquels avaient une certaine tendance, une certaine bienveillance, pour le Christianisme, que Ghazan, comme tous les Musulmans, poursuivait d'une haine aveugle. Quoiqu'il en soit, qu'ils aient professé la foi du Christ, ou qu'ils s'en soient vantés pour duper le Saint-Père, les Kara-Khitan anéantirent le royaume turk-karlouk de Satok-Boghra, s'emparèrent de Kashghar, de Khotan, chassèrent les Saldjoukides des vallées de l'Amou-daria et du Sir-daria, poussèrent presque jusqu'à Samarkand, et ils infligèrent une défaite sanglante à Sultan Sindjar, qui cherchait à arrêter les progrès vers l'Occident des Turks, ses congénères. C'est à propos des Khitan qu'est née la légende du "Presbyter Joannes"; pour justifier ce titre étrange, Rubruck raconte que les "gens (de cette nation) ordonnaient comme prêtres tous leurs enfants mâles, alors qu'ils étaient encore dans leurs berceaux, et que c'était là la raison pour laquelle presque tous les hommes y étaient prêtres"; cette interprétation est une glose née dans l'esprit d'un Occidental pour justifier le titre du souverain des Kérait, ou plutôt de la forme sous laquelle il crut l'entendre. Presbyter Joannes est une transcription-traduction de Wang-khan, titre de ces princes mandchous, dans le sens de "le roi-souverain", dont on retrouve la traduction mentale, chez les Altaïques, dans les royaumes musulmans, sous les formes Sultanshah, Malikshah (Malakshah étant une incompréhension), ces barbares ne pouvant, comme l'empereur chinois, se contenter d'un titre royal, et en exigeant un double, comme les Turks, qui se faisaient nommer Yinal-téguin, Wang se prononçait Yan(g), ou plutôt, sa prononciation oscillait entre la forme chinoise Wang (Ang = Ong اونك) et Yang, comme le montre suffisamment

le titre mongol تايانك Tayang, qui est le nom d'un chef de la tribu des Naïman, père de Goutchlouk, et qui transcrit d'une manière très exacte le chinois 大王 tai-wang "roi suprême". Comme on le voit par de nombreux passages de sa narration, Rubruck a constamment et systématiquement confondu deux vocables essentiellement différents, *khan*, forme réduite de *khaghan*, qui désigne le chef des clans altaïques, et *kam*, le titre des sorciers-prêtres du culte fétichiste des Turks et des Toghoulzes, qui, avec la confusion des gutturales, et l'équivalence *m-n*, somnait à peu de chose près comme *khan*. Il a entendu Yang-kam, au lieu de Yang-khan, et il a fort régulièrement traduit Yang-kam par Yan le prêtre, Presbyter Joannes, alors que Bar Hébreus, qui a également compris Yang-Wang comme l'équivalent de Johannes, s'est parfaitement rendu compte que *khan* dans le nom de Wang-khan est le mot qui signifie "souverain", d'où sa traduction Malik Yohanna du nom de l'adversaire de Témoutchin. Et Bar Hébreus n'était point le seul à professer cette opinion, puisque c'est cette même interprétation de "prince Jean", traduisant le titre Wang-khan de tous les souverains khitans, dont avait hérité l'adversaire malheureux de Témoutchin, qui, en 1145, se trouve appliquée à Yalouluk par l'évêque de Gaba'a; c'est la même erreur, la confusion du titre de khan, que portait Tchourlouk, avec kam, qui a conduit le pape Alexandre III à le traiter de "sacerdos sanctissimus", en se figurant vraisemblablement que la puissance et la dignité du chef des Khitan étaient comparables à celles du Souverain Pontife. On s'étonne à juste titre que le moyen âge ait fait de ce personnage énigmatique le souverain de l'Inde et de l'Éthiopie, et, d'une façon générale, que les hommes de cette époque aient confondu la péninsule hindoue et le royaume d'Abyssinie; la raison en est simple: l'Inde et l'Éthiopie étaient deux contrées situées à l'Orient du monde, que l'on ne pouvait

pour suivre l'exemple des populations qui vivaient dans l'Ouest du Tarim et dans la Transoxiane, lesquelles, sous le sceptre de souverains bouddhistes, formaient l'élément essentiel et vital des sujets du royaume de Tchaghataï.

gagner qu'en traversant la Méditerranée et la mer Rouge : les marins qui naviguaient dans ces parages savaient que pour aller dans l'Inde ou en Ethiopie, il fallait suivre un chemin qui conduisait sous les mêmes cieux, aux mêmes latitudes, ou l'aspect des constellations sur lesquelles ils se guidaient était identique ; les mêmes hommes étaient allés dans l'Inde ou en Afrique par des routes qui se superposaient sur une grande partie de leur durée ; ils les confondirent, et leur concept resta vague ; l'Inde comprit tout son hinterland, l'Asie Centrale et la Chine continentale ; l'Ethiopie comprit l'Afrique jusqu'aux sources lointaines du Nil. c'est en ce sens que, dans le titre d'un manuscrit du roman de Barlaam et Joasaph (arabe 268), on lit que ce récit merveilleux "a été apporté de l'intérieur de l'Abyssinie, c'est-à-dire de l'Inde, au couvent de Saint-Saba", que Marco Polo traite l'Abyssinie d'Inde majeure, que, jusqu'à la fin du xviii^e siècle, l'océan Indien porta sur les cartes marines le nom d'océan Ethiopique. Je ne crois pas inutile d'ajouter, au sujet des titres des souverains turks, formes de deux mots signifiant "roi", que dans Ymal-teguin, *yinal* est le mot turk, et *téguin* son équivalent chinois, *tai-koan* "officier supérieur", que les Japonais ont emprunté sous la forme *takoun*, les Annamites, sous celle de *takou* "mécanicien d'une chaloupe, patron" : cette sinomanie poussa les Altaïques à emprunter aux Célestes, par un pur snobisme, des mots dont ils n'avaient aucun besoin réel, comme *tengri* "ciel", qui est le chinois *thien-li* "la Loi céleste", alors qu'ils possédaient le terme *oghan*.

THE JUNGLE TRIBES OF THE MALAY PENINSULA

By PATER P. SCHEBENSTA

(Translated by C. O. BLAGDEN)

THE jungle tribes (or, as the Malays style them, Orang Utan) of the Malay Peninsula are not altogether an unknown quantity from the point of view of anthropology and linguistics. A number of scholars and travellers have devoted themselves to the study of them, the most important being Hrolf Vaughan Stevens, R. Martin, W. W. Skeat, the leader of the Cambridge expedition, Annandale, and Robinson. All this was some thirty years ago, and though their researches ascertained a number of facts, fresh problems have since arisen. We knew practically nothing of the tribes dwelling in the real interior of the country, for none of these explorers had succeeded in penetrating there.

The importance of a fresh exploration of the inland tribes of the Peninsula, and especially the Negritos, was repeatedly stressed, particularly as the Negritos were expected soon to become extinct. Pater W. Schmidt, who in his work on the Pygmies had raised an appeal in support of this line of research, eventually took an active part in the matter of organizing an expedition himself, as his previous appeal had led to no response. With the assistance of several sympathizers in London, facilities were arranged and after the present Pope, Pius XI, had generously financed the undertaking, it became possible to carry out this plan.

Towards the end of 1923 Messrs. C. O. Blagden and W. W. Skeat gave me an insight into the problems affecting research among the tribes of the interior and some instruction in the Malay language, for which, now that the undertaking has succeeded, I must express my hearty thanks. In the same spirit of grateful remembrance I must mention the French Catholic Mission, which offered me its hospitality whenever I returned to the coast from my tours in the primeval forests, likewise Mr. J. R. Evans, then stationed at the Museum in Kuala Lumpur, whose good advice on many matters was freely put at my disposal, and above all Captain J. Berkeley, at that time District Officer at Grik, Upper Perak, the true friend and protector of the Sĕmang, who first brought me into actual contact with them.

My researches extended to the states of Kedah, Perak, Kelantan,

Pahang, and the Negri Sembilan. I made a brief stay in the region of the Sēmang of Trang and Patalung in Siam, and spent a month in Sumatra among the Kubu. I devoted twenty months to my task of exploration. With the exception of the Jakud'n tribes in Johore and Eastern Pahang, as well as the tribes of Trengganu, I visited all the principal tribes of the Peninsula. My attention was particularly directed to those of the interior, and of course I spent most of my time in studying the Sēmang, who have hitherto been somewhat of a problem.

The jungle tribes, whom I designate by the general name of Orang Utan, belong to three different races or stocks. In their nomenclature I follow that of Skeat and Blagden, as it is the most widely known and has been generally adopted by scholars. The Orang Utan themselves do not use these names and to some extent repudiate them. We must distinguish between—

1. Ulotrichi (woolly-haired) or Sēmang.
2. Kymotrichi (wavy-haired) or Sakai.
3. Lissotrichi (lank-haired) or Jakud'n (*alias* Jakun).

The origin and meaning of the name Sēmang are obscure. In any case the people never style themselves Sēmang. I only heard them mention the name on a few occasions, and then it was used to denote either some wild, legendary beings or else Malays. Really it is a term of abuse. Only once did an old Negrito in talking to me speak of himself as a Sēmang and that was to draw a distinction between himself and the wild, nomad Negritos. He was in fact no longer a nomad, but had a permanent dwelling-place and was Malayized; therefore he was a "Sēmang".

The most probable derivation seems to me to be from the word *sēma'* (with a final glottal stop). This word belongs to the Sabub'n language and means "man, native" as opposed to *gob*, "Malay, foreigner". In Malay pronunciation the final *a* has a nasal sound so that it approaches "Sēmang". Moreover the Sēmai also call their Tēniar neighbours "Sēmā'" (with a nasal *ā*).

As already mentioned, the Sēmang have no name for their race as such; they use the various current tribal names. The race, in fact, is divided into tribes, which are not, however, held together by any external form of organization, but are conscious of being units by reason of identity of speech, traditions, and tribal area. The Sēmang are divided into the following tribes (the word for "man" being prefixed by me to the tribal name):—

(1) The Moni' Tonga' or Mòs, in the Patalung-Trang region of Siam.

(2) The Mēni' Kēnsiu, in North-Eastern Kedah and the adjoining part of Patani.

(3) The Mēni' Kēnta', in Southern Kedah and the region of the Kroh in Perak.

(4) The Mēn'ra' Jahai, on both banks of the Perak River from Grik up to its headwaters and those of the Pergau, and down the latter to the Bala River, a tributary of the Pergau.

(5) The Mēn'ra' Mēnri', on the Kelantan and Lebir Rivers in Kelantan, and also in the region of the Serau in Northern Pahang.

(6, 7, 8) The Batek: Nōgn, Klèb, and Tēmō'. The first at the headwaters of the Cheka-Krau, the Klèb in the Raub district, and the Tēmō' in Ulu Bera, in Pahang.

As appears from this classification, there are three groups among the Sēmang, each with a different name for "man", viz. the *mēni'*, the *mēn'ra'*, and the *batek*. The third group, however, may be neglected, as it is too small and also seems to be closely allied to the *mēn'ra'* group. We must also distinguish between the *mēni'* group and the *mēn'ra'* group on linguistic grounds. This distinction, however, has nothing to do with the formerly common distinction between Sēmang and Pangan. This last is merely based on Malay usage, whereas the other is founded on real differences, particularly differences of speech.

The word Pangan is often used even now by Malays of the Eastern half of the Peninsula. It is really a term of abuse, meaning something like "wild, omnivorous, and uncircumcized person". The Malays of those parts apply it to all Orang Utan, not only to the Sēmang. There is really no reason for retaining it as a name for the Sēmang of the Eastern half of the Peninsula, and it should be dropped altogether. From the linguistic point of view we must divide the Sēmang into two groups, the Mēni' group in the North-West and the Mēn'ra' group in the Centre and South-East. These groups are again divisible into several dialects which coincide with the above-mentioned tribal names.

Finally, there is a separate tribe of Sēmang to be mentioned, namely the Sabub'n or Lanō'. These live on both sides of the Perak River, from Grik downwards to Lenggong, and extend along the left tributaries of the Perak River about halfway up those tributaries. On the Piah River they have already been recorded by other explorers,

for example by De Morgan. From the point of view of their physique and culture they are without a doubt to be classed as Sěmang, but in their speech they deviate from all the other Sěmang, for they speak a Northern Sakai dialect.

The wavy-haired tribes are termed Sakai. This name is also used in the Peninsula as a general designation for all the Orang Utan tribes. Its origin is unknown, but it is also found outside the Peninsula.¹

The Sakai are divided into two stocks: the Sěmai and the Ple-Těmiar.

The Ple-Těmiar on their extreme Northern frontier run with the Sěmang. It is no wonder, therefore, that some of them appear to be very mixed; and they in their turn have also influenced the Sěmang. One of the elements in their composition seems to be Sěmai, a tribe bordering the Ple-Těmiar on the South.

The Ple-Těmiar are a double tribe. In Perak they are called Ple, while on the other side of the mountain-range they are called Těmiar. I was able recently to ascertain from the reports of Vaughan Stevens preserved at Berlin that these are not identical with the race which he styles Těmiar. His Těmiar are the Sěmai of the region of Tapah and Slim, whom R. Martin calls Sěnoi. The Těmiar of the Nenggiri River are, however, identical with Clifford's Těmbe', for the Sěmai on the Serau River call themselves Těmbe' to this day.

The southern boundary of the Ple-Těmiar runs north of the Rivers Bertam (Běrtak) and Telom (Telob'n), takes a northward bend to the Nenggiri River up to its tributary the Jindera (Chenero), and then follows this stream as far as the Noring.

The Sěmai occupy the regions of the Batang Padang, Slim, Bertam, Telom, Serau, and the lesser Jelai. In physique they are certainly the purer representatives of the Sakai race. In language and culture they are clearly distinguished from the Ple-Těmiar, but anthropologically there are indubitably connexions between them. The Ple-Těmiar belong to the Northern Sakai group, the Sěmai form the Central Sakai group. The lank-haired or Jakud'n (Jakun) tribes border immediately upon the Sěmai and are already to be met with to the south of the Tembeling River (to the east of the Pahang River) and on the Krau River (to the west of the Pahang River).

The name Jakud'n also seems to have unpleasant implications

¹ In Malay the word also has the general meaning of "followers, retainers, dependents".—C. O. R.

and is not popular amongst the tribes themselves. It is supposed to mean much the same as Orang Rayat (i.e. subject peoples).

The Jakud'n are divided into many tribes, among which I may name the Krau Jakud'n on the Krau, Mai, and Tekal Rivers, the Sēmilai on the Triang, Bera, and Serting, the Njap in the Raub district and on the middle Triang, the Kēnaboi in Jelebu, the Tēmuadn on the Muar, Palong, and Keratong Rivers. The Sisi and Bēlanas Mantra are the tribes that have advanced furthest towards the west. The Mantra in Labu and Malacca reckon themselves to belong to the Njap. The Jakud'n of Johore did not come under my own observation.

The Sisi, Kēnaboi, Sēmilai, and Krau speak languages of their own, while the Tēmuadn and the Njap speak an archaic form of Malay. The Krau and Sēmilai dialects contain many Sēmang or Sakai elements. The Krau dialect in particular is very strongly impregnated with Sēmang. There can be no doubt at all that the Jakud'n of that region have absorbed the Batek amongst whom they had intruded.

In physique, culture, and partly also in speech the Jakud'n are plainly Malay. They are identical with the Kubu of Sumatra, whom I examined and studied with an eye to their connexion with the Jakud'n. I call them Proto-Malays.

As I am only concerned here to give a broad outline of the results of my investigations, these brief indications must suffice.

The numbers of the Orang Utan now existing in the Malay Peninsula can only be given approximately. Attempts have been made to enumerate the inland tribes, but as some of these groups were scarcely represented in actually administered territory, we cannot speak of anything like an accurate enumeration. My own figures are based on estimates made by myself. As, however, I repeatedly traversed the principal districts and endeavoured even in the trackless interior of Perak, Kelantan, and Pahang to gather information as to the numbers of the population in the neighbourhood, I believe I am in a position to give at any rate a fairly close estimate. I did not visit the extreme east and south of the Jakud'n region, and therefore cannot express any confident opinion as to the total numbers of the Jakud'n.

I am best informed as to the Sēmang, having seen fifty different Sēmang camps and made the personal acquaintance of their inmates, some only in passing, but most of them for a longer period. I estimate

the total numbers of the Sēmang at 2,000 persons, distributed as follows :—

Tonga'	. . .	100
Kēnsiu	. . .	200
Kēnta'	. . .	130
(Kēnta' Bogn	. . .	64)
Jahai	. . .	800
Mēnri'	. . .	400
Nōgn. Klēb. and Tēmō'		100
Sabub'n	. . .	250

These figures are certainly not under-estimates.

The Sakai are much more numerous, although their area is less than that of the Sēmang.

The Sēmai probably do not exceed 2,000. On the other hand, for the Ple-Tēmiar in the Centre of the Peninsula an estimate of 8,000 would not be too high. When one looks down from a mountain top and sees the jungle clearings made for their plantations, one is tempted to put the figure much higher. But not every clearing represents a settlement. We must not overlook the fact that each group of Sakai makes several clearings in the course of a few years.

The Jakud'n that I am acquainted with fall into—

- (1) Krau Jakud'n, say 1,000, and
- (2) Sēmilai, say 2,000,

of whom the majority are to be found in the Tasek region. However, I believe that the Jakud'n total exceeds 10,000.

The question, whether any diminution can be observed in the numbers of the wild tribes, must be answered differently for their several groups.

The numbers of the Ple-Tēmiar and Jakud'n, and probably also the Sēmai, are stationary.

Amongst the Sēmang a diminution of the population is obviously taking place. One constantly hears them say that they were formerly more numerous and that epidemics have made havoc amongst them. The number of children in the family is normal; many families with three, four, or more surviving children are to be found; and, allowing for the fact that infant mortality is high, one may fairly say that the family is in a sound state.

I must refrain from a detailed description of the physical characteristics of the three races, because the materials I have brought

back (viz. some 200 measurements and portions of three skeletons) have not yet been worked out. The Sēmang are rightly reckoned among the pygmy races. Although their height slightly exceeds 150 centimetres, the majority of the adults do not reach this standard. A few taller individuals considerably raise the average.

A striking Sēmang characteristic is the length of the trunk of the body and the length of the arms. Some individuals resemble African pygmies in their facial expression. The nose is always broad and often has a deeply depressed root. The eyes are round and widely opened, and the iris generally has a reddish coloration. A steep forehead is the normal thing; I have seldom seen them with receding foreheads. The face is round. Prognathism, when present, is moderate.

The skin colour is darker than that of any of the other races of the Peninsula, but never becomes coal black as it does among the Sudan Negroes. As a rule it is a dark brown.

Two types of hair can be distinguished among the Sēmang. Some have it curling in a mop and woolly, others have it irregularly curled in spirals. The former type reminds one of Africans, the latter of Papuans.

Mutilation of the body does not occur, except for the piercing of the ear-lobes of women and the filing of the teeth among some of the tribes, such as the Kěnta' and Kěnsiu. I am inclined to think that both practices have been borrowed from other races. Among some groups of the Měnrī' I observed body painting, but this habit has been borrowed from the Ple.

The Sakai are generally reckoned among the pygmoid races. In my opinion they have no pygmy characteristics whatever, so that the expression pygmoid is unjustifiable, unless indeed we like to apply it to the border groups of the Ple-Tēmīar and to certain of the Jakud'n groups. The pure Sakai are slight in build, and therefore look slender without being really tall. Nevertheless they considerably exceed the Sēmang in stature.

The cheekbones are very prominent, the chin is decidedly pointed. I have observed in many individuals a tendency to the Mongoloid fold, the upper eyelid descending sharply at the inner corner.

The beard is often well developed, particularly on the chin, whereas among the Sēmang it is almost entirely absent. The head-hair of the Sakai is wavy. Their skin colour is fair, even fairer than the Malay.

When I first saw the Ple near the Piah River (who were Sakai of the purer type) I was involuntarily reminded of Polynesian types.

The Sakai all perforate the septum of the nose, and the women also pierce their ear-lobes. The Tēmīar also practise tattooing, but not universally; body-painting, on the other hand, is quite the rule.

The Jakud'n and Kubu tribes agree in physique with the Malays, except that they look slighter. Mixture with Sēmang blood is evidenced in certain parts of the Jakud'n region by a darker coloration of the skin and by wavy hair. The latter characteristic also often indicates a Sakai admixture.

From the cultural point of view these races also fall into three distinct groups, which can be properly said to represent three stages of development, though it must not be assumed that any one of them is based upon another.

The Sēmang inhabit the trackless interior: they occupy the hill country, but are never found on the mountains. They generally keep to the neighbourhood of small, clear streams, and wander at a certain distance around Malay villages (in some parts also, e.g. in Pahang, around Sakai settlements). They live in a kind of symbiosis with such villages and settlements, for in my opinion they are unable to subsist solely on the roots they find in the jungle.

They are definitely nomadic, this habit of theirs being based on their inability to engage in any form of agriculture. The Sēmang have never reached the stone age. There is no evidence that would justify us in maintaining that they ever knew the use of stone implements. Iron was introduced among them at a relatively very late period. Being without stone or iron implements, they were never in a position to make clearings in the forest; and that is the fundamental reason for their nomadic mode of life.

The Sēmang never emerged from the bamboo age. All their implements were, and still are, of bamboo; even the bows, which are nowadays made of wood, seem to have been formerly made of bamboo.

One consequence of their desultory wandering life is that the Sēmang only set up temporary windscreens, although it would certainly have been in their power to make more comfortable huts. Closely connected therewith is the fact that they can keep no sort of cattle, even if they had ever reached the pastoral stage. Their only domestic animal is the dog, and even that seems to have been derived from the Sakai. Their nomadic habits also explain their family system. They cannot remain together in large groups, because

the jungle does not afford sufficient sustenance for such larger agglomerations: so they have to split up, and consequently wander about in small parties consisting of a few families, mostly such as are closely related to one another.

As regards their religion, I must mention their decided belief in a supreme being, called Ta Pěd'n or Karei, who in certain circumstances must be propitiated by an offering of blood. The peccant Sěmang cuts his shin and throws the blood, mixed with water, towards the sky. They do not, however, pray to the deity.

The Sěmang believe in a kind of spirits called Čěnoi (Chěnoi), small, shining beings, who are servants of the deity and friends of man. But these are in no way connected with the Malay *hantu* (spirits and ghosts, etc.).

The Hala' or priestly medicine-man is the intermediary between the deity and man and is also a physician.

Belief in a future life is universal.

Polygamy is allowed, and occasionally occurs, but monogamy is the normal practice. Marriages are often dissolved while the parties are still young, but as soon as there are any children the parents keep together.

The Sakai culture differs in many respects from the Sěmang. The Sakai prefer the high ground in the mountain ranges, and owing to their plantations of roots, Italian millet, and rice, they are independent of the Malays. As domestic animals they keep dogs and fowls.

They hunt the smaller animals, as do also the Sěmang, but unlike the Sěmang the Sakai are skilful trappers. The Sakai weapon is the blowpipe (or blowgun).

The Sakai, and particularly the Ple-Těmiar, have communal houses and display the beginnings of social organization. Polygamy and even a special kind of polyandry occur and are allowed among the Ple-Těmiar.

The deity of the Ple-Těmiar is a female named Ya Puděu, Granny Puděu. The belief in Karei, the god of thunder, exists, but only in a decayed form. The belief in a future life is definite, and among the Ple-Těmiar includes a belief in resurrection and requital for deeds done, which is unknown among the Sěmang. Magic also plays a considerable part, whereas among the Sěmang it is almost absent.

A few words must be devoted to the Jakud'n. I regard them as Proto-Malays. They are identical with the Kubu of Sumatra. The

Jakud'n prefer to make their settlements by the side of rivers. Plantations of roots and rice are quite general. The domestic animals are dogs and fowls. The goat is not universally found.

The Jakud'n huts are built on posts, and when occupied by several families they are divided by partition walls into several compartments. The Kubu weapon is the spear. In a good many places the blowpipe is unknown.

It is important to note that there is a definite social organization, with headmen bearing the titles of Batin, Mēntri, and Jukra.

Monogamy is the usual practice, but polygamy is allowed and occasionally occurs.

The prevailing religious belief is in nature, spirits, and magic.

From the linguistic point of view, the classification worked out by Pater Schmidt and C. O. Blagden remains in essentials unchanged:—

1. The Sēmang fall into a Mēni' group and a Mēn'ra' group.
2. The Sakai are divisible into

(a) Northern Sakai, including the Sabub'n Sēmang and the Ple-Tēmīar, and

(b) Central Sakai, i.e. the Sēmai.

3. The sections styled by Blagden Southern and Eastern Sakai will, in my opinion, turn out to be Jakud'n dialects which approximate, through admixture, either to the Sēmang Mēn'ra' group or to one or both of the Sakai groups (Northern and Central).

Besides these, there are Jakud'n groups which speak archaic Malay, just like the Kubu of Sumatra.

As, however, I have not yet had enough leisure to work out and compare my linguistic materials, this is not intended to be a definitive decision as to the linguistic classification.

NOTES ON SOME SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS ON ALAMKARA
IN THE MADRAS GOVERNMENT ORIENTAL MSS. LIBRARY

By SUSHIL KUMAR DÉ. M.A., D.Lit.

DURING the Third Session of the Oriental Conference held in Madras (December, 1924) I had the opportunity of examining cursorily some newly acquired manuscripts on Sanskrit Alamkāra-śāstra in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. I propose in this paper to note briefly certain pieces of information which I have been able to gather from them, as it was too late to incorporate them in the second volume of my *Sanskrit Poetics* (to which I refer below as *SP.*). Most of these MSS. were originally found on the Malabar Coast, and the copies in the Library are transcripts in Devanagari character.

1. *Udbhaṭālamkāra-ṛitti* by some unknown author, in the form of brief notes on the verses and illustrations of Udbhaṭa's work. After Pratīhārendurāja's elaborate commentary, its value as an exegetical work is diminished : but it is interesting as throwing some light on a doubtful point. In the text of Udbhaṭa as printed by the Nirṇaya Sagar Press (Bombay, 1915), the illustrative verses are incorporated in the *ṛitti* of Pratīhārendurāja. Colonel Jacob's edition of the text in *JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 830 f., however, prints both the *kārikā*-verses and the illustrative stanzas as constituting the text of Udbhaṭa's work. The question, therefore, arises whether the illustrative verses are Udbhaṭa's or not. In the present commentary the illustrative verses are given and commented upon along with the *kārikās* : and they are the same as those incorporated in the *ṛitti* of Pratīhārendurāja by the Nirṇaya Sagar editors, although no indication is given here of the possibility of their being taken from that source. This fact would raise the presumption (which should be confirmed by other available commentaries on Udbhaṭa) that Colonel Jacob's procedure is correct, and that the illustrative verses are most probably Udbhaṭa's. This is also apparently indicated by Pratīhārendurāja himself, when he says (p. 15) that Udbhaṭa drew his illustrations in the particular case from a part of his own poem entitled

Kumāra-saṃbhava. One would suspect from this that all the illustrations in *anuṣṭubh*-metre¹ are drawn from the same source.

2. *Daśa-rūpa-vyākhyā* by Bhaṭṭa Nṛsiṃha (Oppert, 2615, *SP.*, i, p. 135). The title is misleading, for, as it says, it is really a *laghu-ṭīkā* on Dhanika's *vyākhyā* on *Daśa-rūpaka* :

daśarūpasya yā vyākhyā Dhanikena samāhitā |
tasya Bhaṭṭa-Nṛsiṃhena laghu-ṭīkā vidhīyate !!

This verse (No. 2) at the beginning of the MS. is interesting as mentioning Dhanika as the author of the commentary on *Daśa-rūpaka*, and would support the contention of those who refuse to identify Dhanika with Dhanañjaya (see *SP.*, i, pp. 132-4). The author of this commentary does not appear to be old, and therefore his testimony must be taken with due caution ; but the tradition thus recorded by him is not without some value.

3. *Camatkāra-candrikā* by Viśveśvara Kavicaṇḍra (*SP.*, i, p. 243, fn. 1). This is really a work on *Alaṃkāra*, divided into eight chapters dealing respectively with : (1) *varṇa-pada*, (ii) *vākya*, (iii-iv) *artha*, *guṇa*, and *doṣa*, (v) *rasa*, (vi) *śabdālaṃkāra*, (vii) *arthālaṃkāra*, (viii) general topics (incomplete). It thus follows the arrangement of the India Office MS. of the same work (Eggeling, *Catalogue*, vii, pp. 1507-8). It is composed after the panegyric manner of Viḍyānātha's *Pratāparudrīya*, and all the illustrative verses celebrate Sarvajña Śiṅga-bhūpāla, whose *Rasārṇava* is freely quoted. In the fifth *Vilāsa*, mention is made of the author's preceptor, Kāśīśvara Miśra, whose work *Rasa-mīmāṃsā* is quoted (*tathā coktam asmadācāryaiḥ Kāśīśvara-miśrai Rasa-mīmāṃsāyām*).

4. *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi Kāvya-prakāśa-vyākhyā* by Lauhitya Bhaṭṭa Gopāla (see *SP.*, i, p. 186). No fresh information can be gathered about the author and his supposed identity with Bhaṭṭa Gopāla, author of the commentary *Rasika-rañjanī* on *Rasa-mañjarī*. The work, though brief, is one of the best-informed commentaries on the much commented text, and the author shows himself conversant with the literature on the subject. In one passage (on ch. v, p. 214, in the

¹ There are some verses in *āryā* which are quoted from Rudraṭa by Pratihārendurāja by way of illustration ; these could not have been given by Udbhata. For instance, the illustrative verse *kajjala-hima-kanaka*², at p. 43, is quoted from Rudraṭa, vii, 36, while the verse immediately preceding (cited with a *tal uktam*, p. 42) is not a *kārikā*-verse of Udbhata's as printed, but quoted in the commentary from Rudraṭa, vii, 35. Rudraṭa is also quoted by Pratihārendurāja without being actually named at pp. 11 (= R, viii, 40), 31 (= R, viii, 89), 34 (= R, viii, 94), 49 (= R., xii, 4). There are quotations by Pratihārendurāja from other sources also, e.g. from *Megha-dūta* at p. 18.

Library copy) he refers unmistakably to the views of the Vakrokti-jivita-kāra regarding the three *mārgas*: *kuri-rucīnām bhinnasrabhāvānā(m ane)kavīdha-pakṣāṇām madhye vaidarbhyaḍi-vyatirekeṇa sukumāra-citra-madhyama-lakṣaṇa-mārga-traya-yogitayā tri-mārgā sarasvatī*. He refers to a work of his own called *Parimala*. He quotes a verse from Ānandavardhana's lost *Viśama-bāṇa-tīlā*, which verse, however, is quoted by Ānanda himself in his *vṛtti* on the *Dhvanyāloka* at p. 241.

5. *Sāhitya-dīpikā*, commentary on *Kāvya-prakāśa*, by Bhāskara Miśra. It is a brief commentary in the form of notes on difficult words and passages, and does not seem to possess any great value, having been utilized by numerous later commentators on Manuṣaṭa. The work cites (on ch. x) *Alamkāra-sarvasva* and one Hari (on *śleṣa*, loc. cit.). There is no other definite clue to its date, and no information regarding its author (see *SP.* i, p. 174).

6. *Kāvya-lakṣaṇa-saṃgraha* by Śrīnivāsa. This appears to be the same work as *Kāvya-saṃgraha* mentioned in *SP.* i, p. 319. It cites the following, among other works and authors on Poetics: *Kāvya-prakāśa*, *Daśa-rūpaka*, Bhoja, *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi* (some verses refer to and celebrate Vema-bhūpāla, apparently Peda-komaṭi Vema-bhūpāla, alias Vira-nārāyaṇa, to whom the *Sāhitya-cūḍāmaṇi* is dedicated,¹ these being apparently citations from the latter work), Vidyānātha and his *Pratāparudrīya*, *Rasārṇava*, and *Śṛṅgāra-tīlaka*. It must be a very late work, inasmuch as it quotes the verse *pakṣa-dvaya-kraśīma-poṣa*^o from Appayya's *Vṛtti-vārttika* (actually naming the work), p. 2. ed. Kāvya-mālā 36, 1910; i.e. the work must be placed later than the beginning of the seventeenth century.

7. *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* by Bhoja, in thirty-six chapters. An account of the work is already given in *SP.* i, pp. 147-8, and also in the *Report of the Peripatetic Party* of the Madras Library, 1916-17, 1918-19, where a list is given of the important works and authors, many of which are now lost or forgotten, quoted in this encyclopædic work. A cursory examination reveals the following names: *Antara-rāma-carita* (a "philosophical" poem), *Chalita-rāma*, *Tāpasa-ratsa-rāja-carita*, *Vikrānta-śūdraka*, *Sūdraka-kathā* (of Pañcaśikha), *Jānaki-haraṇa* (of Kumārādāsa), *Dhūrti-viṭa* (of Īśvaradatta),² *Muyūra-mārjālīkā*, *Kuṭṭinī-mata* (of Dāmodaragupta),³ *Anaṅgavatī*, *Matsya-hasitā*, *Līlāvatī*

¹ See *SP.* i, p. 314.

² Publ. in *Dakṣiṇa-bhāratī* Series.

³ Publ. in *Kāvya-mālā*.

Indumatī, *Citra-lekhā*, *Vāsavadattā-campū*, *Hayagrīva-vadhā* (of Meṇṭha), *Abdhi-mathana* (of Caturmukha), *Bhīma-kulyā*, *Ratī-vilāsa*, *Brṇḍavana-kārya*, *Yadu-raṇṣa*, *Dilīpa-raṇṣa*, *Māṛica-vadhā* (Prakrit *kārya*), *Kṛṣṇa-carita*, *Ūṣā-haraṇa*, *Hara-vijaya* (of Sarvasena), *Rāvaṇa-vijaya*, *Kuvalayāśva-carita*, *Rāvaṇābhyaudaya* (probably the same as *Rāvaṇa-vadhā* or *Setu-bandha*), *Kīcaka-vadhā* (of Nītivārman), *Lakṣmī-svayaṃvara*,¹ *Subhadra-haraṇa*, *Rāsakāṅka* (an *aṅka*), *Mālatikā* (*prahasana*), *Prayogābhyaudaya* (*prakaraṇa*), *Yayāti-carita*, *Pārtha-vijaya* (drama by Trilocana), *Devī-candraguṇḍa* (drama), *Abhisārīkā-rañcitaka* (drama, of Viśākhadeva), *Kṛtyā-rāvaṇa*, *Svapna-vāsavadatta* (drama, now attributed to Bhāsa), *Rāmābhyaudaya* (of Yaśovārman), *Rāghavānanda*, *Mukuta-tāḷitaka* (of Bāṇa), *Kappanābhyaudaya* (of Śivasvāmin),² *Kādambarī-sāra* (of Abhinanda), *Harīścandra-carita*, *Madālasopākhyāna*, *Dārumatī* (*kārya*), *Trailokyā-sundarī* (of Rudraṭa), *Bṛhat-kathā* (in Sanskrit), *Kunda-mālā*,³ *Śālīnī-saṃvāda*, *Śātakarṇī-haraṇa*, *Sākhā-viśākhopākhyāna*, *Mādhavī*, *Arīmāraka* (drama) and *Drīṣaṇḍhāna-kārya* (of Daṇḍin). Govinda, Barcu, and Candrasekhara are cited as poets. Two stanzas are quoted from the *Caura-pañcāśikā*, now attributed to Bilhana, who was Bhoja's contemporary. Apart from its value, as a large, if somewhat uncritical, compilation on *rasa* (especially *śṛṅgāra*), this work is important as constituting an *anthology*, which quotes thousands of verses from the whole range of Sanskrit literature known to its author, and which preserves for us the names of many otherwise unrecorded works and authors. As such, it deserves publication, although its unwieldy dimensions would necessitate large expenditure on printing alone. Some enterprising scholars in Madras have undertaken the editing of some of its chapters on *śṛṅgāra*.

8. *Bhāva-prakāśa* by Śāradātānaya, of which a description is given in *SP.*, i. pp. 241-2, is a much shorter work, in easy stanzas, on the same lines as Bhoja's elaborate treatise, which it partially summarizes. Besides regular *nāṭakas* like *Rāmānanda*, *Sītāpaharaṇa*, *Kṛtyā-rāvaṇa*, *Turaṅgadatta*, *Sugrīva-kelasa*, *Gaṅgā-bhagīratha*, and *Gaurī-grha*, it quotes *Devī-pariṇaya* (9 acts), *Māṛica-rañcita* (8 acts), *Stambhita-rambhaka* (7 acts), *Nala-vikrama* (8 acts), and *Madalekhā* (8 acts). Of *prahasana*, mention is made of *Saubhadrika*, *Sāgara-kaumudī*, and *Kali-keli*, of *ḍima*, *Tripura-dāha*, *Vṛttoddharaṇa*, and

¹ See Seshagiri Sastri's *Report*, i. p. 5.

² See Seshagiri Sastri's *Report*, ii. pp. 49-56.

³ Publ. in *Dakṣiṇa-bhārati* Series.

Tāra-koddharaṇa. It quotes an unknown *Śāralā-candrikā* of Bāṇa, and the *Svapna-vāsavadatta* of the so-called Bhāsa.¹

9. *Rasārṇava* by Prakāśavarṣa. It is in five *pariśeḍas*, the first four of which deal with *guṇa* and *deśa*, and the last with *rasa*. This work also shows the influence of the above work of Bhoja. It is a comparatively recent composition, and Prakāśavarṣa cannot be identical with the Prakāśavarṣa known to us as the preceptor of Vallabhadeva, the famous scholiast on the standard classical *kāvyaś* (see *SP.*, i, p. 97).

10. *Rasa-kalpadrūpa* by Jagannātha, son of Ānanda Miśra. The author belongs to the Vaiṣṇava Saṃpradāya. Besides standard texts on Poetics like the *Kāvya-prakāśa* and *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*, the author quotes very extensively from erotic *rasa*-writers, from *Śṛṅgāra-tilaka* downwards. He gives long passages *in extenso* from standard works on erotics like *Rati-rahasya*, *Pañca-sāyaka*, *Anaṅga-raṅga*, and *Smara-dīpikā*. It is a huge work, chiefly in the nature of an elaborate compilation on the *rasas*, after the manner of Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*; but the author digresses largely into erotics and kindred topics, dealing incidentally with dramaturgy and some fine arts. It quotes Jayadeva and Veṅkaṭadeśika (A.D. 1268-1369; the verse *niḥśeṣam ambara-taluṃ yadī patrikā syāt* from *Pāṇukū-sahasra*, ed. N.S.P., iii, 2); but it also cites some very late authors, and cannot therefore be earlier than the seventeenth century.

UNIVERSITY OF DACCA.

10th February, 1925.

¹ Mr. C. Rama Piśharoti, whose article on *Svapna-vāsavadatta* and *Bhāsa-prakāśa* is published in *BSOS*, intends publishing an edition of this work under the editorship of the present writer.

JĀNAKĪHARANA XVI

By LIONEL D. BARNETT

THE School of Oriental Studies has recently acquired a manuscript containing the complete text of the *Jānakīharaṇa*—twenty cantos in all—and from it I publish the following *sarga*. As only cantos 1–15 have hitherto been edited, the contribution here presented should be of some interest, although the lack of other MSS. makes it impossible to produce a definitive critical text.

The MS. is written on palm-leaves, about 14 in. long and 1½ in. wide, in old Malayālam character; it may be of the sixteenth century, and possibly is even older. The colophon bears no date, but gives the name of Gaṭṭavana Śaṅkara as the owner. A certain number of mistakes and omissions are to be found in the MS., some of them perhaps due to the scribe and others certainly due to a faulty archetype. Some of the scribe's errors suggest that the original copied by him, or, at least, a parent or ancestor of it, was in Sinhalese script. The spelling is of the kind common in southern MSS.: *l* and *ḷ* are often confused, final *m* is assimilated to following initial consonants of the palatal and dental series, consonants are usually doubled after *r*, and final *s* is assimilated to an initial sibilant and is often omitted before initial sibilant and consonant (cf. Whitney,² § 173*a*); in my text I have retained all these peculiarities, however inconsistent, with the exception of the last. The division of the verses is marked by a dot: I have substituted for this the double *daṇḍa*, and inserted in the middle of each verse a single *daṇḍa*.

The metres of canto xvi are *puṣpītāgrā* (1–78), *mandākrūṇṭa* (79–81, 83), and *śārdūlavikrīḍita* (82). The themes are a description of sunset, the nocturnal revels of the Rākṣasas, and the dawn of the day of battle.

Atha divasavidheyam indraśātror nṛiravasitaṃ pratihārato viditvā |
anumatim adhigamya tasya bhānur ggirim aparāntamahārṇṇavastham
īye || [1.]
aruṇadīḍhakarāvakṛṣṭaraśmivraṇam iva kandharabhugnacārughonāḥ |
divasakarahayā girindrabhitter jjaghanapataadrathanemayo
'vateruḥ || [2.]

sarabhasanipatadghanândhakārabhramarakulair anulipyamānamūrttiḥ |
apasaraṇavidbau samīhamānaḥ payasi bhayād iva majjati sma
bhānuḥ || [3.]

arūṇitam atha sandhyayā muhūrttam tadanu tamobhir upātta-
kośaraṇḍhram |

kumudam aḷigaṇo dadarśa dūrād aruṇasitetaravārijābhiśaṃkī | [4.]

sarasijamañivedikāsu bhinnapracuratarangakaṇḍavakīrṇapāte |

upavanasarasīruhan dinānte hatam iva śītaraveṇa sañcukoca [5.]

drutam apasarataiti bhānur astam sarasiruheṣu dalārggalāḥ patanti |
bhramarakulam iti bruvann ivāliḥ kvapitakaḷam vicāra
dīrgghikāyām || [6.]

sati divasaparikṣayasya yoge nīpatitasadvayasas tamobhibhūtāḥ |

vinamūtacalamastakā babhūvus samupagatā jaraseva vṛkṣa-
gumālā || [7.]

vigalītavati tignabhāsi sandhyāparigatalohitatārakan nabhas tat |

tridaśaśaraśatavraṇāvakīrṇam hrdayam anuvrajati sma
rāvaṇasya || [8.]

divasakarabhayād ivāvalīno jaladhījalāntaritas tuṣāraraśmīḥ |

ravir atha calito na veti boddhun nabhasi karān iva cārayāmba-
bhūva || [9.]

prathamagamitam andhakāribhāvam punar atipīṅgalatārakaṃ
vidhāya |

bhuvanam atha kalātmanā samasyaṃs trinayanarūpam alaṃbhayat
pradoṣaḥ || [10.]

divasavigamalaṃbitasya bhānor avanatir unnatir indumaṇḍalasya |

avikalavapuṣas samānakālan nabhasi tulām adhirūḍhayan
ivāstām || [11.]

ghṛṇibhūr adhipuraṃ puras suvelakṣitidharamastakajarījjaraiḥ
patadbhiḥ |

pramaḍam adhamano nītapbhinām abhinavanirjīvaraśaṃkayā vi-
tanvan || [12.]

dyutibhir avajito nīśācarīṇām aham atulasya na kevalam mukhaṣya |

ayam api hariṇo jitaḥ kaṭākṣair iti jagatām iva darśayan
mṛgāṅkaḥ || [13.]

manasi manasijam manasvinīnām aviraḷam unnamayan nijena
dhāmā |

dvipadaśanaruciḥ padaṃ kalānām udayagirer udiyāya dikpra-
dīpaḥ || [14.]

3: MS. -*nīpatat*-. 4: MS. -*sitetavāri*-. 10: *andhakāri*- contains a pun on *andhakāri* (i.e. *andhaka-ari*). 12: MS. *patadbhiḥ*.

iti tubinarucau vikīrṇadhāmni pracuratomobhidurasvaraśmijāle |
manasi makaraketanasya yūnām vilasitam ātmani vikriyā
vivavruḥ || [27.]

svayam api viracayya patiabhaktim vadanahimadyutilakṣaṇam
kayā cit |

cirayati hrdayeśvare ramanyā nayanajalena phalacyutānirāse || [28.]
na bhavati dayitasya sannikarṣe phalarahito virahe kim aśya rāgaib |
iti manasi nidhāya yāvakena vyaracayad anyatarā na danta-
vāsaḥ || [29.]

itarayuvati pādaghātaciḥnam sarasasamarppitavāvakam padam yat |
urasi na dayitasya tad viveda sphuṭamanikuṇḍalarāgaruddham
anyā || [30.]

priyavacanavidhāyinī na bharttuś caladaḥakacyutacūrṇaśam
akṣṇoḥ |
madanasamucitāṅgasanigidṛṣṭer vyapanayati sma mukhānilena
kā cit || [31.]

surapatiripavaḥ priyā nirasya śravaṇasaroruhānirvṛte 'pi dīpe |
ratiṣu dadṛṣuḥ eva kāñciratnadyutiparibhinnatāmśram ūru
mūlam || [32.]

vivasanavihitopagūhanānām ghanajaglanastanakumbhakumbkumeṣu |
api parigaḷiteṣu kāmīnīnān na viḡalitāni tanūdārāśrayāni || [33.]
caraṇatalasaroruheṇa yat tvaṁ prahṛtavatī śīraṣi priyātikope |
sa kila paramanigrahaḥ prasāde hṛdi racite tava kīdṛṣo nu
lābhaḥ || [34.]

adharapuṭam idam madārttarānārabhasanamarppitadantakhaṇḍitan
te |

ayi śaṭha pariśāntaye rujāyā nayanajalena niṣiñcati prasaktam || [35.]
karakisalayaḡopitam mukham svam kim iha vidhāya vadasy alam
mamāgre |

tirayati daśanakṣatam priyāyā vayam uta gauravabhājanam kim
evam || [36.]

iti vacasi ruṣā pariskhalantyaḥ praṇayiṣu rākṣasayoṣito vipakṣaiḥ |
parimalitavisarjīteṣu rūkṣaṇ nayanajalagrathitam vaco vitenuḥ || [37.]
api tava dayite sanūpabhāji śvasitarayaglapitādharaṣya kāntiḥ |
caraṇanipatite nipātitaṣ te na ca karuṇāparipanthikaḥ kaṭākṣaḥ || [38.]
stanataṭanihitaḥ karo 'vadhūtaḥ parigadite samadhiśritaḥ ca
maunam |

vihasitam api sāntvane saroṣam praṇayijane yuvater ayaṁ hi
daṇḍaḥ || [39.]

29: MS. *anyatarāna*. 30: MS. *-pāta-*, *-yāvakaḡapadam*. 34: MS. *yattvā*,
prahṛtavatī.

sakhi jahihī ruṣaṃ hinasti paścāt tava taraṇaṃ hṛdayaṃ purānu-
tāpaḥ |
iti nipuṇasakhībhir ānirāse manasi niśācaraṇoṣito 'bhimānaḥ || [40.]
yadi cirayati dūti vallabho me bhṛśaṃ ajani tvayi kiṃ ruṣo 'vakāśaḥ |
nijaṃ atirabhasaṃ yato vidadāya kṣatībhir imaṃ samayūyujas tvam
oṣṭhaṃ | [41.]
madhukusumavilepanādibhāvagrahanavidarśitasauhṛdayavṛttiyā |
ayam api ca sakhi svayaṃ pratasthe priyaparibhogasukhasya
saṃvibhāgaḥ || [42.]
daśanapadam atisphuṭaṃ vibhāti splurati tanuśramavārisiktam
āśyaṃ |
avitatham abhidhatsya kāmīni tvāṃ kuṭilagatir nnanu drṣṭavān
bhujamgaḥ || [43.]
adharamaṇim asau vyakhaṇḍayat te sprśati śanair upacumbito na
doṣaṃ |
amahad api kṛtaṃ prapadya karttur dviguṇataraṃ vidadhāti yas sa
sādhuh || [44.]
avitatham idam ātmanirvīṣeṣā sakhi bhavasīti vacaḥ purā yad
uktaṃ |
abhidayitam anuṣṭhitam tvayā hi yatnato vidheyam || [45.]
iti racitaruṣas sahāsaḥ sarvaṃ śramajalabinducitam mukhaṃ
dadhatyāḥ |
śravaṇakatuḥ niśācarasya vadhvās calitadhr̥ter upadūti vāg
jajṛṃbhe || [46.]
śvasitahatarueir vvarādharoṣṭhaḥ karatalasaṃkramitaś ca
patralekhaḥ |
nijaḡadatur upāgate cireṇa praṇayini rākṣasayoṣitaḥ pracintāṃ || [47.]
viphalaparikarā vidhāya dūtis tadanu sametya ca prṣṭhato nilināḥ |
yuvatinigaditaṃ saroṣaḡarvvaṃ parihṛṣitair upaśuśruve tadī-
śaiḥ || [48.]
kṣatir iyaṃ adharasya yat surāsu srutasahakāraśāhitā tad astu |
ataraḡahṛdayasya gaṇḍabimbe tava kataro 'dya nakhakṣatasya
hetuḥ || [49.]
yuvatinayanacumbiteṣu pakṣmapraviracitā paṭuraṇjanasya rāśiḥ |
tava capala nirūpitātisūkṣmā bakulaḡphalāruṇaroḡir uttarōṣṭhe || [50.]

43: MS. *tvā*. 45: after *hi* the MS. marks the lacuna by a short blank space, and then reads *sva yatnato vidheyam*; but, as the metre shows, *sva* is either a mistake or is out of its proper place. 50: MS. *paśma*; the fem. gender of *rāśi* should be noted (B. R. say: "das f. ohne Beleg")

yuvatimukhagatena locanena sphuṭam api me na śṛṇoṣi jalpitāni |
mukhamadhura bhujaṅga yena satyaṃ kuṭilagate nayanaśravo 'pi
jātaḥ || [51.]

iti manasijacāñcalam yuvānaṃ rajanicarapramadā nirūpayanti |
animiṣanayanā sahāśagarvvaṃ praṇayaruṣā caturam vaco
babhāṣe || [52.]

svatanuvitarāṇena taṃ vilobhya dvīpam iva vanyaṃ ihopanetu-
kānā |

sakhi gajagaṇikeva ceṣṭitāsi sphurati hi sajjana . . sādhuḥkṛtye || [53.]
akarūṇam adhigamya taṃ madartthe viśasanam evam asaḥyam
āsthītāyāḥ |

kṛtaṃ idam adharasya kevalaṃ te mama hṛdayasya sakhi vyathā tu
tīvrā || [54.]

iti sakhihasitā kṛtavyalīkām aruṇitalocanavaktracandrabimbā |
suraripuvanitāpadiśya dūtīm akṛta girāḥ parūṣā ruṣā parītāḥ || [55.]
sarasijamaṇikuntaḥpayuktam madhuvāpur aṃgajamantharā
yuvatyaḥ |

katham iva parinissṛtas tadīyo rasa iti mugdhatayā viśaṃ-
kamānāḥ || [56.]

viracitapaṭucārummyabhāvaṃ pramadarasam ratimūlam ādareṇa |
madhu nihitasarojaṃ aṃgaṇās svair mmukhacaśakair ddayitān
nīpāyayante || [57.]

madhu vinamitaśātakumbhakumbhasūtam akhilānanasaktahema-
śuktiḥ |

sapadi daśamukhaḥ pībaṇ vijigye salilānidhin daśadīnādīḥ pībaṇ-
taṃ || [58.]

caśakamadhuni bimbitaṃ priyāyā nayanam avekṣya sarojaśaṃkayālīḥ |
adhimadhu nīpāpāta gandhalobhād viśayasukhapraveṇa katham
vivekaḥ || [59.]

mukulaṃyati sitetaraṃ sarojaṃ śaśini samagrakalāspade tadīyaḥ |
asitakuvaladyutiṃ kuraṅgapratimidhir atra tatāna śīdhupātre || [60.]
abhinavaravibimbavāhinībhir ddyutibhir abhinnaṭayā manoharābhiḥ |
sarasijamaṇisūktiṣu praṇaṣṭam yuvatījanair mmadhu gauraveṇa
jajñe || [61.]

hṛdayavadanalocaneṣu tāsāṃ madhu madagandhavapuśśriyaṃ
nīnāya |

śramasahilakanācchalena śubhraṃ bahir abhavac charapāṇḍugaṇḍa-
bimbāt || [62.]

51 : MS. *jalpitāni*. 53 : the lacuna of two syllables is not marked in the MS
54 : MS. *asamhyam*. 56 : MS. *sasijamaṇi*. 57 : MS. *aṃgaṇā*, *caśakāḥ*, *dayitānta-*
pāyayante. 60 : MS. *śīthu*. 61 : MS. *-vāhinībhidyu*-, *praṇaṣṭam* 62 : MS. *vapuśśriyaṃ*.

daśabhir abhīmukhais sugandhi hr̥dyam madhu vadanair upanītam
amganānām |

bahuvadanaphalan nīpiya lebbhe suraripur etad aho durāpam
anyail || [63.]

priyagūṇaśatajarjjaraiva pūrvvaṃ madhuṣu ciraṃ paripītavatsu
lajjā |

na yuvatihṛdaye padaṃ vidhātum madanamadasthitisamkṛte
viśeṣe || [64.]

karakisalaṃyadhūnanam mukhāntaḥkaḷamaṇitan nayanārddhamīlītāni |
aviratakaḷasītkr̥taṃ vadhūnām prañayiṣu manmathadīpanāny
abhūvan || [65.]

apagatavinayaṃ yad astalajjaṃ yad asamayaṃ yad anīṣtam
astadhairiyyaṃ |

yad adayaṃ asamādhi rāgavṛddhaṃ ratiṣu hi tat tad abhūd guṇo na
doṣaḥ || [66.]

upari viharāṇe vilāsinīnām kucakalaśodgaḷitan nidāghavāri |
manasiṃyā abhiśiṃcati sma yūnām pṛthulabhujāntarapīṭha-
sanniviṣtam || [67.]

vadanam idam urojakuṃkumārāḍḍraṃ sutanu vilokayatād iti svam
amkaṃ |

sarabhasam adhiropitā tadoṣṭhaṃ kva nu tad iti bruvatī cucumba
hr̥ṣṭā || [68.]

taruṇi tava bhavāmi vallabho 'haṃ bhavapatir ity udite śīro dhunānā |
nahi nahi valayaṃ svakiyaṃ ekā dayitakare nyadhītārurukṣur
amkaṃ || [69.]

svayam atha pavanena saudhapr̥ṣṭhe hr̥tarajasi pratihārācoditena |
kiranam anuvahaty aśītabhāsaḥ kṣaṇam upagamyā payodharair
mniṣikte || [70.]

surayuvatikadambakasya gītair anugatatumburuvallakīninādaiḥ |
sapadi parivṛtas samanmathena tridaśaripuḥ pramadājanena
reme || [71.]

tatavitataghanādyavādyajātair mñjakarasantativāditais sa ekaḥ |
trividhalayaparigraheṇa vaktrair vyuvatim aharṣayad aṣṭabhiś ca
gāyan || [72.]

pratiyuvativīṣaktabāhupaṅktir ddaśavadanāgatatanmukhāravindaḥ |

64: the passive meaning of *paripīlavatsu* is noteworthy. 66: MS. *abhūt*.
67: MS. *-kalaśotgaḷitan, sinniviṣtam*. 68: MS. *adhr̥ṣṭikā*. 69: MS. *vallabhīhaṇ*,
72: MS. *ahattiyad*; I feel some doubt as to the conjectural emendation *aharṣayad*,
but cannot find a better one; in Sinhalese script the confusion of *rṣa* and *ti* would be
rather easy.

samam atha paritaḥ priyā niṣaṇṇaḥ pariramayan na dadau ruṣo
 'vakāśam' [73.]
 itarayuvatidaṣṭadantavāsā vadanatatisthitasitkṛtas samābhiḥ |
 navasu manasijanmanā śīrassu kṣatadhṛtibhir ddayitaḥ krudhā-
 bhijaghne [74.]
 śaṭha yadi caṣakikṛtam mukham me kim adharam adya vikhaṇḍayasy
 akāṇḍe |
 bhavati madhu nīpiya bhājanāgrasanasanaratiṃ nna hi kaścana
 pramattaḥ [75.]
 pibati katham ivāparā yuvatyā daśanapadaḥ parimudritan
 tavoṣṭhaṃ |
 iti yuvatijanena rākṣasendras sphuṭaracitabhrukutīpatākam ūce [76.]
 atha kṛtakanivāsadr̥ptanāgaḥ pravitatadhātuvibhūṣitas sumeruḥ |
 dyutim abhṛta puratrayasya bhettuś śīrasi muhus sthitasītaraśmi-
 bimbaḥ [77.]
 tribhuvanabhayarogadānavantan dvīpam iva nirbhayam etya dānavan
 taṃ |
 navaśaśadharakotidhāmadantan dadhatam agus suramāgadha
 madantam [78.]
 meroś śṛṅgan tuhinanikarasparśaśītaś śaśitaḥ
 pṛthvībhāgo 'py aruṇakiranair vvyastamastas tamastaḥ |
 dhūnvaṇ paṇktiṇ vahati kumudapremaḥinām aḥinām
 asyaṇ vicīṇilayam anilas sārasantam rasantam [79.]
 labdhvā muñcaty udadhir udakahrāsacelīṇi sa velām
 yātā nidrāvigamavirutīś cāvīrāmā virāmāḥ |
 pāṇḍucchāyām upayati dīśām ānane tan na netan
 tārācakram vigatacarauollāsam astam samastam [80.]
 rākṣasrenyām pihitaparighollaṃghanāyāṇi ghanāyāṇi
 saunītrau cāgatavati riputrāsahetau sahetau |
 ko rāme ca ghnati varabhatas tatsahas te sahaste
 kin tatsainye praharati ripucchidy aśeṣe 'dya śeṣe [81.]
 rakṣolokavināśaneṣu rahitacchedaṃ sito daṃsito
 dṛptaḥ pāṇiyugena dustaratarasvarhetinā hetinā |
 yuddhāyopagataḥ karoti manasām kampaṃ sa naḥ paṃsanas
 seyam mānada tāvaḥ aśrutapurākrośāyitā śāyitā [82.]

76: MS. *navostham*, *rākṣasendra*. 77: MS. *mahusthita*. 79: MS. *-kiranaiḥ*
vya-. 81: MS. *cāgatavata*. 82: if the above division of words is correct, *daṃsito*
 is from √ *daṃs* = *drś* (*Dhātupāṭha*, x, 137); a similar *drś* word is *pamsana*, from
 √ *paṃs* (Dh., x, 74: *paśi nāśane*), which, as Prof. Rapson has pointed out to me,
 occurs in *Sikṣāsamuccaya* (see Bendall's index, p. 383) and in the Kharoṣṭhī tablets
 of Sir M. A. Stein's collection.

naktan nakrâdhivāsam kusumaśaraśatatrāsītānām sitānām
 krīḍāyām aṃganānām ghanakucakalaśaiḥ kātaran tan tarantaṃ |
 utthāpyaivan tatas te satataratasukhavyāsakāmam sakāman
 tūṣṇīm āsan saśaṃkhadhvanipaṭaharavajyânisânte niśânte || [83.]
 iti jānakīharane ṣoḍaśas sarggaḥ ||

83 : MS. *ghanaruca-*.

AJAMILA-MOKṢA-PRABANDHA OF NARAYANA BHATTA

By PANDIT V. VENKATARAMA ŚARMĀ ŚĀSTRĪ, VIDYĀBHŪṢAṢA

THE Campū-prabandha *Ajāmīla-mōkṣa* is a little literary work belonging to Travancore. In publishing it I am relying on a Malayalam manuscript written on cadjan leaves, which I obtained from Mr. Tāzhamaṇ Śaṅkarar Tantri of Chenganur in the Travancore State. A piece of poetry interspersed with prose is called a Campū-prabandha, or Prabandha,¹ in the Kēraḷa country. There is evidence of many of such Prabandhas having been extant in Travancore. Written on the basis of Purāṇic stories, these Prabandhas tend to propagate religious faith among the people. A Hindu sub-caste named Cākya² used to present, with commendable histrionic skill, the most interesting episodes of the famous epics and Purāṇas through these Prabandhas. Even at the present time, when national art has become almost extinct in India, the Cākya²s, who make it their hereditary profession, represent these Prabandhas in the Hindu temples during the annual festivals, when people congregate in their thousands. But, as the encouragement which they had been receiving in the past has been steadily on the wane, they have become mere figureheads, ignorant of Sanskrit and devoid of expository skill.

Besides being preachers of Prabandhas, the Cākya²s were hereditary actors of the Sanskrit dramas, which they used to exhibit in accordance with the rules of dramatic art expounded by Bharata. Their acting has been popularly named *kūḍiyāṭṭam*. The dramas or parts of dramas which were ordinarily acted by them were Nāgānanda, Mantrāṅka (from the Pratijñā-yāugandharāyaṇa), Śēphālikāṅka and Svapnāṅka (from the Svapna-vāsavadatta), Dhanañjaya, Saṃvarāṇa, Kalyāṇa-sāugandhika, Bhagavadajjuka, and Paṇṇa-sālāṅka, Śūrpaṇakhāṅka, and Aśōkavanikāṅka in Cūḍāmaṇi-nāṭaka. Neither Prabandha-preaching nor *kūḍiyāṭṭam* were performed by the Cākya²s anywhere else than in the Temple Maṇḍapa. The important part of their acting consisted of gestures of hands and movements of the body, which might appear crude and nonsensical to the eyes of the

¹ The Dravidians used to give the name *Prabandha* to purely poetical works also, e.g., the Dravidian Vēda of the Śrī Vāisṇavas named *Nāḷayira-prabandham*.

² By name *kūttaccakkayan* in Tamil. The existence of these Cākya²s in early times is evidenced in the third part (*Vaiṅkkaṇḍam*) of the famous Tamil work *Čilappadigāraṇ*, which mentions these Kūttaccakkayas as acting the *kotticcedam* episode in the Purāṇic story of *Tripura-dahana*.

civilized artist accustomed to the fashionable movements of the modern stages. It is noteworthy to state here, however, that I have had to fill up a certain lost portion of this manuscript from the memory of a Cākya.

The statements made about the life of Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa, the author of the present manuscript, by K. Vāsudēvan Mūttatu in the sixth volume of *Kēraḷa-grantha-mālā*,¹ and by V. Nāgaṃ Aiyā in the Travancore State Manual² and also by T. Gaṇapati Śāstri in the preface to the 18th volume³ of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, all agree as to the time during which he flourished, but differ in many other respects.

Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa was a native of South Malabar, at present a British Indian District in South India, and a Nambūdiri Brahman, and well versed in the different branches of Sanskrit Literature, such as grammar, astrology, medicine, the Vēdas, etc. He was a versatile author. Many works are ascribed to him in various departments of knowledge, including Prakriyā-sarvasva (not printed), a treatise on Sanskrit grammar praised even by Bhaṭṭōjī Dikṣita, Māna-mēyodaya, on Mīmāṃsā (published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series), Śilpi-ratna, on architecture, Dhātu-kāvya, another important work on grammar, Nārāyaṇīya (published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series), a devotional poem to Kṛṣṇa, and several famous prabandhas such as Rājasūya, Svāhā-sudhākara (published in the Kāvya-mālā series), Subhadra-haraṇa, Nṛga-mōkṣa, etc. Nārāyaṇa was an author in Malayāḷam also. Kūṭṭappadakaṇṭ, Koṭiya-vīrahaṇṭ and Candri-kōtsavaṇṭ are considered to be his works.

The date of his birth is determined by the words *Āyur-ārōgya-sāukhyaṇṭ* occurring at the end of his Nārāyaṇīya, which are believed to indicate the date on which the book was finished. Calculating from this, that *kali-dina* falls on Sunday, the 23rd Vṛścika of 763 Malabar era, i.e. apparently in A.D. 1590.

AJĀMILA MŌKṢA PRABANDHA OF NĀRĀYAṆABHAṬṬA.

Nārāyaṇēti caturakṣaram ēva puṁsām
kāivalyaṇṭ ākalayatēti vidhūya pāpān⁴
saṁkētitam nijasutē 'py avaśō yad uktvā
lēbhē parāṇṭ gatim Ajāmilabhūmidēvaḥ ||

(1)

¹ Edition of Mangalodayaṇṭ Company, Trichūr, Cochin.

² Part II, *Language and Literature*.

³ Nārāyaṇīyam by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa.

⁴ [*Pāpaṇṭ* ?—L. D. B.]

Amānuṣatapōbalō haripadāmbujē bhaktimān
yamādhipariśīlanād iha nitāntaśāntāntaraḥ |
Ajāmīla iti śrutas sakalavēdaśāstrārthavid
dvijātimakuṭīmaṇis samudabhūd abhūtōpamaḥ || (2)

Vēdeṣu prathitān vidhāya vidhivad dharmān gr̥hasthāśramī
nītvā kañcana kālam aūcitasukhaṃ śuśrūṣamāṇō gurūn |
ēkasmin divasē svatātavacasā karmōditān¹ ādarād
ānētuṃ sa samitkuśān vanam udūḍhōtsāham āḍhānkata || (3)

Gadyam. Tatra khalu vicitrataratarulatānīkaranirantarē madhura-
madhukarajhaṃkāramukharitadigantarē vanābhyantarē svalpam
api nimittam uddiśya kramarālītam analpaṃ jalpatā vinisrastam
vastram api nistrapam agamayatā āracitabahutaraghōṣam akāraṇam
ēva hasatā prasvaram udgāyatāntarāntarā priyāhṛdayavarjanāya
mantharataram ivālapatā līlāyām adhikalōlēna lōlayamānāṃgēna
kānāpi hālāpibēna dṛḍhataram ālīṅgamānāṃ pariśīthilakuntalabhārāṃ
madavighūrṇītalōcanāṃ madakalitagānabandhurāṃ vivaśīkṛta-
yuvajanahṛdantarāṃ prēyajanasapītisanūpajātasudhāmādhuryām²
madhumadadviguṇīkṛtamadanavēgasamudāñcitagharmakāṇākuñcita-
rōmāñcakañcukitasakalāvayavāṃ mudrānurāgasamudramagnām
abhadraśpadablūtāṃ kām anī śūdrāṃ samadrākṣit ||

Sadācārāsaktāḥ satatam api dharmāikanirataḥ
prakṛtyā mirdōṣaḥ pracurataradhāiryō 'pi tarasā |
sa tām dṛṣṭvāivārāt smaraśaraparīpākaviṣamām
avasthām āpēdē kam iha bhuvi kāmo na laghayēt || (4)

Cittaṃ tasyām prasaktaṃ vaśayitum akhilāir ēṣa yatnāir aśaktaḥ
smṛtvā tām ēva bhūyaḥ samajani virataḥ svasya dharmād
dvijanmā |
pitṛyāir anyāyalabdhāir api dhananivahāis tōṣayitvā nivāsam
cakrē tasyāḥ sakāṣē viharāṇarasikaḥ santataṃ manmathāndhaḥ || (5)

Sādhvīm bhāryām svatātam pravayasam anupētāvalambām
athāmbām
tyaktvā tatprītihetōr anuēitam api cāurādikaṃ karma kṛtvā |
labdhāir arthāir ajasraṃ praṇayavivaśadhīs tatkuṭumbam
prapuṣṇan
nirlajjō 'sāv anāīśīd bahusamayam ahō strīpiśācī matighnī || (6)

¹ [*Karmōditān* ?—L. D. B.]

² [This use of *prēya* for "toddy" (cf. Winslow's Tamil Diet.) is not recorded in B R.—L. D. B.]

Tasyām āsann atha daśa sūtā bhūsurasyāśya daivād
 antyas tēśām agamad abhidhām hanta Nārāyaṇēti |
 pūrvādr̥ṣṭāir iha kim u tadīyāir Mukundasya yad vā
 nāmnām ēvaṃ kathayitum idam duḥkṛtē nī-kṛtitvam || (7)

Sa tadanu daśamitvam prāpya Nārāyaṇākhya
 ratim akuruta tasmīn bālakē kēlilōlē |
 aviratam api paśyann asya līlāviśēṣam
 ayaṃ ahaha jaḍātmā mōhasindhūṃ jagāhē || (8)

Gadyam. Tataś cāntyakālē samprāptē sō 'pi dussahāmar̥ṣātibhī-
 ṣaṇātyantaraktōdvṛttāmbarīśasadr̥kṣēkṣaṇōditvarāśuśukṣaṇiṣphuliṃ-
 gapīsaṃgitapurōbhāgān atiparuṣitatām rōdhivaprasāritaniśitatara-
 śīrōruhaśakalitajīmūtajālān caṇḍatarabhujadaṇḍamaṇḍitamahatta-
 maḍaṇḍōdbhramaṇanipuṇātinīṣṭhūrātahāsātōpasphuṭaṇḍr̥ṣyamānār-
 ālavikaṭadamaṣṭrākārālān antarāntarā sanudīryamāṇātmakṛtaduḥkṛ-
 tavrātān asitavarṇān atibhayaṃkarān antakakimkarān antikē
 samālōkyā nirbharabhayāveśavivaśībhūtāśayaḥ purā kiñcid
 Acyutasmr̥tīvāsanābalāt kṛdālōlupam bālakaṃ uddīśya nijagalārpi-
 tapāśāvakarṣaṇaniruddhāśvāsam vicchinnaḥkṣaram Nārāyaṇēty
 abhāṣit ||

Itthaṃ vyarthikṛtāyuh sa tu mṛtisamayē nētum ātmānam ārad
 āyātān vīkṣya lōkatritayabhayakarān prētarājasya dūtān |
 pūrvasyā vāsanāyā balata iha kṛtānēkapāpō 'pi bhūyaḥ
 sōccāir Nārāyaṇēti svasutam atibhayaḍ ājuhāvākulātmā || (9)

Gadyam. Tāvad ēva nāmakīrtanam ēvaṇvidhām avasthām
 gatasya tasya mukhataḥ samupākarṇya parikalpītapālaniyād dhayō
 mahitasuśamābharaṇaramaṇīyavilōkanāḥ karakalitaśaṃkhacakraḡadā-
 paṃkēruḥ mahāmēraḡa iva samullasitacāmīkaraḡyutipītāmbarāḥ
 satkāvyasandarbhā iva mahitaḡuṇāḡaḡkārāparibhāsurā vārayōṣajana
 iva manōharāḡgarāḡā ravikarāḡughā iva dōṣāvasānadṛśyamānā mā
 bhāīṣir iti mā bhāīṣir iti jaladaghōṣagabhīrayā girā karuṇātaramgi-
 tāir apāḡgapātāir api tam ativa harṣayantaḥ paramapuruṣapārṣadāś
 tvaritataram abhipētuh ||

Tāvad ēva caturāḥ purō bhuvi caturbhujān urukṛpāmṛta-
 syandimāḡjutaramandahāsaśīrīkṛtākhiladigantarān |
 mīnakunḡalakirītabhāraḡanamālyapītavaśanōjjvalān
 nīlanīradavilōbhanīyasuśamān dadarśa Haripārṣadān || (10)

Vikarṣatas tatas tāṃs tē saṃpaśyājāmiḥ gaḷē |
vimuñcatēti ruruḍhns tarasā Viṣṇupārśadāḥ || (11)

Atha ruddhā Haridūtāir Yamabhṛtyāḥ kalitavismayās tarasā |
viralētarabahumānād ēvam avōcan gabhīrayā vācā || (12)

Kē vā yūyaṃ na dēvāḥ kim u punar upadēvāḥ kim anyē mahāntō
veśākāraprakārāḥ kathayati bhavatāṃ bhavyatāṃ divyatāṃ ca |
prāṇān ētasya nānāvidhaduritavatō yātanāṃ nētnkāṃn
asmān kasmād idānīm aruḍhata ca vibhōr Dharmarājasya dūtān || (13)

Vāivasvatasya bhṛtyānām ēvaṃ vācam niśamya tē |
ittham ūcur Harēr dūtā mṃgdhasmēramukhāmbujāḥ || (14)

Prechāmaḥ sādhu yuṣmān idam akhilavibhōr Dharmarājasya
dūtān
kīdr̥g dharmasvarūpaḥ kathayata viśayaḥ kō 'pi daṇḍasya lōkē |
sarvē kin nv asya daṇḍyā jagati yad aparaṃ kin nu dharmāika-
niṣṭhaṃ
yad vā kiṃ tē nu samyag duritam ahar ahō yē vitanvanty
adharmam || (15)

Gadyam. Atha tē yathāśrūtam pratyavadan ||
Ānīyāir vihitō 'yam atra bhuvanē dharmō 'niṣiddhō 'parāḥ
vēdās tē 'pi jagattrayīmayatanur dēvas sa Nārāyaṇaḥ |
tasmin dharmapathē carann aṣṭayō daṇḍasya puṇyaprabhō¹
yō 'nyasmin nīrataḥ punān sa tu budhāir daṇḍyō 'tra nirṇīyatām || (16)

Ayaṃ ca pitarāu tyaja svagrhiṇīm ca sādhvīm punā
ramasva kulaṭāyutō virama dharmataḥ svīyataḥ |
prapōṣaya kuṭumbakam paradhanam muṣṇāṇvahaṃ²
vinindyam iti nākarōt kim iha karma kāmāturalaḥ || (17)

Punar api Haridūtā Yāmyadūtān avōcan
jananaśatasahasrāir duṣkṛtāughē kṛtē 'pi |
yad iha sakṛd anēna vyāhṛtaṃ nāma Viṣṇor
viditam abaha kin nō niṣkṛtis tatkr̥tā vaḥ || (18)

[¹ Should we read *puṇyaprabhōr*?—L. D. B.]

[² This is an example of the use of the imperative in lieu of a finite tense *kriyāsamabhihārē*, to denote a series of acts, to which Pāṇini alludes, III, iv, 2 — L. D. B.]

Nīṇām aghaṃ dahati nāma Harēr abuddhyâpy
 ākhyātam āmayam ivâṣadham agnir ēdhaḥ |
 āmnâyabhṛtyam akhilam śamalam punāti
 sēvā Harēs tu saha vāsanayā lunāti || (19)

Itthaṃ tadvacanam gabhīramadhuraṃ dharmyaṃ niśamyâkulās
 tē Vāivasvatakiṃkarās sarabhasaṃ jagmuḥ svatātântikam |
 śrīNārāyaṇapārṣadēṣu ca gatēṣv Ambhōjanētrâṃṛta-
 svāntaḥ sō 'pi tapaś carann iha punaś cāgāt svarūpaṃ Harēḥ || (20)

Iti Ajāmīlamōkṣaṃ samāptam ||

A PRAYER OF SANKARACHARYA

Contributed by S. G. KANHERE

ŚANKARĀCHĀRYA, the great philosopher, the founder of Vedic Monism, the avowed and uncompromising opponent of Buddhism, the commentator on Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa, the Upaniṣads and the Bhagavadgītā, flourished at the end of the eighth century A.D. His life has been written by his direct disciple Ānandagiri, in Sanskrit prose and also by Sāyaṇāchārya, the great Sanskrit scholar, who also held the proud position of minister to the state of Vijayānagar. This latter work, which is composed in Sanskrit verse, is called Śāṅkara-digvijaya. In the present century biographies of Śāṅkara have been written both in English and in vernaculars by various Indian scholars.

Though Śāṅkara died quite young—probably in his early thirties—he was a most prolific writer, and has left behind him many notable works in prose and verse. He advocated a form of monism based upon the Upaniṣads. He systematized and commented upon all the principal Upaniṣads. His most scholarly work is his commentary on the Brahma-Sūtras. Śāṅkara was not a mere commentator—Tikākāra—but a Bhāṣyakāra, i.e. one who explains the text, draws his conclusions and then adds his own remarks and his independent judgment and views.¹ The commentator, Tikākāra, can only explain the text, but is not free to criticize or add any remarks. Śāṅkara takes full advantage of his privilege as a Bhāṣyakāra in the Bhāṣyas on the Upaniṣads, on the Sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa and on the Gīta. His theory of Māyā—illusion—is wonderfully well explained in these three works, which are collectively called Prasthānatraya. Besides this, he wrote a Bhāṣya on the Viṣṇusahasranāma (the 1,000 names of Viṣṇu). This is, in fact, a grammatical work, in which he explains every name of the Lord by showing the derivation of it. He has also a Bhāṣya on the Sanatsujātiya.

Besides his Bhāṣyas Śāṅkara wrote hundreds of other works, in the form of manuals and treatises on the Vedānta. His Vivekachūḍāmaṇi, Aparokṣānubhūti, Vedāntasāra, etc., may be quoted as examples. Upadeśasāhasrī in two parts is a beautiful independent work on the Vedānta, the first part being in prose and the second in verse.

¹ सूत्रार्थो वर्ण्यते यत्र पदैः सूत्रानुकारिभिः
स्वपदानि च वर्ण्यन्ते भाष्यं भाष्यविदो विदुः

He also wrote a number of short but charming hymns to the Ganges, to the Jamnā, to the Narmadā, to different sacred places he had visited, and to various gods and goddesses. Even these small hymns are marked with vedāntic significance. His style is very simple and easy. It is his commentators on his works in Bhāṣya form who have made him difficult to understand. We give below a hymn of seven verses by Śāṅkara. This hymn is in the form of a prayer to Nārāyaṇa. It is called Ṣaṭpadi stotra.¹ Here is the original and its translation.

ĀRYĀ METRE

अविनयमपनय विष्णो दमय मनः शमय विषयमृगतृष्णाम्	
भूतदयां विस्तारय तारय संसारसागरतः	१
दिव्यधुनीमकरन्दे परिमलपरिभोगसञ्चिदानन्दे	
श्रीपतिपदारविन्दे भवभयखेदच्छिदे वन्दे	२
सत्यपि भेदापगमे नाथ तवाहं न मामकीनस्त्वम्	
सामुद्रो हि तरङ्गः क्वचन समुद्रो न तारङ्गः	३
उद्धृतनग नगभिदनुज दनुजकुलामित्र मित्रशत्रुदृष्टे	
दृष्टे भवति प्रभवति न भवति किं भवतिरस्कारः	४
मत्स्यादिभिरवतारैरवतारवतावता सदा वसुधाम्	
परमेश्वर परिपाल्यो भवता भवतापभीतोऽहम्	५
दामोदर गुणमन्दिर सुन्दरवदनारविन्द गोविन्द	
भवजलधिमथनमन्दर परमं द्रमपनय त्वं मे	६
नागायण करुणामय शरणं करवाणि तावकौ चरणौ	
इति षट्पदी मदीये वदनसरोजे सदा वसतु	७

TRANSLATION

1. Take away my want of humility, O Lord, enable me to control my mind, lessen in me the intensity of my thirst for external objects. Extend in me, O Lord, compassion for all beings. Save me from the ocean of transmigration.

2. I salute the feet of the Lord, the feet which are the lotuses of the heavenly Ganges, the exquisite aroma and delightful substance of which is Existence, Knowledge and Bliss, and which take away all the miseries of transmigration.

3. Although all sense of distinction has vanished, still I am Thine, O Lord, and not Thou mine; the wave always belongs to the ocean and not the ocean to the wave.

¹ The six-word hymn. For an explanation of the title see verse 7.

4. O Lord, who liftest up the mountain, who art the Brother of Indra, the Enemy of demons, the sun and moon are Thy eyes ; will not the round of birth and rebirth come to an end when I have seen Thee.

5. I, who am afraid of the scorching heat of worldly existence, am to be saved by the Lord, who has saved the earth in every age, by becoming incarnate as a fish and in many other forms.

6. O Dāmodara, O treasure of virtues, O beautiful of face, O Govinda, O Mandara, the churning of the ocean of worldly existence, take away my fear.

7. *Nārāyaṇa. Compassionate (I) take refuge (at) Thy feet ; may these six words dwell always on the lotus of my lips.*

The exactness of metre, the simplicity and charm of the language, the alliteration, and the deep and profound meaning in this prayer speak for themselves. The third verse expresses both knowledge and realization of the Truth and also absolute surrender to the Lord. Verses 4, 5, and 6 refer to some legends from the Purāṇas.

S. G. KANHERE.

WĀMAN PANDIT—SCHOLAR AND MARATHI POET
(17th century)

By S. G. KANHERE

I

BIOGRAPHY

WĀMAN PANDIT was born in the second half of the seventeenth century (the definite date is not obtainable) at the village of Kumthc in the Śatārā district of the Bombay Presidency. According to the latest research work of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhak Maṇḍali of Poona. Wāman was a native of Bijāpore. In his early days he received some training in Sanskrit from his father, who was the village-astrologer by profession, and who had considerable knowledge of Sanskrit. When about 18 he went to Benāres, the centre of Hindu learning and also the most sacred place of the Hindus. He was accompanied by his wife, an incident which shows that his parents were dead at that time. He applied himself rigorously to the study of Sanskrit for not less than twelve years, and having completed his education, in all departments of knowledge, he returned to his native place.

While on his way home he would argue with other Pandits on deep philosophical problems, always proving his superiority.

Originally Wāman belonged to the Dualistic sect of the Mādhva school, a very bigoted sect. He observed most meticulously all the tenets and rigid rules of the Vaiṣṇavas, and to add to his sectarian bigotry he became puffed up with pride over his learning.

One day while on a pilgrimage he put the rice for his meal over a woodfire, and he sat in meditation on his Diety Viṣṇu. According to the Vaiṣṇava sect every member of the sect must cook his own food, even his wife is not allowed to touch it. While Wāman Pandit was deep in meditation, the rice boiled over into the fire and was burnt, but the wife, who was looking on, could not touch it. She laughed merrily at what was happening.

When he came out of meditation, Wāman Pandit was surprised to see his wife laughing, and on asking her the reason, she gave him the true one, that although she saw his food spoiling she was unable to keep him out of the difficulty.

He became ashamed of his eccentricity, and also of his great learning. His wife's mirth had humbled him in his own eyes.

According to popular tradition he went to Tukārām and Rāmdās the two great saints of Wāman's contemporaries. From Rāmdās' teaching, he learned the monistic or non-dualistic theory, and was so convinced of its truth, that he became a devoted and enthusiastic follower. Seeing Wāman's great poetical powers, and knowing him to be a great Sanskrit scholar, Rāmdās commanded his clever disciple to turn his attention to composing Marāṭhī poetry.

Wāman has made it clear in Nigamasāra and elsewhere that he received instructions regarding the identity of the individual soul with that of the Supreme Being direct from his cherished deity who appeared in the form of a monk.

Having at his command all the great treasures of Sanskrit literature such as all the different schools of philosophy, the Sāṅkhya, the Yoga, the Nyāya (logic), grammar, rhetoric, etc., and being stimulated by his honoured teacher Rāmdās, Wāman devoted all his energies to carrying out his instructions.

Previous to turning to Marāṭhī composition, Wāman had written some poetry in Sanskrit which had attracted the attention of his teacher, who was struck by the beauty and elegance of the thoughts expressed.

Wāman, putting aside his Sanskrit poetry, together with his pride, now turned his whole attention to Marāṭhī composition. In spite of the strong prejudice of the Brāhmins of the priestly caste, he had determined to carry out the injunction of his guru, Rāmdās. The Brāhmins did not want the common herd to know the deep and profound ideas embodied in the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. They considered that they should have the exclusive privilege of explaining the doctrines and truths contained in Sanskrit literature only through the medium of the Purāns. Wāman defied them and carried on his work slowly but steadily. The object of his Marāṭhī composition was that the rich and inexhaustible treasures of knowledge embodied in Sanskrit literature should be given broadcast to the general public, and thus directing their thoughts to the spiritual ideals contained in them, to awaken a keen devotion to the Lord, the Self of all. This is the reason why we do not find his Marāṭhī poetry mixed with Sanskrit words.

He has brought out the most profound ideas of the Vedānta philosophy in the simplest of Marāṭhī verses. And herein lies his greatness. He was not merely a translator, but an original thinker, and has poured forth independent ideas into his compositions. His

similies, his metaphors, his rhymes, his propositions and arguments are most fascinating and attractive and his versification is faultless and charming. Sometimes it is hard to follow his reasoning and point of argument, but that is not the fault of the poet ; it is due to the depth of thought and also to the dullness of the reader.

There are some sporadic instances of Wāman's having used what is called the " poet's licence " in his choice of words, but such cases are very few indeed ; as a Marāṭhī poet his poetry is elegant, full of sublime ideas and most instructive.

The most famous of all his works is the Marāṭhī Commentary—Yathārtha-dīpikā—on the Bhagawadgītā. This is written in the simplest *ovi* metre. He has attacked bitterly Jnāneśwar on some scholarly points, and in some places has criticized even Śankara. In this commentary he betrays his own dualistic views. Yathārtha-dīpikā enjoys the greatest popularity. It amounts to about 25,000 *ovis*.

The next of his works in importance is " Nigamasāra ", a thesis on philosophy, a most useful one to a practical student. The subject is taken from the " Taittirīya-Upaniṣad ". It is also in *ovi* metre.

He has translated (but not written a commentary on) the Bhagawad-gītā, the three śatakas of Bhartrihari, the Gangālahari of the famous Pandit Jagannāth, Aparokṣānubhūti of Śankarāchārya, and Chatuṣśloki Bhāgavata. These translations are composed exactly in the same metre as the original. Here we see the poet's great powers, his economy of words, the exactness of meaning, how he conforms to the rules of the metres, and the ease with which he translates them.

The themes of his other works were the legends selected from the Bhāgavata, Rāmāyaṇa, and Māhābhārata. Some dialogues are picked up from the Upanishads as well.

The best example of Wāman's poetry in *gana*-metre is Brahmastuti, the Dwārakā Vijaya, the Kāliyamardana, etc., and the most independent subject, cast in picturesque metres, is the " Karmatatva ".

His style is pure and simple, his thoughts and ideas profound. His Karmatatva, Nāmasudhā, Gītārnavasudhā, and some of the miscellaneous works are fully worthy of him.

Wāman's *ovi* metre has no charm in it, it reads just like prose, divided into four half stanzas. Excluding Yathārtha-dīpikā he has composed about 25,000 verses.

There is a popular saying put into the Āryā metre which says,

“ Wāman is the master of Śloka metre, Moropant of Āryā metre, Jñāneśvar of ovi and Tukārām of Abhangā metre.”

Wāman Pandit can claim a high place among the sages of his age. But it was not assigned to him probably because he entered too much into controversy with many a savant, and had not that modesty and humility which should be natural to a learned scholar.

The death of Wāman Pandit took place somewhere about the year 1695. A shrine was erected to him at Bhūgao, on the banks of the River Krisnā, in the Satārā district. His followers still pay homage to the metal representations of his feet.

II

WĀMAN'S PHILOSOPHY

Wāman Pandit occupies the most prominent place among the Mārathī poets. Jñāneśvar, the poet of the thirteenth century, has written the most brilliant commentary—the Bhāvārtha-dīpikā—on the Bhagawadgītā. As poetry it is excellent, but it is read only by the devout. The works of Tukārām are clearly inspired; and for the same reason they excite emotion in the devout mind, while Wāman's poetry appeals to the devout as much as it appeals to the intellectual. His sound reasoning, profound logic, correct judgment, and deep devotion to the Lord has provided a most beneficial nourishment to readers of all classes. Commenting on the Bhagawadgītā, he has composed several *ovis* in explaining a single verse. For example, the 12th chapter of the Gīta, which contains only twenty ślokas, was commented upon in 1841 *ovis*. Besides the Yathārtha-dīpikā he has composed poems on subjects which can be put under nearly as many as 150 headings. He advocated the cult of *Jñānottarabhakti* (devotion preceded by the knowledge of the truth). Jñāneśvar, Tukārām, Eknāth, and many others have the same point of view. This cult is based upon the famous Bhāgawat Purāṇa. Śankara ignores it, or at least treats it as of secondary importance.

Wāman compares *Bhakti* (devotion) with the seed and the fruit, and *jñāna* (knowledge) with the tree. *Bhakti*, he argues, the seed, when sown, grows into the tree (*Jñāna*) upon which the fruit is *Bhakti*. Without knowledge the realization of the Highest is not the true form of devotion as it is not disinterested. While *Jñāna*, devoid of true love, does not fructify. When a man has acquired knowledge of the truth he sees the truth in every being, and he sees the Lord in every being. This is the fulfilment of knowledge. *Bhakti*, previous

to knowledge, is a means to knowledge, and *Bhakti* following the *Jñāna*, is the natural result or the fulfilment of it. This is the point which he urges with great stress in the whole of his commentary on the Bhagawadgītā, and in many other independent compositions. To support this view he had to fight hard against Śāṅkara and many other commentators among Śāṅkara's followers. Śāṅkara's view is that *Jñāna* is the last stage after the acquirement of which man has nothing whatever to do. He has finished all that he had to do. *Sanyās* (Renunciation) is the path advocated by Śāṅkara. That all activities, with the mind devoted to the Lord, form the true path to final liberation is the *Bhakti* recommended by Rāmānuja, Mādhva, etc., and by practically all the Marāthī poets.

III

WĀMAN'S METRE

The peculiarity of Wāman consists in the fact that he composed most of his poetry in śloka metre. With the exception of a few poets of little importance, Wāman was the first to introduce *gaṇa* metres in Marāthī poetry. Not that he did not compose *ovi* or *āryā*, but the śloka metre was at his fingers' ends. He was quite at home when composing ślokas. His rhymes are most charming.

The only Sanskrit compositions of Wāman¹ in existence are the Siddhānta-vijaya and Anubhūti-leśa; the former consists of 56, and the latter of 325 verses. Both are cast in śloka metre. They reveal his skill as a great Sanskrit scholar and show him to be the master of a complete Sanskrit vocabulary.

Jñāneśvara, the earliest poet whose writings have come down to us, wrote all his poetry in the *ovi* metre. He belongs to the thirteenth century. Some *padas* (lyric) are attributed to Jñāneśvara.

Muktesvara has written the Māhābhārata in the *ovi* metre. His poetry is most brilliant and replete with poetical ideas.

Nāṁdeo (fourteenth century) and Tṅkārām (seventeenth century). Both these poets wrote their poetry in the *Abhangā* metre.

Moropanta (eighteenth century) is a great poet. None has excelled Moropanta in composing *ārayā*. Without losing the essence and the thread of the original he has composed the whole Māhābhārata in the *Āryā* metre. It is said that he has composed Rāmāyaṇa in the

¹ A manuscript of *Śrūtikalpalatā*, a Sanskrit composition of Wāman, was recently found, but it is not yet published

Āryā metre in 108 variations. He has composed some ślokas, but they are not so graceful as Wāman's.

We give here some of the principal metres which are used very frequently in Sanskrit poetry by many an author and in Marāṭhī by Wāman and some others.

Anuṣṭup.—This is the commonest metre. This is employed in the great Epic and many of the *Purāṇas*. Wāman has employed it in translating the Gīta into Marāṭhī. This version he calls Samaśloki. There are many varieties of this metre, but commonly it has eight syllables in a foot, the fifth being short.

<i>Name of the Metre.</i>	<i>Syllables.</i>	<i>Scheme of gaṇa (syllabic, foot).</i>
Pramāṇikā	8 (4-4 pauses)	— — —, — — —, — — —.
Māṇavaka	8 (4-4)	— — —, — — —, — — —.
Vidyumālā	8 (4-4)	— — —, — — —, — — —.
Indravajrā	11 (5-6)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Upendravajrā	11 (5-6)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Dodhaka	11 (6-5)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Rathoddhatā	11 (3-8 or 4-7)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Śālinī	11 (4-7)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Swāgatā	11 (3-8)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Toṭaka	12 (4-4-4)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Drutavilambita	12 (4-8 or 4-4-4)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Bhujangaprayāta	12 (6-6)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Prahaṣiṇī	13 (3-10)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Vasantatilakā	14 (8-6)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Prithvī	17 (8-9)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.

<i>Name of the Metre.</i>	<i>Syllables.</i>	<i>Scheme of gaṇa (syllabic. foot).</i>
Mandākṛāntā	17 (4-6-7)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Śikharinī	17 (6-11)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Harinī	17 (6-4-7)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Shardūlavikṛīḍita	19 (12-7)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.
Sragdharā	21 (7-7-7)	— — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —, — — —.

IV

TYPICAL EXAMPLES OF WĀMAN'S POETICAL STYLE

The prominent feature of Wāman's poetry lies in his *Mādhurya* (sonorousness) and *prasāda* (perspicuity). There is no *ōja* (over-elaboration of style) to be found in it. To discriminate between these two qualities (*Mādhurya* and *prasāda*) is a difficult task, as the former is the result of the latter. He is unsurpassed in depicting natural scenes of any description. The figure of *svabhāvokti* (vivid presentation) is the dominant character of his poetical works. The whole work is bristling with this marvellous feature of rhetoric so that it requires no special example to illustrate it. Wāman was a great scholar and must have been very fond of using a great many Sanskrit words and expressions even in his ordinary conversation. But we do not find this tendency affecting his poetry in the very least. He has most scrupulously avoided the employment of unusual Sanskrit words and long compounds of four, five, or six words linked together, which Moropanta was very fond of. His style is simple, straightforward, and lucid. The very selection of the legends for his composition proves this fact. And in some cases, the natural description of the scenes (see *Hari-hilā*, *Veṇusudhā*, *Dwārakā-vijaya*) is most attractive and graceful. It does not appear that the poet set to work, prompted by the idea that he must write his verses in strict accord with the rules of rhetoric and poetry. Of course, he did observe metrical rules strictly, and did not indulge in the use of any ungrammatical expressions. But he did not attempt to decorate his work with the

charm of rhetoric. The principal object in view was nothing else than showing the path of devotion to the unenlightened masses. Being a fervid devotee of Kṛṣṇa he has poured forth the praise of Kṛṣṇa, the identity or oneness of *Saguṇa-nirguṇa* (qualified and qualityless). And in many places *Bhakti* and *Śāntarasa* (devotion and holy calm) are the ringing notes. Some examples may be quoted from his poetry :—

(Śārdūlavikṛīḍita- Metre)

कर्मं दास्यपणं कच्छुनि निपुणं नारायणीं अर्पणं,
पापातं चपणं रमापतिगुणं प्रेमामृता सेवणं ।
सत्संगी वसणं स्मृतीत असणं, एकांतिचं बैसणं,
हं सर्वो करणं भवाब्धि तरणं दुर्वासना मारणं ॥

(Miscellaneous.)

(Let a devotee dedicate all his activities to the Lord. Let him detest misdeeds, let him enjoy singing the praise of the Lord. Let him be in the company of sages, let him always be conscious, let him enjoy solitude, let him kill sinister feeling, and thus cross the ocean of transmigration.)

(Śikharīṇī Metre)

भल्याच्या संगानें अवगुण असे तो गुण दिसे,
खळाच्या संगानें सुगुण तरि तो लोपत असे ।
जसे खारें पाणी पिउनि घन तें गोड करितो,
फणी दुग्धातेंही पिउनि गरळातेंचि वमती ॥

(Miscellaneous.)

(A fault assumes the character of virtue when one is in company with a righteous man, and a virtue is disguised as a fault when one is in company of a rogue. As salt water becomes fresh when drawn up by the clouds, and milk sucked by a snake is thrown out by it as poison.)

Alliteration.

(Drutavilambita Metre)

गजगती जगतीप्रति दाविते,
वसुमती सुमती सुख भाविते ।
स्वतनुजा तनु जाणतसे धरा,
नवरि ते वरिते मणिकंधरा ।

(Śītā-svayamvara.)

(Seetā portrays the gait of an elephant to the carth, the mother earth is happy (to see this).)

The earth knows that the bride is her own daughter, Sītā weds Maṇikandhara (Rāma with a necklace.)

(Drutavilambita Metre)

सकळ काम मनामधुनी त्यजी,
मुख अपार तयासचि सत्यजी ।
वरचि देशिल जी जरि लौकरी,
न उपजे मनिं काम असें करी ।

(Nrihari darpaṇa.)

(He who has discarded all the desires of the heart is the happiest man ; if thou grantest a boon (O Lord) give me the one that I shall desire nothing.)

(Śikharinī Metre)

नसे ठावा ब्रम्हा न शिव अथवा श्रीपति हरी,
हरी जो तापातें उचलुनि कृपासिंधुलहरी ।
हरी वाटे काळातरिम विपती मृत्युभुजगा,
जगाचा तूं ऐसा धनि कवण तो पाव मजगा ।

(Gajendra-mokṣa.)

(I do not know Brahmā, nor Shiva, nor the lord of Laxmī, who cools all the heat (of passion) by lifting up the waves of His grace. He, whom the all-destructive time is afraid of, and who is a terror to Death itself. Be Thou graceful who art the Lord of the universe.)

TRANSLATIONS

(Anuṣṭup Metre)

Original Sanskrit.

यथा तरङ्गकलोलैर्जलमेव स्फुरत्यलम ।
पात्ररूपेण तास्रं हि ब्रम्हाण्डोद्यत्तयात्मता ।

(Aparokṣānubhūti.)

Marāṭhī translation in the same metre.

तरंगाच्या आकृतीने पाणीच स्फुरते जसे ।
पात्ररूपे स्फुरे तांबे ब्रम्हांडी आत्मता तशी ।

(It is only water that manifests itself in the form of a wave. So is copper in the form of a pot. It is the Atman (soul) that is manifesting itself in the whole universe.)

Original Sanskrit.

द्रष्टृदर्शनदृष्टीनां विरामो यत्र वै भवेत् ।
तत्रैव दृष्टिर्योक्त्या, वृथा तद्घ्राणपीडनम् ।

(Aparokṣānubhūti.)

Marāthī translation in the same metre.

द्रष्टा दर्शन ही दृष्टि मुरे, चिद्रूप या स्फुरे ।
तेथेंचि दृष्टि योजावी, काय नासाय कारणें ।

(The distinction "seer, seen, and sight" disappears; only *chit* (knowledge) is persistent. In that state sight (propelled by the mind) should be fixed, there is no use in fixing it on the tip of the nose.)

(Upendravrājā Metre)

तृणें मृगाला, सलिलें झुषाला, संतोष हे वृत्ति महाजनाला ।
तथांस निष्कारण तीन वैरी, किरात कैवर्तक दुष्ट भारी ॥

(Bhartrihari.)

(The deer lives on grass, the fish on water, and the sage on contentment. However, the hunter, the fisherman, and the wicked man are the enemies to these harmless beings.)

(Anuṣṭup Metre)

Original.

ममैवांशी जीवलोके जीवभूतः सनातनः
मनः षष्ठानीन्द्रियाणि प्रवृत्तिस्थानि कर्षति ।

(Bhagwadgītā.)

Marāthī translation.

त्या पदा सूर्यचंद्राग्नि हे कोणी न प्रकाशती ।
जें पावच्या न संसार माझें परम धाम तें ॥

(That is my heavenly abode which is not illuminated by the sun, moon, nor by fire, (and) by the attainment of which (there is) no succession of birth and death.)

STRESS-ACCENT IN INDO-ARYAN

By BANARSI DAS JAIN

IN the phonological development of a language the shortening and loss of vowels are usually ascribed to the absence of stress-accent on the syllables containing those vowels.¹ When in their study of Prakrit Phonology Drs. Pischel² and Jacobi³ found numerous instances of the loss and shortening of vowels, they explained them in the light of stress-accent. The one supposed that the musical accent of Vedic also acted like stress, while the other assumed that after the pitch-accent had died out, a stress-accent developed in Sanskrit and Prakrit which was placed on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable as in Latin.⁴ Now about the nature, history, and even the very existence of stress-accent in PI or its subsequent stages nothing certain is known. The Prāṭiśākhya and Śikṣā are silent on this point. The reason of their silence may be that perhaps the stress-accent originally fell on the same syllable as the pitch-accent and was not strong enough to draw attention. The following remarks of Dr. P. Giles and Professor D. Jones lend great support to the probability of this surmise :—

“Languages are divided into those with stress-accent and those with pitch-accent, according as the stress- or the pitch-accent is the more prominent. Every language, however, possesses to some extent both forms of accent.”⁵

“The subject of stress is very closely connected with that of intonation. It is certain that much of the effect commonly ascribed to stress is really a matter of intonation.”⁶

Professor Bloch has questioned the existence of stress in ancient and modern Indian.⁷ But it will be seen that his views about stress in the Indian languages largely coincide with those expressed in this paper, if stress-accent is regarded as syllabic prominence which consists

¹ P. Giles, *Manual of Comparative Philology*, 1901, § 93. T. G. Tucker *Introduction to the Natural History of Language*, London, 1908, pp. 340-6.

² *Grammatik der Prakritsprachen*, passim.

³ *ZDMG.*, vol. xlvii, pp. 374 ff.

⁴ For stress-accent in Latin and its effects on the subsequent development of the language see W. M. Lindsay, *Latin Language*, Oxford, 1894, chap. iii, pp. 148-218.

⁵ P. Giles, *op. cit.*, § 91.

⁶ M. V. Trofimov and D. Jones, *Pronunciation of Russian*, 1923, § 763.

⁷ *La langue marathe*, § 32 ff.

of three distinct forces—length, breath-force (or stress proper) and pitch. In some languages one of these forces may be more conspicuous than the others, e.g. in English breath-force is more marked. In others length may be more conspicuous as in several of the Indian languages. In others again pitch may be more marked as in Chinese.¹

The different views regarding stress-accent in Sanskrit and Prakrit held by Drs. Pischel, Jacobi and Bloch have been discussed at length by Professor R. L. Turner.² He shows that the examples which the German scholars have explained in the light of stress-accent can better be explained in a different way, and may not at all be due to stress. His inquiry, however, has brought to light another very interesting fact, namely, that the Indo-Aryan languages can be divided into two groups of which one (consisting of Hindī, Panjābī, Gujarātī and Rājasthānī, and possibly Bengālī and Singhalese) descend from a Prakrit or Prakrits in which a penultimate stress had developed, and the other group represented by Marāṭhī comes from a Prakrit in which the stress had taken the place of the Vedic pitch-accent.

Without postulating further on this point, it is certain that there was in Sanskrit and Prakrit something with functions similar to those of stress-accent, and that this had much to do with the phonology of the Indo-Aryan languages. We may call this something the “syllabic prominence” of a word as defined above. But for convenience sake, and because the term “stress” is so generally used, the word stress-accent has been used here but without implying that it consists of breath-force only.

As to the place of stress-accent in the word, languages differ from one another. Even the same language may differ at its various stages. Speaking generally the position of stress in a word at a particular time depends on the syllabic scheme of the word. From time to time there arise tendencies in languages to favour certain schemes and to avoid others, which, if desired, can be expressed in terms of quantitative changes depending on stress. The following illustration will make the meaning of this statement clear. The ancestor Prakrit of Hindī, Panjābī, Gujarātī and Rājasthānī had no objection to a syllabic rhythm $\cup \times \cup$ as is shown by words like *haliddā*, *vanijjam*, etc., in which, however, the position of the stress is not definitely

¹ Cf. “All the Indo-Germanic languages have partly pitch (musical) and partly stress (expiratory) accent, but one or other of the two systems of accentuation always predominates in each language.” Joseph Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language*, 1912, p. 10.

² *JRAS.*, 1916, pp. 203–51.

known : see below. But there came a time prior to the compensatory lengthening of short vowels in front of consonant-groups in Hindī, Gujarātī, and Rājasthānī when all words of this rhythm were changed to $\acute{\text{—}} \text{—} (\text{—})$ with stress on the first syllable. Thus we have H. *halad*, P. *hahlad*, G. *haḷad* ; H.P. *banaj*, G. *vaṇaj*, etc. But soon this dislike for $\text{—} \times \times$ disappeared, and the modern languages freely allowed words of $\text{—} \acute{\times} \times$ rhythm, e.g. P. ts. *basánt* (*vasanta*), *namít* (*nimitta*), *bakín̄th* (*raikun̄tha*), *malún̄g* (Pers. *id.*), *kamán̄d* (Pers. *id.*) ; *satámbar* (Eng. *September*), *dasámbar* (Eng. *December*), etc.

As already stated Professor Jacobi assumed that the stress-accent occupied the penultimate position in Sanskrit and Prakrit. That there was a penultimate accent in Prakrit prior to the initial accentuation may be inferred from such foreign words as Jaina Skt. *Akabbara*- (Pers. *Akbar*), *suratrāṇa*- (Pers. *sultān*), *turn̄ṣka* (Pers. *turk*), etc.

Another point which supports this view is the early loss of the initial *a*-, *u*- in the Panjābī words *bacc* (Skt. *ápatya*-), *batnā* but H. *úḃtan* (Skt. *udvartana*-). In Prakrit itself we find that the *a*-, especially of the prepositions *apa*-, *ava*-, is often dropped when followed by a naturally or positionally long syllable (Pischel. §§ 141-2). e.g. AMg. *lā'í* beside *alāu* (*alā'ibu*-), AMg. *gāra*- beside *agāra*- (*agāra*-). AMg. *raṇṇa*- (*áraṇṇa*-), AMg. *riṭṭha*- (*áriṣṭa*-), etc.

A third point favouring the above view is the appearance of the older scheme $\times \times \times$ as $\acute{\text{—}} \text{—} (\text{—})$ in H. P. G. after the accent-shift, and not as $*\acute{\times} \text{—} (\text{—})$ in P. or $*\acute{\text{—}} \text{—} (\text{—})$ in H. G. as one would expect if the syllable had been heavy at the time of accent-shift. Thus H. G. *pālāg*, P. *pāhlāg* (*paryaṇka*-), H. *bin̄tī*, G. *vin̄tī* (*vijñaptikā*), H. *ghamas* (*gharmām̄śu*-) ; H.P. *samajh*, G. *samaj* (*sambuddhi*-). *-dh > -jh* on account of *samajhnā*. In the present participles like H. *gāj'tā*, P. *gajj'dā* (Pkt. *gajjan̄ta*-), etc., the analogy of other forms like *gājē*, *gājnā*, *gajjē*, *gajj'nā*, etc., may have worked.

Sir George Grierson accepted Professor Jacobi's theory of penultimate accent and applied it throughout his essay "On the Phonology of the Indo-Aryan vernaculars".¹ He was, however, confronted with serious exceptions, e.g. words of the type *vañijya*- (Pkt. *vañijjam* $\text{—} \times \times$), *tiraśá-* (Pkt. **tiracchao* $\text{—} \times \text{—}$).²

¹ ZDMG., vol. xlix, pp. 393 ff., vol. l, pp. 1 ff.

² These words do not actually occur in his essay, but there are others of this kind, e.g. *harudrikā*, §§ 15, 17 ; *kutumbam*, § 23 ; *araghaṭa*-, § 35 ; *vijñaptikā*, § 35 ; *udvartanam*, § 84 ; *paryaṣta*-, § 84, etc.

According to his theory the words should appear as		But we actually get	
H. * <i>banīj</i>	* <i>tīrāchā</i>	<i>bānaj</i>	<i>tīrchā</i>
EP. * <i>banijj</i>	* <i>taracchā</i>	<i>bānaj</i>	<i>tīrchā</i>
WP., L. * <i>vanijj</i>	* <i>tiracchā</i>	<i>vāṇaj</i>	<i>tīrchā</i>
G. * <i>vaṇīj</i>	* <i>ti-, tarāchō</i>	<i>vāṇaj</i>	<i>tīrchō</i>

To explain these exceptions Sir George framed minor rules by which a secondary accent often swallowed up the main stress, and itself became such (*Phon.*, §§ 11, 12, 13).

A detailed examination of these and other schemes shows that some time prior to the compensatory lengthening of short vowels in front of consonant-groups, an important change in the position of stress-accent took place by which all words received stress on the initial syllable except those containing long vowels in non-final syllables. In their case the accent was thrown on the syllable having a long vowel that was nearest to the final syllable.

Detailed Examination

Monosyllables may be left out of consideration, firstly because very few of them have survived, and secondly because the accent has kept the same place in them, there being no room for shift

Dissyllables, too, require little consideration because in their case what is the first syllable is also the penultimate. In the case of Modern Indian words ending in consonants, it will be more convenient to regard the final consonant as forming an independent syllable with the addition of a neutral vowel, as it frequently does in prosody or even in slow speech.

— — <i>yādi</i> ¹	> P. <i>jé</i>
<i>kāti</i>	> P. <i>kái</i> , H. <i>id.</i>
<i>kara</i>	> P. <i>kár</i> , H. G. <i>id.</i>
— — <i>kalá</i>	> P. <i>kál</i> , H. <i>id.</i> , G. <i>kál</i> .
× — <i>lajjā</i>	> P. <i>lájj</i> , H. G. <i>láj</i> .
× — <i>bandha</i>	> P. <i>bánnh</i> , H. G. <i>bádh</i>
— — <i>vdla-</i>	> EP., H. <i>bál</i> , WP <i>váhl</i> , G. <i>vāl</i> .

¹ In Sanskrit words the accent-mark denotes the Vedic accent. The syllable schemes refer to the Prakrit forms.

Among trisyllables the schemes $\bar{\times} = \bar{\times}$, and among tetrasyllables the schemes $\bar{\times} = = \bar{\times}$ and those involving a naturally long syllable after a syllable *heavy by position only* do not call for any discussion. as here also the accent fell on the same syllable both before and after the accent-shift.

— — — <i>káratī</i>	> P. <i>kárē</i> , H. G. <i>id.</i>
— — × <i>karaṇa-</i>	> EP. <i>káran.</i>
— — — <i>ghaṭa-</i>	> P. <i>ghárā</i> , H. <i>id.</i> , G. <i>gháḷō</i> .
× — — <i>kuṇḍa-</i>	> EP <i>kúṇḍā</i> , H. <i>kúṇḍā</i> , WP. <i>kúnnā</i> .
— — — <i>ghaṇṭa-</i>	> P. <i>ghánḍī</i> , H. G. <i>gháṭī</i> .
— — — <i>kāla-</i>	> EP. <i>kālā</i> , H. <i>id.</i> WP. <i>kālā</i> , G. <i>kaḷā</i> .
— — — <i>palāśi-</i>	> P. <i>palāh</i> , H. <i>palās</i>
× — — <i>karpāsa-</i>	> P. <i>kapāh</i> , H. G. <i>kapās</i> .
— — — <i>āṣāḍha-</i>	> P. <i>hārḥ</i> , H. <i>asārḥ</i> , G. <i>asāḍh</i> .
— — — <i>gopālā-</i>	> EP. H. <i>guāl</i> , WP. G. <i>guāl</i> .
— — — — <i>prasaratī</i>	> H. <i>pásarē</i> , G. <i>id.</i>
— × — — — <i>*pariṣvēda-</i>	> P. <i>parseō</i> , <i>parsé</i> ; G. <i>parsév[ō]</i> .
— — — — <i>purāṇā-</i>	> EP. H. <i>purānā</i> , WP. <i>purāṇā</i> , G. <i>purāṇū</i> .
× — — — — <i>carmakāra-</i>	> P. <i>cameōr</i> , H. <i>camār</i> , G. <i>id.</i>
— — — — <i>cakravāka-</i>	> P. H. G. <i>cákvā</i> . The expected form through Ap. <i>*cakkavāū</i> , would be <i>*cakvā</i> , but that being the regular accentuation of causal verbs and because an overwhelming majority of words end in <i>unaccented</i> long vowels in P. H. G., the accent has been shifted from the final to the initial syllable.
× — — — — <i>prakhyāna-</i>	> EP. <i>pakhānā</i> .
— — — — <i>lōhakāra-</i>	> P. H. G. <i>luhār</i> .
— — — — <i>śūtakāla-</i>	> EP. <i>seāl</i> , WP. <i>seāl</i> , G. <i>śiālō</i> .
× — — — — <i>sambhālayati</i>	> EP. <i>samhālē</i> , H. <i>sambhālē</i> .
— — — — <i>prakṣālayati</i>	> G. <i>pakhālē</i> .

The schemes which form an exception to the penultimate theory but are explained by accent-shift are those where a syllable *heavy by position only* falls in a non-initial position without being followed by a naturally long syllable. The final syllable, of course, is not taken into account. Such are the schemes $\bar{\times} \times \bar{\times}$ among trisyllables, and $\bar{\times} \times \text{—} \bar{\times}$, $\bar{\times} \text{—} \times \bar{\times}$ or $\bar{\times} \times \times \bar{\times}$ among tetrasyllables.

	$\begin{array}{c} \sim \times \times \\ \sim \times \sim \times \end{array}$
<i>anicchā</i>	> G. <i>ānach</i> .
<i>āraṇya-</i>	> H. <i>ārṇā</i> .
<i>alakta-</i>	> EP., H. <i>āltā</i> , G. <i>āltō</i> .
<i>alakṣya-</i>	> G. <i>ālakḥ</i> .
<i>alagna-</i>	> H. <i>ālag</i> , G. <i>ālagū</i> . EP. <i>alōgg</i> may have been formed from <i>lagg</i> .
(Dēś.) <i>kaḍacchū</i>	> P. H. G. <i>kārchī</i> .
<i>karaṅka-</i>	> P. <i>kārāg</i> (Dictionary).
<i>karaṇḍa-</i>	> EP. H. <i>kārṇī</i> , but G. <i>karāṇḍī</i> , <i>karāṇḍō</i> .
<i>kuṭumba-</i>	> P. <i>kūṇam</i> , H. <i>kūṇmā</i> , <i>kūmbā</i> . S. <i>kūṇmu</i> .
<i>kulattha-</i>	> P. H. <i>kūlthī</i> .
<i>kṣurapra-</i>	> P. H. <i>khūrpā</i> , G. <i>khūrpō</i> .
(Dēś.) <i>khaḍakkī</i>	> H. <i>khīrkī</i> , G. <i>khārkḥī</i> .
<i>tarakṣa-</i>	> WP. <i>tārakh</i> , G. <i>tāras</i> .
<i>tiraścā-</i>	> P. H. <i>tīrchā</i> , G. <i>tīrchū</i> .
<i>dhārītrī</i>	> P. <i>dhārat</i> , H. G. <i>dhārtī</i> .
<i>paraśvalḥ</i>	> P. H. <i>pārsō</i> .
* <i>pariśyū</i> (cf. <i>avaśyū</i>)	> G. <i>pāras</i> "dew".
* <i>prathilla-</i>	> P. H. <i>pāihlā</i> , G. <i>pēhlū</i> .
<i>pralambatē</i>	> WP. <i>pālamṇā</i> .
<i>bahutva-</i>	> EP. <i>bāuht</i> , H. WP. <i>bāhut</i> .
<i>manuṣyā-</i>	> WP. <i>mūṇas</i> .
(Pkt.) <i>mahanṭa-</i>	> G. <i>mēhtō</i> , H. <i>māihtū</i> .
<i>vaṇijya-</i>	> EP. H. <i>bānāj</i> , WP. G. <i>vāṇāj</i> .
<i>varatrā</i>	> H. <i>bārat</i> , G. <i>vārat</i> , S. <i>vārta</i> .
<i>virikṭa-</i>	> S. <i>vīrtō</i> "tired".
<i>viricyatē</i>	> S. <i>vīrcayū</i> "to be tired".
<i>vilagna-</i> (Pkt. * <i>vilamga-</i>)	> EP. H. <i>bīlāg</i> .
<i>vilamba-</i>	> H. <i>bīlam</i> , WP. <i>vīlam</i> .
<i>vilambatē</i>	> WP. <i>vīlamṇā</i> .
<i>viśamyatē</i>	> H. <i>bīsamnā</i> .
<i>suruṅgā</i>	> P. H. G. <i>sūrāg</i> .
<i>sulagna-</i>	> P. H. <i>sūlagnā</i> , G. <i>sālagvū</i> .
<i>haridrā</i>	> EP <i>hāhldī</i> , H. <i>hāldī</i> , G. <i>hālad</i> .
	$\sim \sim \times \sim$
<i>araghaṭṭa-</i>	> H. <i>ārhaṭ</i> ; H. <i>rāihṭ</i> comes from Pkt. <i>rahaṭṭa-</i> .
<i>balivārda-</i>	> EP. <i>bāhld</i> .

	>	EP <i>bátnā</i> , H. <i>úbṭan</i> , WP <i>vúṭṇā</i> .
<i>udvartana-</i>		
<i>durbhikṣa-</i>	>	H. <i>dúbhak</i> .
<i>paryāṅka-</i>	>	P. <i>páhlāg</i> , H. G. <i>pālāg</i> .
<i>paryasta-</i> (Pkt. <i>pallatta-</i>)	>	P. H. G. <i>pālaṭ</i> .
<i>viññaptikā</i>	>	H. <i>bíntī</i> , G. <i>víntī</i> .
<i>sambudhyati</i>	>	P. H. <i>sámajhnā</i> , G. <i>sámajvū</i> .
<i>śalyaka-</i> (Pkt. <i>*sallamka-</i>)	>	P. <i>sáhlāg</i> .

	>	P. <i>kōrmā</i> , H. <i>kúrṃā</i> .
<i>kauṭumba-</i>		
<i>dauhitra-</i>	>	EP. H. <i>dóhtā</i> , WP. <i>dóhtrā</i> .
<i>nāraṅgikā</i>	>	EP <i>nár(-ā)gī</i> , H. <i>nāráṅgī</i> may be due to Persian <i>nāranj</i> .
<i>māṇikya-</i>	>	EP. H. <i>mānak</i> , WP. <i>māṇak</i> , G. <i>māṇak</i> .

Besides the above words there is a number of grammatical formations which could not be explained satisfactorily without the application of the theory of accent-shift. They are :—

(i) Present Participles.

karant-, Pkt. *karanta-* > P. *kárdā*, Poṭh. *kárnā*, H. *kártā*, G. *kártō*.

(ii) Present Indicative, 3rd plural.

karanti > P. *káran*. H. *kárā*, O. H. *karahī* cannot come from *karanti*.

(iii) The *s-* future of G. Rāj. and Lah.

kariṣyāmi, Pkt. *karissāmi* > Lah. *kársō*, Rāj. *kársyā* cf. pl. *kársyā* (cf. *cakravāka-* > *cákevā*).

„ Pkt. *karissam* > G. *karīś* (pronounced [ˈkariʃ]), dialectically *káras*).

(iv) The *-b-* infinitive of EH., and the *vū-* infinitive of G. *kartavyam*,

Pkt. *kariavvan* > EH. *kárab*, G. *kárvū*.

There are a few exceptions, several of which are common to Panjābī, Hindī, and Gujarātī. They are probably late borrowings introduced after the tendency for accent-shift had died out, and the penultimate accent had come into existence once more.

	>	G. <i>karáṇḍō</i> , <i>karāḍō</i> , beside H. P. <i>kárnī</i> .
<i>karaṇḍa-</i>		
<i>pranaptr-</i>	>	H. <i>panātī</i> .

(Dēs.) <i>varāṃda-</i>	> P. <i>barāṇḍā</i> , H. <i>barāṇḍā</i> .
* <i>sarikkha-</i>	> P. <i>sarikkhā</i> , H. <i>sarikhā</i> beside G. <i>sārkhū</i> . × × × × × — ×
<i>niśsaṅka-</i>	> P. <i>nasāṅg</i> , H. <i>nisāṅk</i> .
<i>prasvidyatē</i>	> P. <i>pasījē</i> , H. <i>pasījē</i> , G. <i>id</i> .
<i>prasvinnā-</i>	> P. <i>pasinnā</i> , H. <i>pasinā</i> , G. <i>pasinō</i> .
<i>aṅgūṣṭha-</i>	> P. <i>gūṭhā</i> , H. <i>āgūṭhā</i> , G. <i>anguthō</i> (?).
<i>agniṣṭhā-</i>	> P. <i>gītthī</i> , H. G. <i>āgītthī</i> .
<i>mañjīṣṭhā</i>	> P. G. H. <i>mājīṭh</i> .
* <i>pracchanṭati</i>	> P. <i>pachāṇḍē</i> ; H. G. <i>pachōrē</i> with loss of nasality. cf. H. G. <i>chōṭ</i> .
<i>ēkastha-</i>	> P. <i>kūtthā</i> , H. <i>ikūtthā</i> beside <i>ikthā</i> .
(Pkt.) <i>ekkalla-</i>	> P. <i>kāllā</i> , H. <i>akēlā</i> beside <i>iklā</i> .
<i>niṣkarma-</i>	P. <i>nakāmmā</i> , H. <i>nikāmā</i> , G. <i>nakāmū</i> .
<i>niṣputra-</i>	> P. <i>napūtā</i> , H. <i>nipūtā</i> . The last two words may have been influenced by <i>kamm</i> , <i>kām</i> , and <i>putt</i> , <i>pūt</i> .

Some of the numerals, also, show irregularity of accentuation. But this is not to be wondered at when we find so much irregularity in their phonetic development. Such are

P. *unāttī* (29), H. *unāttīs*, *ūntīs* or *untīs*.

P. *unānjā* (49), H. *uncās*, *ūncas*.

P. *akvānjā* (51), *bavānjā* (52), *tavānjā* (53), *curānjā* (54), *puvānjā* (55), *chapānjā* (56), *satvānjā* (57), *aṭhvānjā* (58), *kahāttar* (71), *bahāttar* (72), etc.

Recently the languages have lost the tendency of accent-shift and have again developed penultimate accent, thereby giving rise to schemes like — ˘ ˘ =, etc. Such words are chiefly (i) *tatsamas*, (ii) loans from Persian and English, or (iii) words of unknown origin.

Examples

Panjābī.	Hindī.	Gujarātī.
(i) <i>parśiddh</i> , <i>partākkh</i> .	<i>prasiddh</i> , <i>nimitt</i> , <i>prasiddh</i>	<i>nimitt</i> ,
<i>namitt</i> , <i>basānt</i> .	<i>mahānt</i> , <i>nicānt</i> .	<i>mahānt</i> (<i>tadbhava</i>
<i>mahānt</i> , <i>ṇacīnt</i> .	<i>samūndar</i> , <i>kalāṅk</i> , <i>mehtō</i>),	<i>nicīnt</i> ,
<i>bakūṇṭh</i> , <i>pakhāṇḍ</i> .	<i>prasāṅg</i> , <i>prapāṇc</i> .	<i>samudra</i> , <i>kalāṅk</i> ,
<i>adāmbar</i> , etc.	etc.	etc.

Panjābī.	Hindī.	Gujarātī.
(ii) <i>pasind</i> , <i>kamánd</i> , <i>pasánd</i> , <i>kamánd</i> , <i>pasánd</i> , <i>pegámbar</i> ; <i>malaṅg</i> , <i>pagámbar</i> , <i>maláṅg</i> , <i>paigámbar</i> , <i>Disémbar</i> , etc. <i>tamánca</i> ; <i>Agást</i> , <i>tamánca</i> ; <i>Agást</i> , <i>Satámbar</i> , <i>Dasámbar</i> , <i>Sitámbar</i> , <i>Disámbar</i> , etc. etc.		
(iii) <i>ghasánn</i> , <i>ghamánd</i> , <i>bharínd</i> , <i>rabídd</i> , <i>dabáill</i> , etc.		

Consideration of stress necessitates a modification in the rule of preservation of PI long vowels before consonant-groups in Panjābī. It will be seen that WP follows the rule throughout, while EP shortens them when they occur in a non-final position. Thus :—

<i>pādānta-</i>	> H.Pkt. <i>pāyānta-</i>	> H. <i>párt</i> , <i>páyātī</i> , EP. <i>páid</i> .
<i>nánāndā</i>	> WP Pkt. <i>*pāyānta-</i> > HPkt. <i>naṇāndā</i>	> WP <i>puánd</i> . > H. <i>nánad</i> , EP <i>nánād</i> , G. <i>naṇād</i> .
<i>lōhabhāṇḍa-</i>	> WP Pkt. <i>*naṇāndā</i> > HPkt. <i>lōhahāṇḍa-</i>	WP <i>naṇán</i> . > H. <i>lōhādā</i> , EP. <i>lōhā</i> , G. <i>lōghī</i> .
<i>mahārgha-</i>	> WP Pkt. <i>*lōhahāṇḍa-</i> > HPkt. <i>mahaggha-</i> > WP Pkt. <i>*mahāggha-</i>	> WP <i>luhāṇḍā</i> . > P. H. <i>māihgā</i> , G. <i>māghū</i> on the analogy of <i>sōghū</i> . > Lah. <i>mānghā</i> may have come from <i>*mahāṇgha-</i> .

The following words are found under one form only, and when they are used in a language where one would expect the other form, they must be held as loans in it.

<i>kauśāmbī</i>	> H. <i>kśasam</i> ,	<i>saurāṣṭra-</i>	> G. <i>sōraṭh</i> .
<i>mahārāṣṭra-</i>	> Pkt. <i>marahaṭṭha-</i> (Pisch. 354) > H. <i>mārhaṭā</i> (but Fallon records <i>marāhṭā</i> , <i>marhaiṭī</i>).		
<i>gharmāṇśu-</i>	> H. <i>ghāmas</i> ,	<i>nirīkṣā</i>	> H. P. G. <i>nirakh</i> .
<i>parīkṣā</i>	> H. P. G. <i>pārakh</i> ,	<i>ārātrikā</i>	> H. P. G. <i>ārtī</i> .
<i>pūrvārdha-</i>	> P. <i>Puād</i> ,	<i>paścārdha-</i>	> P. <i>Pasādh</i> .
<i>annādya-</i>	> H. P. G. <i>anāj</i> ,	<i>saubhāgya-</i>	> H. P. G. <i>suhāg</i> .
<i>mandākṣa-</i>	> P. <i>manākkhā</i> .		

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH *t, d*, IN NORTH INDIAN LANGUAGES

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

IT is often said that Portuguese dental *t, d*, remain dental in India and that English alveolar *t, d*, become cerebral. It would follow that words like *kaptān* and *botal* and *haspatāl*, usually stated to be from English, must be Portuguese. The question cannot be disposed of so simply; there seem to have been cross influences at work, and sometimes there are different forms of the same word. See S. R. Dalgado's works *passim* for valuable suggestions.

The following lines have in view the area over which Urdū, Panjābī, and Hindī (= UPH.) are spoken, though the facts adduced have a wider application. As this is a matter of pronunciation it is necessary to confine oneself to spoken words and *ignore book words* except where others are not available. Printed forms are often deliberately altered on *à priori* grounds.

We may say without hesitation that a very large majority of English *t's* and *d's* do become cerebral when introduced into Indian words. The question is whether any become dental; if so, why? It should be remembered that mere haphazard explanations are of little value. Explanations must follow some definite principle. Thus the facile guess that the ending of P. *qāgdār*, doctor, is taken by analogy from the common Persian ending *-dār* is valueless unless we show why "inspector", "director", "master", give us *inṣpīṭṭar*, *darēkṭar*, *māṣṭar*, and why "canister" yields *kanastar*.

1. Words which probably have a Portuguese origin, though generally said to be English.

	Portuguese.	English.
<i>baptisma</i>	baptismo	baptism
<i>butām</i> (book form)	botão	button
(With this contrast the commoner <i>baṭan</i> , Eng. button.)		
<i>gārad</i>	guarda	guard
P. <i>‘aspatāl</i> , }	hospital	hospital
UH. <i>haspatāl</i> }		
<i>kaptān</i>	capitão	captain
<i>kārtūs</i>	cartucho	cartridge
<i>mastaul</i>	mastro, masto	mast
<i>pistaul</i>	pistola	pistol

	Portuguese.	English.
<i>salād</i>	salada	salad
<i>sikattar</i>	secretario	secretary
<i>tamākū</i>	tabaco	tabacco
<i>taulīā</i>	toalha	towel

botal (P. botelha, E. bottle) and *patlūn* (P. pantalona, E. pantaloons) may be Portuguese, but it is at least possible that the words were used in N. India before they existed in Portugal.

2. Words which seem to be certainly English, but have a dental *t, d*, corresponding to the English alveolars. When there is a Portuguese word in any way resembling UPH. I have added it.

<i>Landan</i>	London	Port. Londres
U. <i>Dalhauzī</i> , P. <i>Dl'aujjī</i>	Dalhousie, the hill station.	

P. <i>ardaḷī</i> , UH. <i>ardatī</i>	orderly	
P. <i>ḍāgdār</i> , <i>ḍākdār</i>	doctor	Port. doutor

ḍāktār is the commonest spoken form in UH.

Bookforms: *ḍāktār* in Lallū Jī; *ḍākdār* modern.

PU. *drāz*, fem. sing., pair of drawers, drawer in cupboard;
plur. *drāzzā*, *drāzē*, pairs of drawers, drawers in cupboard.

<i>ketlī</i>	kettle	Port. caldeira
<i>kanastar</i>	canister	
<i>tos</i>	piece of toast	
<i>trel</i>	tray	
<i>santrī</i>	sentry	Port. sentinella

The following should probably be added, but they are not so certain:—

<i>darjan</i>	dozen	Port. duzia
<i>hāthīcok</i> (? <i>hāthī</i> .)	artichoke	alcachofra
elephant; but why?		
<i>turap</i>	trump card	trunfo
<i>tūrpīn</i>	turpentine	terebintina, terebinthia

Bookforms: *turmantīn*, *tarmanṭū*, turpentine, suggest Portuguese termentina. Proper names are *Istarling* for Stirling in Gālib, and *Gilkrīst* for Gilchrist in Lallū Jī's preface. See further below.

The names of the months look more English than Portuguese, and we are perhaps right in including four of them among the words which have changed alveolar *t, d*, to dental. It must not be forgotten that *j* in UPH. represents a sound practically identical with English *j*, but very different from Portuguese *j*.

<i>janvarī</i>	January	Janeiro
<i>farvarī</i>	February	Fevereiro
<i>mārac</i>	March	Março
<i>apraīl</i>	April	Abril
<i>maī</i>	May	Maio
<i>jūn</i>	June	Junho
<i>julāī, jaulāī</i>	July	Julho
<i>agast</i>	August	Agosto
<i>sitambar</i>	September	Setembro
<i>aktūbar</i>	October	Outubro
<i>navambar</i>	November	Novembro
<i>dasambar</i>	December	Dezembro

Those which call for attention are *agast*, *sitambar*, *aktūbar*, *dasambar*.

3. Words in which a Portuguese dental *may* have become cerebral: some of these are much disputed and all are doubtful.

Port. balde, pail, bucket; *bālīlī*.

falto, deficient; PU. *fāltū*, superfluous; PH. *phāltū*;

Laihindī, *phāltū*, a *kulī* who waits at cross roads for odd jobs; Nep. *phāltū*, *phāltū*.

foguete, rocket > *paṭākā*, squib, etc. ? Skr. *paṭ* + *ka*.

tope, top of mast, etc. > *ṭopī*, cap, hat.

varanda, balcony > UPH. *barāṇḍā*; HU. *baraṇḍā* (book form).

I take it that *barāmada* is a pseudo-Persian formation manufactured in India and as unknown in Persia as *nom-de-plume* and *double-entendre* are in France. This is a greatly discussed word.

termentina, turpentine: bookform *tarmanṭū*.

The UPH. words *paṭān*, regiment, and *biskuṭ*, biscuit, *jākaṭ*, jacket, are just as likely to be derived from English battalion, biscuit, and jacket as from Portuguese batalhão, biscoito, and jaqueto.

4. I have noted one or two points which go to show that 100 years ago Indians seemed readier to equate Indian dentals with English alveolars than they are now. It would be interesting if further proofs were forthcoming. Asad Ullāh Gālib, about 1830 (see *Urdū e Mu'allā*, ed. of 1921, p. 111), writes *Istarling* for Stirling, and twice *sikartar* for Secretary; Muḥammad Yalīyā Tanhā, quoting this very passage in *Sair ul Muṣannifīn*, 1924, changes the words to *Istarling* and *sikartar*; yet *sikattar* is in general use conversationally to this day. Lallū Lāl in 1803-9 writes *gilkrist* for Gilchrist, whereas the usual

form to-day is *gīlkrāiṣ!* (so Tanhā, op. cit.). In the same passage Lallū himself freely uses cerebrals to represent English alveolars.

The tip of the tongue when pronouncing an alveolar is between the dental and the cerebral position, almost midway. Taking the hard palate as $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches from front to back we may put cerebral *t*, *d* half an inch from the back edge of the teeth ridge. The centre or lower half of the front teeth (the dental position) is perhaps a quarter to three-eighths of an inch from the front edge of the teeth ridge. But the modern Indian hearing alveolar *t* and *d*, considers them cerebrals. This is not merely a literary device, it is the rule in village talk. Thus we have:—

P. *raḷbī* < *rabī* < *rapī* < *rapoṭ* + *ī* < report + *ī*: a man who brings in reports of occurrences.

P. *baṭemī* < *beṭemī* < *be* — *ṭem* + *ī* < *be* — time + *ī*. *baṭemī* means lateness, etc.

Inshā Allāh's very clever lines illustrate both tendencies:—

دے اس آفت کا سبک سمر کہ راکب اسکا
حاضری کئے جو کلکتہ تو آمدن میں تین

(He is so fleet footed that if his rider breakfasts in Calcutta he may lunch in London.) I am presuming that *ṭipan* reached U. and P. from England.

I have not touched upon English *th* in “think” or “then”. The former is almost always *th* (sometimes *t* when final), as *us ke thrū* < *us ke through*, by means of him: *samut sāhab* (*ṣāḥib*) = Mr. Smith. Against this note *ṭhaḍḍ kalūs* for “third class”. The latter *th* > *d*: *fādar* < “father,” Roman Catholic priest: but *pādrī* < Portuguese “padre,” any clergyman.

5. CONCLUSION.—It appears to be clear that some UPH. words, derived directly from English without possibility of Portuguese influence, have changed alveolar *t*, *d*, to dental *t*, *d*. Is any explanation possible?

(i) One explanation may be stated to be rejected. It is that the presence of *r* near *t* or *d* affects its pronunciation. Very many native English speakers cerebralize *t*, *d*, *l*, *n*, when *r* immediately precedes, and not a few make *t*, *d*, dental when *r* immediately follows, but there is no reason to think that modern *r* has any such effect in North India. We may satisfy ourselves about this if we listen to Indian schoolboys reading English.

(ii) Some words taken from English have been altered under Portuguese influence, and vice versa.

(iii) When Portuguese must be excluded we are left to random, guesses for individual words, unless we suppose that eighty or a hundred years ago English alveolar *t* and *d* were nearer to dental *t* and *d* than they are now. If this were established it would be all the harder to explain why Lallū used cerebral letters in the transcription of Gilbert. Lord, Minto, Taylor, doctor (*dākt̪̣r*), Lieutenant (*lipt̪̣an*), Hunter, and Lockett.

(iv) About any Portuguese *t* and *d*, which may have become cerebral, I say nothing, partly because they are not the real subject of this note, and partly because the very few words which suggest this phenomenon are of dubious origin.

BABU SYAM SUNDAR DAS'S BHASA VIGYAN

Contributed by G. E. LEESON

BĀBŪ ŚYĀM SUNDAR DĀS, President of the Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Sabhā, has recently written a book entitled *Bhāṣā Vigyān* (Benares, Sāhitya-Ratn-Mālā, 1920, pp. 6 + v + 388 + xxii). In this work he has collected a large amount of material for his students in the Central Hindu University.

I here give a translation, abridged in places, of certain pages relating to Kharī Bolī in his interesting account of Hindī.

“Pure Hindī is spoken in the Delhi and Merāṭh districts and is a literary language throughout northern India. In Rūhelkhaṇḍ the language takes the form of Kannaujī; beyond Ambāla it becomes Panjābī, and in the south-east of Gurgāō, Braj Bhāṣā. Here we would point out that the name Hindustānī has been given by the English, the true Indian name being Hindī. Urdū (or Rekhta) and Dakkhinī are the forms of Hindī in which Sanskrit words are few, Arabic and Persian words numerous. In appropriating the language the Muhammadans of the north called it Urdū or Rekhta, while the southern Muhammadans called it Dakkhinī. But Urdū and Dakkhinī are merely varieties of pure Hindī. It is sometimes asserted that the word *Hindī* itself is Persian, the termination *ī* being the Persian *yā-i-nisbatī*. If this be so we may reasonably say the same of the *ī* in *Avadhī*, *Bihārī*, and *Marāṭhī*. But we must dismiss this subject as irrelevant to our present purpose. It is sufficient to say that Hindī is our language and is now becoming the national language of all India.

* * * * *

“The middle period of Hindī lasted 500 years. We may divide this period into two main parts, one from 1250 to 1450 and the other from 1450 to 1750. In the first part the old dialects of Hindī gradually take the forms of Braj, Avadhī, and Kharī; in the second part they are further developed; and finally we have a mingling of Braj and Avadhī.

* * * * *

“Some people say that Kharī is modern and that Hindī was first given this form about 1800 by Lallū Jī Lāl in his prose work *Premśāgar*. But there is prose extant earlier than Lallū Jī, and in verse we find Kharī as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century. In poetry

Khaṛī was used by Hindu as well as by Muhammadan poets. It is true that, the country around Merāṭh being the chief centre of Khaṛī and Delhi being the seat of Muhammadan power. Khaṛī was at first the medium of communication between Hindus and Muhammadans, and that it was they who encouraged its use. It is true, also, that after this the Muhammadans, spreading into other parts, took the language with them and diffused it throughout the country. But the language belonged to India and was regularly spoken by the people of the districts round Merāṭh. Since the Muhammadans had appropriated the language it came to be regarded as in a sense theirs; and Hindī poets put it into the mouths of their Muhammadan characters. Thus in the middle period Hindī appears in three forms, Braj, Avadhī, and Khaṛī. In the first period Prakrit words predominated, but in the second and third periods Sanskrit words predominated; that is, in the first period the language was embellished with Prakrit words, whereas in the second period Sanskrit words began to be used for the purpose. This does not mean that Prakrit forms ceased to exist in Hindī. Certain Prakrit words continued to be used regularly, such as *bhuāl*, *sāyar*, *gay*, *basah*, *nāh*, and *loyan*.

“During the following, that is the present, period, the use in literature of Braj and Avadhī declined, and the use of Khaṛī increased. In fact Khaṛī spread so widely that now it is the language of all Hindī prose and of the greater part of Hindī poetry.

“The above remarks apply particularly to the literary language. In conversation various local varieties of Avadhī, Braj, and Khaṛī are used; but the *general* language of conversation is Khaṛī.

* * * * *

“Khaṛī Bolī has a very interesting history. It is spoken in Merāṭh and the surrounding districts, and was at one time almost confined to that area. When the Muhammadans settled and established their rule in this country they were faced with the problem of deciding in what language they should communicate with the natives. Delhi was the centre of their rule, and they chose Khaṛī, the language of the neighbouring district Merāṭh.¹ They began to use it in their *urdū* (military bazaars), and took it with them wherever they went. At first Khaṛī readily assimilated the Arabic and Persian words that gradually came into it, that is, gave them Hindī forms. But later this was changed. The Muhammadans introduced many such words in their *original* forms, and allowed the grammar also to be coloured

¹ It was spoken in Delhi also.—G. E. L.

by Arabic and Persian grammar. There began to be two varieties of the language ; one continued to be called Hindī and the other was known as Urdū. The English, retaining the better-known words of each, but keeping to Hindī grammar, produced a third variety, “ Hindustānī ”. Thus we have three forms of Khaṛī :

1. Pure Hindī. This is current among Hindus and is their literary language.

2. Urdū. This is current specially among Muhammadans and is their literary language. It is also used by some Hindus outside their homes.

3. Hindustānī. This contains Hindī and Urdū words and is used by everybody in ordinary conversation. It owes its existence to political reasons and at present possesses very little literature.

“ We shall consider these three forms separately. But first we would remind the reader that the many theories regarding the origin of Khaṛī are misleading. Some people say that Hindī or Khaṛī Bolī originated in Braj Bhāṣā, and that under Muhammadan influence it was transformed by the introduction of all kinds of foreign words. There is very little truth in this. Khaṛī has been in use as long as Braj and Avadhī. The difference is simply that Braj and Avadhī have literature of long standing, while the literature of Khaṛī began comparatively recently. Formerly Khaṛī was only a *spoken* language. To the Muhammadans, who adopted it, belongs the glory of having first made it literary. The first Khaṛī poet was Amīr Khusrau (1255-1324).

* * * * *

“ With a view to encouraging the use of Arabic and Persian words, and to facilitating intercourse between Hindus and Muhammadans, Khusrau compiled the *Khāliq-i-Bārī*, a dictionary in verse. It is said that hundreds of thousands of copies of this dictionary were made and distributed throughout the country on camels. Thus we see that Khusrau not only was the first Khaṛī poet but also did his utmost to encourage an interchange of words between Hindī on the one hand and Arabic and Persian on the other. In Khusrau's poetry there are numerous examples of the Khaṛī Bolī of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

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“ It is clear, then, that Khaṛī was current at the end of the fifteenth century, though it was little valued as a literary language. Late in the

seventeenth century Hindī *prose* came into being, and for this Khaṛī was used. But it does not follow that Khaṛī was fashioned on an Urdū model.

* * * * *

.. Paṇḍit Candradhar Gulerī is right in thinking that the development and spread of Khaṛī were made possible by Muhammadan royal patronage, and that Khaṛī owes its position to the Muhammadans : but we cannot agree that it was created by inserting Sanskrit and Hindī words in Urdū. Muḥammad Qulī, who began his reign in 1580, is regarded as the earliest Urdū poet. But we have Hindī composition in Khaṛī of the middle of the thirteenth century, that is, of a date 300 years earlier than the first Urdū poet. It cannot therefore be maintained that the Khaṛī form of Hindī was built on an Urdū foundation. The language of Braj verse had influenced Urdū several hundred years prior to Muḥammad Qulī's accession, and in Urdū poetry the expressive words of Braj were used regularly and without hesitation. Later Urdū poets rejected the words of this poetical language, and gave Urdū an independent form by adorning Khaṛī with Arabic and Persian trappings. It is therefore correct to say that Urdū is really a "variety" of Hindī, but quite incorrect to say that Hindī arose out of Urdū. Urdū poetry arose naturally and with the support of the poetical language of the country. Afterwards, when it was strong enough to stand alone, it dispensed with that support.

.. Concerning Hindī prose also there is a misapprehension. Lallū Jī Lāl is considered its originator. But in point of fact it was not he who gave Hindī its modern form. Before him we have Sadāsukh's translation of the *Bhāgavat*.

* * * * *

.. After Sadāsukh comes the time of Lallū Jī Lāl, Sadal Miśr, and Inshā Allāh Khān. The language of Sadal Miśr's *Nāsiketopākhyān* is more vigorous and more beautiful than that of Lallū Jī's *Premśāgar*. In *Premśāgar* the various forms are not used consistently. We frequently find such forms as *kari*, *karike* ; *bulāe kari*, *bulāe kar* and *bulāe karike*. This is not the case with Sadal Miśr. Inshā Allāh Khān uses pure Tadbhav forms. His language is simple and beautiful ; but in its arrangement of sentences it resembles Urdū, and for this reason some people regard it as an example of old Urdū rather than of Hindī. To conclude : it is true that Hindī prose owed its spread and subsequent prosperity to the Fort William authorities, especially Dr. Gilchrist, but Lallū Jī was not its originator. In the same way as

the spread of Khaṛī was due to the Muhammadans the new era of Hindī prose is due to the English.

* * * * *

“About Hindustānī it is sufficient to say that it owes its existence to the English. The commonest words of both languages [Urdū and Hindī] are being fitted into the framework of Hindī grammar. How successful this will be it is difficult to say. Just as Avadhī and Braj, dialects possessing remarkable literature, are now declining while Khaṛī, which at one time had no literature, is rising and taking their place, so it may well be that in a century or two the chief language of speech and literature will be Hindustānī, a language not only containing a mixture of Hindī and Urdū words, but also considerably influenced by English. The history of Indian languages shows us clearly that whenever a spoken language has become literary it has assumed another form for purposes of conversation, and that when this colloquial form has in turn become literary yet another spoken language has emerged. This process has gone on for thousands of years, and there seems to be no reason why it should not go on in the future.”

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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THE RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE VEDA AND UPANISHADS.

By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 31-2. Pp. 1-312 ; 313-683. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1925.

It may soon be said of Professor Keith as of a famous author in times long gone by, that he has written much more than the average man ever reads. Quite apart from numerous volumes on colonial and dominion policy with which Sanskrit scholars in general are thoroughly unfamiliar he has produced, in some twenty years' time, an amazing number of books and articles dealing with various parts of Hindu lore. Though his works are all well-known to persons concerned with Sanskrit scholarship, it may be well to remember that the Harvard Oriental Series has already published two important books by him, the translations of the Taittiriya and that of the Aitareya and Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas. In a series of more or less extensive volumes he has dealt with no less than four of the orthodox *darśanas* and with the Buddhist philosophy ; before that he published important works on Vedic subjects, and he has recently devoted his interest to the classical literature and the drama. And we are now informed that he had already ten years ago completed these two bulky volumes on Vedic religion, ritual and philosophy, the publication of which was delayed for reasons that equally apply to the work by Professor Edgerton mentioned above. The long delay has apparently done the work no harm, for the learned author has with great energy brought it quite up to date by paying due attention to recent literature on these subjects.

The opinions of a scholar who has at his command such a wide field of research will always demand close attention from his fellow-students. This is still more the case as Professor Keith has always been a man who sticks very strongly to his opinions while he has more often a word of disapproval than of applause for those of other scholars ; besides, he has always proved to be a man who is nowise averse to polemics and who has often, with skill and vigour, fought great battles over various debated problems in Sanskrit literature. It has, unfortunately, not always been possible for the present writer

to share Professor Keith's opinions, and he must plead guilty to doing it less than ever as far as the present work is concerned. But difference of opinion does, happily, not preclude us from taking a great—or perhaps even a greater—interest in works with the main doctrines of which we have to disagree.

This portentous work is divided into five different parts of somewhat unequal length, dealing with the sources, the gods and demons of the Veda, the Vedic ritual, the spirits of the dead, and the philosophy of the Veda. These five parts, which cover altogether somewhat more than 600 pages, are followed by no less than eight appendices, the subjects of which are of a very different nature, ranging from a discussion on the age of the Rigveda and the Avesta to the interrelation of Pythagoras and Parmenides. It is quite clear that a reviewer, even if enough space could be allotted him, cannot possibly deal with even part of all these various subjects. We shall therefore, allow ourselves here to say some words mainly on the second part of the work and only to offer a few scattered remarks on its other greatly varying contents.

No one could reasonably accuse Professor Keith of being a heretic in matters connected with Vedic religion and mythology, if the orthodox view is still the one which was held already in the middle of the last century—to speak only of European researches on the Veda. To him the Rigveda still remains the one and universal document concerning the religion of Vedic times, and its gods are all—or next to all—personifications of the great powers of Nature. Attempts have been made during late years, and especially by one scholar of very high authority, to put a more human touch into Vedic religion and to bring it into closer connexion with the later religious development of India. But these heretical suggestions have left Professor Keith quite untouched, and he even takes care not to quote the work where they have been set forth or to mention its author. Still, a few passages in his work clearly indicate that these heresies have met with his most emphatic displeasure.

To Professor Keith the great gods Varuṇa and Mitra are still deified powers of Nature, though nothing seems more certain than that the solution of their enigma is not to be looked for that way. That Mitra is the sun the Professor sees not the slightest reason for doubting; but he is more doubtful concerning Varuṇa, though he finds positive evidence that he is not the moon. The all-encompassing vault of the sky would, however, offer a possible solution, and even

the old comparison with *Oûpavós* is not wholly out of question, though phonetics make difficulties here.

Professor Keith in one or two passages quotes the work of Professor Johansson on the goddess *Dhiṣaṇā*,<sup>1</sup> but possibly he only knows it from the extensive review by Oldenberg. Otherwise we should have expected him to have offered us a criticism of the rather startling views on *Varuṇa* presented in that work; though the present writer does not see his way to share them, he should still like to point out that the work contains a great deal of important material concerning *Varuṇa* which has not formerly received due attention from scholars.

But nothing seems more certain than that *Varuṇa* is neither the sky nor the moon: nor was *Mitra* originally the sun, though the *Rigveda* may already have turned him into a sun-god. Far too little stress is generally laid on the absolutely different aspect of these gods compared with the other Vedic ones. While gods like *Indra* and other ones seem to be the lords of a rustic, semi-nomadic, strong and half barbarous generation, *Varuṇa* and *Mitra* seem to be in close touch with a much higher civilization, seem to originate in a society where law and order were to a higher degree prevailing, and where the riotous and law-breaking crowd was closely watched and duly brought to punishment. If *Indra* is the heroic and somewhat grotesque chief of a flock of early knights-errant, *Varuṇa* is the king in a well-ordered city-state where his spies keep a close eye on all evil-doers, and where the criminal is brought to a speedy and fearful punishment. In a society which had not yet quite settled down such a superhuman enforcer of law and order might present a somewhat sinister aspect, and this does perhaps account for the darker features in the character of *Varuṇa*. But it seems to be a more or less unavoidable conclusion that these gods were once introduced amongst the Indo-Iranians from some other people. The nearest clue seems to be to try to ascertain the land from which they came, and possibly the way by which they arrived amongst the ancestors of the Aryans in Iran and India alike.

After reading about *Varuṇa* and *Mitra* we are not astonished to learn that the time-honoured arguments for making a sun-god out of *Pūṣan* are still upheld by Professor Keith. And the author is to be congratulated on his happy conviction that "there can really be little doubt as to the nature" of *Viṣṇu* who, to him, also represents the sun. That this conviction is shared by many scholars we may

<sup>1</sup> *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣaṇā*, Upsala, 1919.



perhaps doubt. But, on the other hand, there is little doubt that some more lucky attempts to solve the riddle of this mysterious god have been made though they are not taken into account by Professor Keith. Professor Johansson, in a publication which is, unfortunately, only available in Swedish,<sup>1</sup> laid stress on Viṣṇu's nature of being a *puruṣa*, and of appearing in the form of a bird alike : the story of the bird, the Soma-fetching eagle, has been dealt with to some extent by the present writer,<sup>2</sup> and it seems a bit curious that Professor Keith should still, in face of the evidence brought forward, uphold the impossible suggestion that Indra is the Soma-fetching eagle. As for the nature of Viṣṇu a great advance has been achieved, a few years ago, by Dr. Barnett, who declared him to have been originally "the Spirit of Sacrifice",<sup>3</sup> a suggestion that surely cannot be far wrong, though it is not even mentioned by Professor Keith. Certain questions arising in connexion with the interpretation of the *Puruṣasūkta* (RV. X, 90), and which will possibly be dealt with soon, only tend to confirm this happy and luminous suggestion.

It is also a firm conviction of Professor Keith's that the Aśvins are in some way connected with the phenomena of Nature, and he has, in one passage (p. 50), paid the present writer the compliment of describing as ludicrous his belief in the theory of the Aitiḥāsikas that they were once a pair of princes rather conspicuous for different achievements and virtues. To those scholars who still wish to uphold the assertion that the Aśvins are nature-gods it must seem singularly unfortunate that no one has yet been able to point out any phenomenon of nature that would form a basis for the rise of these mysterious gods. The sun and moon, for apparent reasons, are not much in favour here, but a certain precedence seems to be given to the morning and evening stars ; unfortunately, the Aśvins always seem to be appearing together, while, so far, the lumina of morn and early night have been invariably separated. It is not suggested that the Aitiḥāsikas were always right, just as little as was Euhemeros, though the later one seems to have been one of the most sensible of men : but we should like to hear from Professor Keith the explanation of some leading features of the Aśvins starting from the hypothesis that they are deified powers of Nature. So far, he has not given us anything of that sort nor does it seem likely that he will ever be able to do it.

<sup>1</sup> *Solfågeln i Indien*, Upsala, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> *Die Suparnasage*, Upsala, 1920-22 (cf. this *Bulletin*, ii, p. 807 sq.).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. *Hindu Gods and Heroes* (1922), p. 37 sq.

That Indra was once a burly chieftain of some Indo-Iranian clan has lately been suggested quite independently by Professor Konow and Dr. Barnett, and the inference seems to be that he very likely was. There is not much in the myths attached to him that could not easily be explained in that way, though we quite admit, with Professor Keith (p. 56), that the localization of his exploits attempted by Konow does not carry conviction. But the strikingly individual features of this boisterous, hard-drinking, and far from virtuous god, must seem highly improbable if they are to be explained as belonging to a god of thunder or sunshine. It is curious that Professor Keith willingly admits that a number of Indra's foes were quite probably human, and is even prone to admit the historical existence of Kutsa, while he refuses to believe in the one of Indra.

As for Trita, who is closely connected with Indra, the main facts disclosing his real nature are plainly missing in Professor Keith's paragraph. But as it is hoped that a comprehensive study of the Trita myths will in no long time be appearing the results arrived at there should not be forestalled here. That Ahi Budhnya would represent lightning seems rather far-fetched in the presence of mythological figures such as Śeṣa and the Nāgas, who seem to account fairly well for his existence.

That Professor Keith should scarcely have much sympathy with the theories of Dr. Arbman concerning Rudra's original nature and concerning the sources from which to gather information on this sombre and awe-inspiring god was to be expected. But in face of his wholesale condemnation of Arbman's theories, it would have been expected that he might himself have offered us something better than the unsubstantial and wholly unsatisfactory explanations which lay stress on the—apparently wholly artificial—connexion of Rudra with Agni and otherwise try to account for the whole of his nature by the often repeated word "syncretism". Personally, the present writer is quite prepared to admit that Arbman's theories are presented in a somewhat crude form and with a certain prolixity of expression which at times makes it difficult to catch their inmost sense; but there can be no doubt whatsoever that, in the main, their author is on the right track. And it is beyond any doubt that the scholar who, like Professor Keith, seeks to solve Rudra's riddle solely with the help of the Rigveda will be apt to land himself in insoluble contradictions and difficulties. For the paths of the great god, whatever his names Rudra and Śiva may originally have meant, were wholly outside the society where the

Brahmin was the person of the highest consideration, and the chief impression one gets from the scanty evidence of the Rigveda is that Rudra was a powerful but scarcely fashionable god.<sup>1</sup>

The Rbhus probably present a more easy problem than the gods hitherto mentioned. It seems fairly obvious that the mysterious qualities accorded to the smith in tales of yore will account for part of their nature. And it may be apt to remember that, although comparative philology does give us few and scanty clues concerning the existence of various trades in Indo-European times, it certainly points to the prominent position of the wainwright: and there seems to be an early and close connexion between the Rbhus and the *rathakāra*. Their enemy, Tvaṣṭar, apparently represents something of the same sort, a creator of an old-fashioned set who hews the universe out of wood or forges it together like the blacksmith on his anvil.

That the Gandharva is a heavenly being (p. 180) seems an astonishing assertion in face of his constant association with things far from celestial. But the dealings of these mysterious creatures cannot be discussed in detail here. As for the Apsaras the meaning of her name is scarcely doubtful, but not in the sense in which Professor Keith is inclined to explain it. There is little doubt that *apsaras* really means "bodyless, formless" in the sense of a being who can, at her own pleasure, take on different forms which is, of course, one of the leading features of these fair but tricky womenfolk. The suggestion should perhaps be added that the name is probably a very old one, though its existence on Iranian soil has not, so far, been ascertained.

There would be many other points to be brought under discussion which cannot, unfortunately, be done here. On the whole, the present writer cannot, to his regret, find that any real progress has been made in the field of research on Vedic religion by this new attempt by Professor Keith. His statements are, of course, very much matter-of-fact, but the materials were already there in the well-known works of Oldenberg, Hillebrandt, and Macdonell—not to mention other ones—and need not necessarily have been repeated here. As for Professor Keith's own suggestions, they are mostly the same as belonged to an earlier school of Vedic mythologists and seem singularly lacking in that power of imagination which seems a necessary attribute to the

<sup>1</sup> In face of Professor Keith's assertion (p. 150) that Siva represents an amalgamation of Rudra with "a vegetation deity, an Indian Dionysos" we might be allowed to ask where that vegetation deity is to be found. As Indian sources are absolutely silent about him, the inference perhaps is that the Dionysos of Megasthenes is alluded to. If that is the case, the evidence is totally insufficient.

historian of religions. No doubt. Professor Keith possesses an uncommon power of dry and sober observation and statement. but his genius, which is chiefly of a negative character. seems singularly unfit for dealing with the fanciful outcomes of religious thought and mythological ideas.

We shall now proceed to make a few remarks and additions on scattered passages in the work. As a rule Professor Keith is extremely well read all over the vast fields of research which his extensive investigations cover : but there may be one or two rather unimportant additions which may as well be put forward here.

The contention, on p. 10. that no stone buildings like those of the Sumerians have been discovered in the Indus valley is somewhat invalid in face of the recent excavations at Mohenjo-Darjo and other sites in the Sindh and Punjāb. But Professor Keith may well defend himself for neglecting to put in a reference to these excavations by referring to the singular fact that so far very few reports have reached us concerning the real importance of the new finds.

On pp 20 and 547 the date of Pāṇini is shortly discussed, and Professor Keith, in accordance with the orthodox, but singularly unfounded view, places him in the fourth century B.C. It is willingly admitted, and was duly pointed out in the article referred to on p. 547. that the reasons for postponing his date to some time just before 500 B.C. are, so far, wholly hypothetical : but the evidence for the orthodox view is just as slight or possibly a little slighter. Anyhow, the *yavanānī* argument should certainly not be brought to bear upon the question. For if *yavanānī līpī* does really apply to the text of Pāṇini himself, which is by no means certain, the natural inference is that it simply means the "Western" script, i.e., the Aramaic used by the Persian chancellery or an otherwise unknown Kharoṣṭhī of a very early date.

On p. 147 Professor Keith has got something to say about the *vrātya*'s, those rather mysterious people who performed the curious sacrifice called the *vrātyastoma*. The present writer once tried to establish that the *vrātyas* were unorthodox followers of Rudra-Śiva, a point of view that was rather violently attacked by Professor Keith,<sup>1</sup> who still refuses to see the *real* point of the question. The references to literature on the *vrātya* problem are insufficient, as amongst others an important article by Professor Winternitz<sup>2</sup> has been left out.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. *JRAS.*, 1913, p. 155 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift für Buddhismus*, vol. vi (1924-5), p. 48 sq.

Nor is there any reference to the paper by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Shāstri,<sup>1</sup> in which, without knowing my previous opinion, he arrives at exactly the same conclusion as myself. In the meantime another very distinguished scholar has arrived at the same conclusion too, though, unfortunately, he has not yet published his discussion of the problem. In view of this consensus we shall rest satisfied the *vrātyas* had undoubtedly some close connexion with the cult of Rudra-Śiva, especially as Professor Keith offers us nothing towards a solution of the question, his criticism being purely negative.

It seems curious that Professor Keith (pp. 491, 521) should feel inclined to uphold the translation of *neti neti* by "not so, not so", as it is pretty obvious that it simply means "no, no". The author has himself given the very best parallel for this in quoting, on p. 600, n. 2, the words of Duns Scotus: "Deus . . . non immerito *nihil* vocatur." Nor does his criticism of Professor Stecherbatsky's solution of the central problems of Buddhism (p. 547, etc.) carry any conviction. It would perhaps be hasty to conclude that Professor Stecherbatsky has been able to tell us precisely what the Tathāgata taught; but he has undoubtedly grasped the knotty problem in a quite new way, and the simple and elegant solution of the *dharma* question speaks a lot for the correctness of his views.

A few supplementary notices on literature may well conclude this already somewhat lengthy review. On p. 38 we miss a reference to the late Professor von Schroeder's work on Herakles and Indra,<sup>2</sup> as well as one to the paper of Professor Wackernagel on Kubera and the Kabeiroi,<sup>3</sup> the identity of whom cannot, of course, be upheld with any great success. On Viṣṇu's three steps something has been said in *Ostasiat. Zeitschrift*, vii, p. 5 sq., and the etymology of *śipiviṣṭa* has been discussed to some length in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. 46, p. 32 sq.

That there existed some Teuton parallels to the Dioskouroi and the Ásvins has been contended by Professor Johansson,<sup>4</sup> on chiefly etymological reasons. On the problem of Mātariśvan something has been said by the present writer in *Kleine Beiträge zur indo-iranischen Mythologie* (1911), p. 69 sq. The discussion of the etymology of the

<sup>1</sup> *PASB.*, 1921, p. xxi sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. d. Wiss.*, 58, 3 (1914).

<sup>3</sup> *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, vol. 41, p. 314 sq.

<sup>4</sup> *Arkiv for Nordisk Filologi*, vol. 35, p. 1 sq.

name *Parjanya* (p. 141) might well have included a reference to articles by Professors Lidén<sup>1</sup> and Hirt.<sup>2</sup>

On p. 302 we miss a reference to Professor Hillebrandt's paper on suicide by fire,<sup>3</sup> and on p. 346 the important discussion of Johansson on the *āśvamedha*<sup>4</sup> might well have been taken into account. Nor has Professor Keith (p. 423) referred to Winternitz' very important paper on *suttee*.<sup>5</sup> That the two Patañjali's are in reality one person (p. 548) has recently been upheld, though probably with slight success, by Professor Liebich.<sup>6</sup> Professor Edgerton, in an excellent article in the *AJPh.*, has declared his adherence to the opinion of the present writer that *yoga* really means "practical effort".<sup>7</sup>

There are several other points which we should very much like to discuss, but for want of space, they must be left out here. Only one detail must still be touched upon, and the present writer feels very happy to confess that, much as he disagrees from the views of Professor Keith in general, he is in complete agreement with him there. Professor Keith is to be congratulated upon the very acute way in which he has criticized the entirely impossible theories of Professor Hertel on the meaning of *brahman* and on the date of Zoroaster, and we must be thankful to him for having done so. Every criticism of such premature and extravagant theories is welcome, as it is else to be feared that they may be re-echoed by persons with insufficient competence of judgment, and thus be converted into more or less a sort of doctrine, and the thorough criticism of Professor Keith undoubtedly will go a long way towards preventing that.

In summing up we have to confess that the work of Professor Keith leaves room for grave doubt and disagreement on many points, and that the central part of it—the Vedic religion and mythology—does not seem to have contributed virtually towards the progress of that branch of research. But quite apart from this, which may, after all, be a matter of purely personal taste, this book will always remain a standard work for reference on a great number of subjects. We may disagree with the opinions of Professor Keith, but we can only have one opinion of his marvellous energy, skill, and power of

<sup>1</sup> *Armenische Studien*, p. 89 sq.

<sup>2</sup> *Indogermanische Forschungen*, vol. i, p. 479 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1917-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 108 sq.

<sup>5</sup> *VOJ.*, xxix, 172 sq.

<sup>6</sup> *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1919: 4, p. 7 sq.

<sup>7</sup> Cp. expressions like *ātmanam yujita*, etc.

mastering a great number of various subjects. In spite of divergence of opinions we may be allowed to wind up with an expression of sincere admiration for his apparently unlimited faculty of gathering and producing information on any amount of subjects.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

VIKRAMA'S ADVENTURES OR THE THIRTY-TWO TALES OF THE THRONE.

A collection of Stories about King Vikrama, as told by the thirty-two Statuettes that supported his Throne. Edited in four different Recensions of the Sanskrit Original (Vikrama-Charita or Sinhasana Dvatrinṅaka) and translated into English with an Introduction, by FRANKLIN EDGERTON. Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 26-7. cvi + 266 pp. ; 369 pp. Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1926.

It has long been known that Professor Edgerton was preparing an elaborate edition of the *Vikramacarita*, and we now learn that his manuscript materials were fully completed already at the beginning of 1917. The publication of these important volumes has, however, been long delayed owing to the War and its disastrous consequences, but it seems that the Harvard Oriental Series has now resumed its full activity, to the admiration and satisfaction alike of every Sanskrit scholar. Professor Edgerton is to be warmly congratulated upon his achievement, and so is also the editor of the series, Professor Lanman, whose life-long services to Sanskrit scholarship are too well known all over the world to be in need of any further comment.

Professor Edgerton's editorship of the texts of the *Vikramacarita* seems to have been conducted on wholly sound methods, and although quite a number of passages seem difficult or doubtful probably nothing more could have been achieved with help of the materials available. Consummate as seems to be his skill as an editor must also be his patience ; for it may as well be admitted that we might rack a considerable amount of literature before finding something quite as senseless and insipid as are these, fortunately rather short, tales connected with Vikrama and his famous throne. Not one of them is even slightly exciting, and if something could perhaps be said for a story like the one called " The clever mountebank " <sup>1</sup> that is about all. Of all the innumerable tales known from Indian sources, a very considerable number are of the highest literary and folkloristic merit,

<sup>1</sup> It may be left wholly out of the discussion whether " mountebank " is just the appropriate rendering of the Sanskrit *Aindrajālika*.

but the tales of the *Vikramacarita*, unfortunately, do not come under that head.

No suggestions concerning doubtful passages in the text can be offered in a short review, nor could the present writer, who is wholly unacquainted with the manuscript materials, venture to offer any. As for the translation it is certainly made with every care, and Professor Edgerton has, no doubt, succeeded very well in making it generally accessible even to the reader whose acquaintance with the original language is only a very slight one. Of certain details in the rendering of the Sanskrit we may perhaps feel in doubt; to quote only two instances, it may well be questioned whether *dharmasaṃgrahakāriṇaḥ* (p. 147, 15 of the text) is quite appropriately rendered by "laying up stores of righteousness", and it is perfectly obvious that in the verse quoted from the *Mālatīmādhava* on p. 190 *śūlapāṇi* should not be translated by "Club-bearer". The last instance is a harmless one, we willingly admit it; for every Sanskrit scholar knows that the *śūla* is not the club of Śiva, and to persons unacquainted with Sanskrit it is of no consequence at all. And we shall pass silently over some other small inadvertences which are not in the slightest detrimental to the importance of the work as a whole.

The introduction very carefully deals with the general scope and contents of the work, the manuscripts of the different recensions, the authorship and date of the work and the intricate problem connected with King Vikrama or Vikramāditya, that mysterious *magni nominis umbra* who has hitherto baffled all the sagacious investigations of Western and Hindu scholars alike.

Professor Edgerton somewhat strongly believes in the historical existence of a certain Vikrama, king of Mālwa, and in some way or other connected with the foundation of an era beginning in 58 B.C. It may as well be admitted at once that the pages of the Professor's excellent work dealing with the Vikrama problem seem to the present writer to be the least happy ones of the whole book. We willingly admit that there is no reason whatsoever for historically denying the existence of Vikramāditya, king of Ujjain in the first century B.C.; but, on the other hand, there is just as little reason for believing in it. A historical background is to be found behind the tales of Gardabhilla, the Śakas and Vikramāditya, of that we feel fully convinced, and the name Gardabhilla might well inspire somewhat aerial suggestions. But the problem still remains as unsolved as ever to what period these events have to be ascribed, and Professor Edgerton has offered us no



contribution towards a probable solution of the riddle. His criticism of Sir John Marshall's attempt to solve the problem of the Vikrama-era is rather an unhappy one, and it seems scarcely intelligible that support should be given to D. R. Bhandarkar's (and Konow's) rendering of *ayasa* as *ādyasya*, which is, of course, wholly out of the question. Until further discoveries tell us something better we shall feel fairly satisfied that the Vikrama-era is in some way connected with the Śaka king Azes I.

On p. liii, Professor Edgerton deals with quotations, in the *Vikramacarita*, from other Sanskrit works. In this connexion it might as well have been mentioned that verse 7 of the eighteenth story (SR.) is, of course, the introductory stanza of the *Vikramorvaśī*.

Criticism of certain details might perhaps be carried a little further. But as for the general tenor and usefulness of the work, there can only be one opinion, and certainly all Sanskrit scholars feel deeply grateful to Professor Edgerton for his valuable and painstaking achievement. To English and Continental readers alike it may be unknown or doubtful whether spellings like "thru", "flourisht", etc., render faithfully the American pronunciation or not; it is practically certain that they do not render the average English one. But this remains a matter of taste, and although we should be feeling happier for not seeing such things they cannot deprive the work of anything like that of its great and lasting value.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

ERGEBNISSE DER KGL. PREUSSISCHEN TURFANEXPEDITIONEN. Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien von A. VON LE COQ. Fünfter Teil : Neue Bildwerke, Berlin, 1926.

When the present writer had the pleasure to review, in this *Bulletin*,<sup>1</sup> the third and fourth volumes of Professor von Le Coq's *magnum opus* he was under the impression that it was happily brought to its end. This, anyhow, was the impression which could at that time be gathered from the publisher's advertisement. But, happily, it proved to be otherwise, for the Professor has now endowed us with still another magnificent volume; and, according to the preface, the unpacking, which is not yet completed, and exhibiting of the precious results of the Turfan expeditions will enable Professor von Le Coq—and possibly also other Berlin scholars—to furnish us with still more materials towards the knowledge of the development of classical,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. III, pp. 814-20.

Indian, and Iranian art on the soil of Turkestan. Whether, under those circumstances, the "Buddhistische Spätantike" is still to be considered as a work brought to its definite end is not quite clear to the present writer. Personally he hopes not.

In artistic accomplishment this volume well holds its rank with the previous ones, and we must confess very seldom to have seen better reproductions or even any equal to those given here; they seem to represent the very pick of illustrative art. The text is, as in all the volumes, not too extensive, but gives just what is needed for the understanding of the pictures and, besides, brings several new conclusions of the author which, even if we must at times with all due respect differ from them, are always worthy of consideration. Professor von Le Coq has the artistic taste for writing scientific works which is not common to all his countrymen; he satisfies his readers by giving them the great lines and an appropriate amount of details without cramming them with an immense number of *petitesses* which may be very useful but sometimes rather blur the main outlines.

The present writer, who cannot profess to be an expert on any of the topics dealt with by Professor von Le Coq, may only venture upon a very few scattered remarks to which he himself attaches but slight importance. In no way are they intended to detract from the profound appreciation and respect he feels for the learned author's most important work.

On p. 10 Professor von Le Coq has given us really valuable information concerning a detail in the traditional description of a Buddha. Many of the signs characterizing the great spiritual and temporal lords of Ancient India are rather puzzling<sup>1</sup>; and one of the most astonishing is certainly the web which connects the fingers of a Buddha, something like the one on the feet of ducks, etc. Professor von Le Coq seems to have shown that this singular trait originates from a technical detail in the Gandhāra sculptures. This is of great importance; for, if the Professor's suggestion be a correct one, it proves that the traditional description of a Buddha must be younger than the rise of the Gandhāra school, as before its origin India is not supposed to have had any images of the Master of the Law.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g. Varāhamihira's *Brhatsaṃhitā*, ch. lxviii sq.

<sup>2</sup> It has recently been contended by some scholars—amongst others, I think, by Dr. Coomaraswamy—that the image of the Buddha is of purely Indian, not of Gandhāra, origin. Unfortunately, historical evidence goes quite the opposite way.

On plate 10 we have a Jātaka picture where the Bodhisattva is seen preparing to cut his throat or his jugular vein with a sword, apparently in order to give his blood to a poor, emaciated child that is seen reclining in the lap of its mother on the Bodhisattva's left side. The picture was known already from Professor Grünwedel's *Alt-buddhistische Kultstätten*, p. 69, but has not been identified. It is not absolutely identical with the Ajantā picture called by M. Foucher "le Bodhisattva à l'épée"<sup>1</sup> but is of the same type. The story which belongs to the picture at Ajantā has been found by Mlle Lalou in the *Dulva*, iv, 290b, and the Tōkyō *Tripitaka*, xvii, 3, 67a, col. 6.<sup>2</sup> According to these texts King Śibi, that paragon of self-sacrifice, gave for six whole months his own blood to a poor man who could only be cured by a soup of human blood—thus anticipating in a rather crude way the modern idea of transfusion.

The second picture of plate 10 has been identified by Professor Grünwedel with the *Sutasomajātaka*,<sup>3</sup> though, from *Alt-buddhistische Kultstätten*, p. 70, it does not seem quite certain that this is the case. The present writer may be allowed to give vent to a slight doubt whether the identification is really the correct one.

As for the curious head-dress of the lady on plate 25 we may perhaps venture to refer to this *Bulletin*, Vol. III, p. 817, and to the literature quoted there.

This exhausts the scanty store of detailed remarks to which it has seemed worth while to give vent here. After that let us finish this short review with an expression of the gratitude towards Professor von Le Coq for his magnificent achievement, which we feel sure is shared by every scholar interested in these topics. The author himself, in the preface, speaks of the almost insuperable difficulties experienced during the period of printing the previous volumes. To the difficulties experienced at that time by almost every author in Germany there came the personal one of a long and most serious illness, the foundation of which was laid, if we are not much mistaken, by an unusual act of bravery during one of the Professor's now famous expeditions. Difficulties there are to be surmounted. And it can only intensify our admiration for the iron will and great skill of Professor von Le Coq that he has really succeeded in surmounting them, thus setting in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Journal As*, 1921; Tome xvii, p. 216 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Journal As*, 1925; Tome ccvii, p. 336 sq.

<sup>3</sup> *Jātakamālā* xxxi; the title there is *Sutasomv*<sup>o</sup> not *Śruta-Somajātaka*.

annals of scientific research another splendid illustration of the old verse of the Hindu poet :

*udyojanam puruṣasiṃham upaiti Lakṣmīr  
daivena deyam iti kūpuruṣā vadanti |  
daivam nihatya kuru pauraṣam ātmaśaktiā  
yatne kṛte yadā na siddhyati ko 'tra doṣaḥ :*

JARL CHARPENTIER.

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FURTHER DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA. Translated from the Pali of the Majjhima Nikāya. By LORD CHALMERS, G.C.B., sometime Governor of Ceylon. Sacred Books of the Buddhists, vol. v. In two volumes. Vol. i, pp. xxiv, 371. London : Oxford University Press. 1926.

We have at length a book before us which is long overdue. This is in no way a defaulting in the translator. It is he who has stepped into the breach, accomplishing a task for which there had arisen in neither Oxford nor Cambridge a Jowett. Had he not turned leisure hours, unceasing, unceasing, to better use than do most of us, we should still be waiting. Our debt to him is very great. The publication of the three volumes of the "Dialogues", i.e. of the first (Dīgha) Nikāya, was spread out over twenty-one years : the publication of the slightly more condensed second (Majjhima) Nikāya, will have occupied two years ! Let it not be concluded from that, that the long and exacting labour has been rushed with unseemly haste. I can testify from some experience, and I venture to say, that never has it been my good fortune to read any Pali translation (I might even go much farther) where I get the sense of a text not merely "rendered" into a more or less equivalent English, but of a text where the meaning has been so chewed and digested, that the English expression of it emerges with the freshness, vigour, and vividness of something actually experienced. The aid here rendered by Lord Chalmers to all future Pali and Buddhist studies will live as an outstanding work long after most of the many "books about Buddhism" are dead and buried. A critic here and there may have seen presumption in Rhys Davids's choice of title : "the Dialogues," but, after all, these Further Dialogues are of the lineage of Jowett's Plato. There, as here, we have the *sources*, about which the little books talk, not always very wisely, and by "sources" I mean the surviving materials

which at present bring us nearer than any others to the fountain-head of the Buddhist movement. In Plato's dialogues we get the man Sokrates as "worthed" and worded by the man Plato. In these Buddhist dialogues we get the man Gotama and other men, teachers in his Order, worthed and worded in a longer and more indirect way, namely, by a succession of Theras (senior clerics) in India, replaced by a succession of Theras in Ceylon, for a long time by oral transmission only, and then after a few centuries of such transmission, by written transmission. If we can only get at Sokrates through Plato, if we can only get at Jesus through early Christian clerics, much harder is it to win through to Gotama and his more intimate world, up and back that very much longer stream of an ever, if slowly, changing process in "worthing" or values. But it is the best we now have. For the sake of the general reader, in whose interests it chiefly is that such translations are made, I should have been glad to have seen this, the true historical point of view, emphasized in the translator's introduction, a foreword into which much other wise information is packed. The one little reminder he there gets to take such a view lies in the *caveat* "Gotama (or his followers for him)". But how very much, in dealing with scriptures, still held by millions, not to mention new converts, to contain the very words of the founder and his first helpers, lies in that little *caveat*! Who can wonder that the general reader gets the right point of view so badly, when we see so many scholars practically ignoring it in speaking of this and that: "Gotama said". "Buddha thought"?

The title "Further Dialogues" is a happy evasion of the difficulty in reproducing the clumsy and inapt, if handy, title "Majjhima", i.e. "muddling (long)". It links up the present translation with its predecessor, that of the Dīgha (long) Nikāya, as in its own way does the Pali title. That each work was handed down, from the time when the first nuclei of collected sayings were formed, by a distinct "regional" group there can be no reasonable doubt. Buddhaghosa, in his account of the first council, tells of the four schools (*nissītakā*), to each of whom was entrusted the memorizing of one Nikāya apiece. The allocation is very possibly inaccurate; the Dīgha-Nikāya is assigned to the barely-won seniority of Anānda, when it is fairly evident that it, and not, as the Commentary says, the Majjhima, was already in the hands (cf. the term *pariharatha*!)<sup>1</sup> of the school of the already deceased Sāriputta, the premier therā, to

<sup>1</sup> *Sumangala-Vibhīṣinī* (Dīgha Commentary) i, p. 14 f.

whose compiling are ascribed the two last sections of the Dīgha. Buddhaghosa was handling a late, possibly corrupt, Sinhalese recension of the Commentary. But the fact of the allocations may be accepted. And the inevitable result would be, that the memorizers in both regional groups would develop, not only different collections of sayings, but also different shades and emphases in doctrine. Such a comparative study in the near future will be greatly facilitated by the appearance of this sister translation.

There is so much I should like to add in more detailed appreciation and criticism, but on this occasion at least time fails me. The remaining volume is near the date of issue, and may furnish another opportunity. In the preceding number of the *Bulletin* under "Man the Willer", I had something of this kind to say in the frequent use, by the translator, of a word, which strictly does not exist in Pali, or indeed in any old Indian literature, the word "will". In the index to the present work I have been careful to bring out the various Pali substitutes rendered by "will". I need not go again into that here. Here let it only be added, that this work recruits from the best traditions of English style a number of terms and phrases not before pressed-in, quick, "much-saying," robust, lofty, subtle, the noting of which is, often, for a sister-worker, a sheer delight. If now and then there appears a preciousness, a preference for heavy polysyllables, why! the text itself is not free from vagaries of this kind. And herein—may I rub this in once more?—the reading of the Majjhima in English straight through without interruption will convey to the heedful reader its own historical *caveat* in an unmistakable way. As he advances through the second half—"See!" the book will call to him out of the ages, "see how we have bit by bit come to be! See how we reflect the slow spread of the Sāsana, the drawing in, among us of the Majjhimabhāṇakas, of divers minds of various, slowly changing culture! Listen how we yearn to remind you, that men are not all automata, least of all the teacher. Your written books change in their diction, and so, change here and there also in *what* they tell. How much more, bethink you, did not we, when we were a walking human library, change both in diction and in the *what* that we told! Dimly there yet shines down our pages that first Brahman-inspired message to the multitude, surer to insure man's happiness hereafter, ay, here too, than the ritual and the sacrifice: the message of the Middle Way (p. 12), the message :—

For him whose heart is cleansed each day is blest.  
 each day is hallowed : pure of heart and mind.  
 he hallows each new day with vows renewed.  
 So hither, brahmin. come and bathe as I :—  
 Love all that lives. speak truth. slay not nor steal.  
 no niggard be, but dwell in faith." (p. 28.)

"We tell of more than this message ; many other ideas are wrought up with it in our pages. ideas of thinkers on Cause and on the nature and names of things. who were drawn to our Messenger by his message of the WAY, ideas of musers who longed to commune with other worlds. as one day men will again. and far more clearly. and. through all and above all. the ideas of the world of the monk. the ' almsman '. whose outlook is not that of the layman. nor healthy for him. See that you keep distinct these many strands ! Our world was alive and is dead. So read that you die not to your own present new world !"

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

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THE ETHICS OF BUDDHISM. By S. TACHIBANA, Professor of Pali and Primitive Buddhism at the Komazawa-Daigaku, Tokyo. 8vo. pp. xi, 288. London : Oxford University Press, 1926.

This work, originally the author's thesis for his Phil.D. Oxon., is a useful contribution to such knowledge of the contents of the Pali Piṭakas as is yet accessible to our general reading public. The Piṭakas are a plant of the old world which took a very long time in the making ; they are bulky : they are only as yet partially translated. No one in Europe, probably no one in the world, is as yet conversant with the whole of their contents in detail. Scholars err here and there in their syntheses for lack of such conversance. The general reader errs still more. What do these books actually say ? What is it that down their long drawn-out process of formation they have *come to say* ?

If he ask the latter question, the scholars so far will not give him much effective guidance. And the present work does but bear out this opinion. If he ask the former question, he will find here much accurate information. He will find detailed treatment, in lucid and almost always correct English. of the way in which these books deal with matters of fundamental morality and with a superstructure of special virtues. Very praiseworthy reference is here to the emphasis laid on these, more or less, in other phases of Indian culture. And the treatment is worded throughout in a temperate blend of sympathy

and impartiality, lacking which no writer should presume to treat of anything at all, least of all of such a subject as this.

If in what remains to be said, I find shortcomings to be pointed out, they are probably such as the author will be himself the first to realize, as the years bring growth. And first, one or two details. His references tend to show a limited acquaintance with his subject-matter. Were this not so, he would not have omitted to cite, where the Piṭakas—why, by the way, does he prefer to speak always of “the Piṭaka” for “Piṭakas”?—and Upaniṣads both commend the transcending of both good and evil, the very notable parable of the Raft, in the Majjhima. Nor would he have passed silently over the fervent emphasis in the Sutta of the Saw, when treating of patience and non-resistance. Nor does he seem to be conversant with any part of the Abhidhamma, or he would have laid the great list of *lobha*-synonyms (§ 1059) alongside his own list of one of these synonyms: *abhiṭṭhā* (p 73). And he would have at least touched on the points of ethical controversy emerging throughout the Kathāvatthu. To this extent Mr. Tachibana was scarcely ready to enter upon such a work. But then who is? Assuredly none of us. The best way, Rhys Davids used to say, to learn a subject is to write a book about it. When you have done you are ready to begin.

To come to deeper reaching considerations:—Mr. Tachibana, in the preliminary canter of this college-born essay, is at least shaping to become a historical writer on Buddhism. He has yet very much herein to learn. He does distinguish that “later on”, as he words it, the Upaniṣads are found putting forward “modified” points of view. But that these modifications may have been largely due to the paramountcy of the Buddhist, to say nothing of the Jain point of view, does not come into his reckoning at all. He has apparently hardly begun to grasp, that, in any treatment of these, or any scriptures of a dead past, the one way wherein truth may be hoped for is to see them as that which was once, within a certain period, a living growing plant, with a following period of decadence and of death.

Hence, where he leaves his useful collections of texts, comparatively treated, for wider considerations, we are left with the sense of being brought no farther in any effective insight into the real history of that strange mixture of wisdom and limitations in wisdom called the Three Piṭakas. The writer has yet to give us, as we hope he may in the future give us, something that will take rank as a “Moreword” in the history of Buddhist ethics or of Buddhism. At present he has harnessed his thought too closely to the guidance of two or three



European writers on his subject to be able to cast aside his "raft"—as in the Sutta parable—and go forward with a freed mind. If I may venture to suggest what may help him to do this, I would urge him to take up the psychological study of the Will. No writer on ethics can afford to *begin* to think ethically till he has soaked his mind in that. No matter that Gotama had not the word "will". He found some quite good substitutes, and his message to his world was essentially an appeal to man as a willer, to will to ensure his happiness now and hereafter by a certain Way of conduct, and not by compliance with an outgrown system of ritual. Herein lies "the basis of the (original) Buddhist teaching", *not* "the principle of causality" (p. 76)—a grievous misstatement, to my thinking. For if this were really so, we should have had it put forward in the first sermons—most surely we should.

Secondly, let him no more quote texts from no matter what context, with such words as "So says the Buddha". That is, if he wishes to count as a historical writer. Such phrases only befit the unthinking propagandist. For the serious historian they count as scarcely more than the refrain of one of Balzac's characters:—"*Comme disait ce poète.*" Let him see in the books of Vinaya and Dhamma, which he cites, without weighing the contexts, so many slowly grown accretions of half-forgotten, half-"restored" records of the first teachings, teachings which were only finally closed as Canon, *if then*, about 250 years after the first utterances, teachings which were about that time recast in style, and in one uniform language to aid propaganda, teachings which were not set down by those from whom we now have them, till yet another two centuries had gone by. This is all well enough known, yet it is strange how oblivious writers on the contents of the Piṭakas appear to be about it. No one quite new to Buddhism would dream things were so, were he to read most treatises on "early" Buddhism.

Finally, I would urge our author, in dealing with "Buddhist ethics", to bring into much stronger relief than he has done the fact that the Piṭakas were compiled solely by monks almost entirely for monks. We are reading of the ethical ideals and standards suitable only for the worldless, worldworn man. Lay ideals and standards are here the exception, not the rule. It is significant that the first sermon, with the exception of the fourfold stereotyped phrase for the Goal—probably a monkish gloss—is *not a gospel for the monk alone*. It is for Everyman. But elsewhere we are, as we read on and on, like one who contemplates plants in a hothouse. There is much that is lofty

and fine, lovely and pure. But there are cramping limitations. There is an artificial pruning and forcing. The black bar of the Negative is drawn through much which should be more worthily worded. We are in a little world within the world. In the main, in the long run, the Ethics of the Piṭakas cannot be the ethics of Humanity. Our Ethics must be for Everyman.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

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NIRVĀṆA. Par LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. Etudes sur l'Histoire des Religions, No. 5. Paris, 1925.

In this his newest contribution M. de la Vallée Poussin makes an attempt to prove that *nirvāṇa* is not Nirvana. Since the term has passed into almost all our modern languages with the definite meaning of an annihilation comparable to the extinction of fire when the fuel is exhausted, we shall all have to drop the habit of this expression if the author is right, i.e., if *nirvāṇa* really means supreme bliss without any afterthought of annihilation, *bonheur suprême en dehors de toute idée d'anéantissement*. The Oxford English Dictionary, which contains what, in my opinion, is the exact truth, will be obliged to drop the word or to change its explanation. How difficult that will be is proved by the example of M. de la V. P. himself, for on p. 113 we see him using the verb *nirvāner*, "to nirvanise," in the sense of "to destroy".

M. de la V. P. thinks it historically improbable that the genuine Buddhism was a philosophic system which denied the existence of a soul. It was much more a teaching of obscure magic and thaumaturgy coupled with hypnotic practices and a simple faith in the soul's immortality, its blissful survival in a paradise. This characteristic the author then seems willing to extend so as to cover a period of about a thousand years, the whole period of the Hīnayāna. If the Pali Canon, our oldest source, is full of philosophic speculation, so as to be sometimes unintelligible, it should not be misunderstood as containing a real theory which was seriously meant. It is a literature of spiritual exercises in hypnotism. The philosophic speculations had no theoretical meaning, but a practical one (*une spéculation d'ordre pratique*). They were resorted to when hypnotic states were called up. In this condition, says M. de la V. P., p. 53, did the Buddhism of the Lesser Vehicle remain from the Mahāvagga up to Buddhaghosa, it was namely "a Yoga

without almost any alloy". What a Yoga without any alloy of philosophy is, we are informed on p. 12. It is the practices of magicians and thaumaturges which were aiming to produce hypnotic states of consciousness. That the philosophy of the Canon was not seriously meant, but served only to produce hypnotic states, we are informed on p. 128—*pessimisme et nihilisme appartiennent à une littérature d'exercices spirituels*.

We have thus to imagine the Buddha as a magician who did not preach Nirvana, but was engaged in hypnotic exercises during which he uttered some confused thoughts (*idéologie flottante*), but never believed in them. He used them as a soporific stuff in order to induce his audience into a state of hypnotic slumber.

Although these statements of the author are very explicit, his book contains other appreciations which apparently are conflicting. He is very severe on those scholars who have indulged in comparisons between Eastern and Western philosophic ideas (p. xxi), but he himself goes all the length of comparing the Buddhist negation of a soul with the similar theories of H. Taine (p. 38, n.). He very often alludes to the Pali Canon as containing a "scholastic" doctrine of pessimism and nihilism. Since scholasticism means excessive subtlety and artificiality in speculation, it is difficult to decide how this appreciation is to harmonize with the statement that Buddhism is nothing but Yoga, even unphilosophic Yoga, a Yoga consisting of magic, thaumaturgy and hypnotic practices.

Some indirect support for his theory of unphilosophic Buddhism the author tries to find in the so-called "reserved" questions. Buddha is reported to have, on a special occasion, declined to make any statement about such questions as whether the world was finite or infinite, about what the nature of the absolute is, etc. He said that these questions, as coming from a *mala fide* questioner, were futile. Although against this episode, containing nothing positive, there are hundreds of others containing very explicit "scholastic" deliverances, the occasional silence is represented as the true and genuine attitude of the historical Buddha. He did not really care for philosophy. He simply, in the reported instance, refused to administer some doses of that efficient soporific remedy which he so liberally dispensed on other occasions. So indifferent was he indeed to philosophical questions that he was prepared to answer the question about the existence of an eternal Soul in the affirmative if his interlocutor preferred so, if not, he did not mind denying it (p. 117)!

These contradictions are in my opinion due to the original blunder of an attempt to dethrone Nirvana from the place it occupies in full right, on the basis of the works of our best scholars who were unanimous in assigning to this term of Buddhist philosophy the meaning of life's annihilation.<sup>1</sup>

M. de la V. P. has accustomed us to find in all his works a rich and interesting documentation from original and novel sources. We accordingly find in his book a lot of important details about the position of the later schools of the Hīnayāna, the Vaibhāṣikas and the Sautrāntikas. The first of them maintained that Nirvana was a reality. The second denied this and contended that Nirvana was simple cessation of the world process. M. de la V. P. calls the latter standpoint "negation of Nirvana". He apparently thinks that there could be a Buddhism without Nirvana, or a Buddhism not knowing itself whether it assumed some kind of Nirvana or not. He exclaims, p. 160, "we are not in the country of Descartes!" So illogical were the Hindus that they could be guilty of such incongruity! As to the Vaibhāṣikas who maintain that Nirvana was a reality (*vastu*), he explains it as referring to that Nirvana which meant felicity and the survival of a soul in paradise. Unfortunately for M. de la V. P. the relative position of both these schools is *exactly the reverse* of what he assumes it to be. The Vaibhāṣikas stick to the old and genuine view that the world-process stops, or is annihilated, in Nirvana, which thus represents *an inanimate something in which all energies are extinct*. The Sautrāntikas *denied this kind of inanimate reality*. They are an intermediate school between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, and in their Buddhology they adopt the Mahāyāna view, according to which Buddha is a god of a pantheistic character (*dharmakāya*).<sup>2</sup> We cannot in this short review develop all the details of the question. We have done it in a paper read before the Academy of Sciences of Leningrad, which will appear, with a supplement, in the form of a pamphlet published by that Academy.

As for the genuine Buddhism of Buddha himself there seems to be a very strong tendency to surmise that it must have been something

<sup>1</sup> M. E. Senart, *Album Kern*, p. 104, and Father J. Dahlmann, *Nirvāṇa* (Berlin, 1896), assign to it the meaning of an extinction of all personal life in an impersonal absolute, it then becomes "un simple équivalent de brahman". This, in my opinion, is quite right with regard to the Mahāyānist idea, but not the Hīnayānist one. Cp. my *Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, Leningrad, 1926, p. 35 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Or "cosmotheistic" as Prof. M. Anesaki prefers to express it.

utterly different from what is recorded in the Pali Canon, our best source. Some scholars pick up out of the whole Canon, the Canon containing a wealth of scholasticism, the single utterance from the Mahāvagga (vi. 31), "Make good actions, do not make bad actions," and contend that this alone is the genuine Buddhism of Buddha himself. All the remainder is of later origin and is "church-made". Others, like Professor B. Keith, think that Buddha was nothing of a philosopher, since we cannot possibly admit "reason to prevail in a barbarous age",<sup>1</sup> but he "believed" in nothing less than "the non-existence of a substantial soul".<sup>2</sup> At last M. de la V. P. comes with the assertion that Buddha, although resorting to magic and thaumaturgy, had just the contrary belief, he believed in an existing soul. Is it not clear from the comparison of these opinions that the method applied is utterly unscientific and that the results represent much more what their authors desire Buddhism to be than what it really was? In any case, M. de la V. P. seems not to have paid sufficient attention to the advice given him by M. A. Barth. When reviewing one of his previous works this scholar said, "Nous ne gagnerons pas grand' chose à nous demander ce qu'ont pu croire et pratiquer certains bouddhistes, ou même un grand nombre de bouddhistes; la question est plutôt quand ces croyances et ces pratiques, ont-elles fait partie du bouddhisme, et y ont-elles reçu officiellement droit de cité . . . Or c'est là le peril que M. de la Vallée Poussin ne me semble pas avoir toujours su éviter."<sup>3</sup>

TH. STERBATSKY.

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PARNASSUS BICEPS. Being a treatment and discussion of the Piræan Marble. By R. J. WALKER, M.A. xvi + 310 pp. Paris: G. Ficker, 1926.

This represents an attempt to show that the Piræan Marble contains an inscription setting forth names of authors and plays, which was copied from an original written in Sanskrit. The order in which the names appear is held to be the order of the Sanskrit alphabet. From this the author proceeds to other considerations of contact between Alexandrian and Indian culture. He takes up the question of translations from Greek into Sanskrit, and the previously much-disputed problem of Greek influence on the Sanskrit drama.

The author appears to have an extensive and close knowledge of aspects of Classical Philology, and to combine with it some knowledge

<sup>1</sup> *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Quarante ans d'indianisme*, ii, p. 340.

of Indian conditions. But though the general thesis is interesting, and suited to the greater knowledge we are gaining of India's relations with the outside world, the working of it out is too fanciful, too hypothetical, resting often on too slight basis, or on facts that admit of quite other interpretation to allow of us taking it very seriously. Nevertheless, it is extremely ingenious and may contain a germ of truth.

The author himself admits that the scholar with sufficient knowledge of both cultures would be hard to find ; and we do not presume to criticize him here from the Greek standpoint. But a few criticisms of his Indian material may indicate on what treacherous ground he is building.

For example, Skt. *h* is a voiced aspiration, not a guttural consonant in the proper sense of the word. Anusvāra does not simply denote nasalization of the vowel, but had a definite consonantal value, hence, e.g. Skt. *vaṁśāḥ* > H. *bāś* (with lengthening of the vowel due to loss of consonant) just as *dāntaḥ* > *dāt*. Skt. *e* and *o* were not diphthongal (whatever their original pre-Sanskrit value may have been), but simple long vowels. The author (p. 103) compares the systems of writing the accent in India and Alexandria : the resemblance is striking, but not necessarily so complete as at first appears. In Vedic the ulāṭṭa syllable (which we usually call the accented) seems rather to have been the mean : the anudāṭṭa was pronounced on a lower tone, the svarita (or, at least, the first part of it) on a higher tone : there is nothing very peculiar therefore in the fact that it is the two syllables which vary from the mean which are marked, while the mean syllable is left unmarked. It is difficult to see how the so-called " independent " svarita corresponds to the Greek circumflex : it certainly has no connexion with it historically. Is it true that it is commonly held that (p. 106) " in Greek two systems of tonic accentuation, the Indo-European and a later, long fought for the mastery " ? There is perhaps some justification for the author's assumption that Greeks were familiar with Sanskrit written from right to left : for Kharoṣṭhī written in that direction was the alphabet of the north-west ; but we must not forget that Brāhmī was written from left to right from an earlier date. In any case the daring of the author's hypothesis can perhaps be appreciated from his supposed paradigm taken from a supposed Greek grammar written in Sanskrit (Kharoṣṭhī ?) characters (p. 108).

*ajūM*  
*hījūM ījūM najūM*

In his amusing suggestion that *Θύσμος* translates a Skt. *havyah*, he should have noted that *havyá-* (gerundive to *juh'iti*) is found only as a neuter substantive: *havya-* used as a proper name is generally (though perhaps not necessarily) thought to be identical with *hávya-* or *havyá-* (gerundive to *hváyati*). The author imagines definitely quantitative metre came to India from Greece. He neglects then the fact that in the Rigveda itself, long before there can be any question of Greek influence, we see signs of the freer metre (resting on a definite number of syllables and a cæsure, as seen, e.g., in the Avesta) becoming a definitely quantitative metre.

I have criticized details: but it is on just such details that the whole theory is based. The theory is interesting: but more solid proof must be found before it can be accepted.

R. L. TURNER.

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INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. i, new edition. By E. HULTZSCH, Ph.D. cxxxi + 258 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. £5 5s.

For many years students of Indo-Aryan have been looking forward to the publication of the new edition of the inscriptions of Aśoka undertaken by Professor Hultzsch: there is scarcely another scholar who could have performed this task as well as he; and the work before us will be a monument to his scholarship. To the student of the history of the Indo-Aryan languages, the inscriptions of Aśoka are all-important: for they are the first contemporary documents in the long series which separates the language of the Rigveda from those spoken in India to-day. And the student of these inscriptions has long been hindered by lack of instruments—reliable transcriptions and photographs, translations, notes, indices. All that which was scattered in various books and journals and in half a dozen languages has now been collected together, sifted, and arranged in this one volume. This is a boon, for which all must feel deep gratitude, although the high price of the volume will severely restrict individual possession. On this point we regret some of Professor Hultzsch's work. Since the estampages of all the inscriptions have been given, what need was there to transcribe them into both Nāgarī and Roman? This work of supererogation (for either the Indian scholar who reads these inscriptions can use Roman, or the European scholar Nāgarī) has made the volume unnecessarily bulky, and, worse still, unnecessarily costly. In the introduction, too, some thought might have saved much space

and type-setting, without in any way interfering with clearness. This is an important point in present conditions.

Professor Hultzsch is an epigraphist and a great scholar of Sanskrit. In these respects his work here is splendid. If we have any criticism to offer it is his treatment of the linguistic material. The phonology and grammar of the inscriptions is dealt with piecemeal. There is no attempt to make a theory to embrace the whole ; to show forth the uniformity or divergencies of the parts : to estimate, even, for example, the effect of the Eastern dialects on the others. Even in the phonology there is no unifying theory. It is unsatisfactory, for example, simply to find stated in the Girnar Grammar that *ts* became *ch* (i.e. *ceh* ?) in *cikīchā*, but *s* (i.e. *ss* ?) in *usaṭena*. Surely it should have been shown that the phonetic conditions in these two words are quite different ; in the first *ts* occurs in the middle of a word and the *t* is explosive, in the second *t* is the final of the first member of a compound (treated as stated above in Sanskrit always as the final of a word), and therefore implosive. Moreover, this phenomenon is regularly found in Middle Indian and the modern languages. The same applies to the divergent treatment of *-dy-* in *aja* (< *ādya*) and *uyānesu* (< *udyāna*-).

Similarly attention might have been drawn to the difference of condition between the groups *śy* in *pśīyati* (> *pasati*) and *pratīveśya* (> *patīvesiya*-). The latter in the Rigveda would be *-reśiya-* (and, indeed, the difference is probably of Indo-European date).

In *osudha* (= *auṣadha*-) Professor Hultzsch says *-dh-* has been cerebralized by the previous *ṣ*, and *a* changed to *u* through the influence of the preceding *o*. An assumed earlier form for the etymologically dark *oṣadha-* of *\*oṣrdha-* or *\*osrdha-* would explain both phenomena. In dealing with *-y-*, he says that *mayūra* > *maūra* > *mora*-. This would be a change much in advance of the period. It has been shown that *mayūra*- is a loan-word in Sanskrit. Might it not be better to assume, provisionally, at least, that *mayūra*- and *mora*- represent loans from different dialects or periods ?

If *v* is developed out of *u* in *vuta* (< *ukta*-), why has it not also been similarly developed in the other sixty-seven words beginning with *u-* in the inscriptions which have *vuta*- ? It is simpler to suppose that *vuta*- has been formed analogically after the present stem and especially the gerundive *vatavo* (Sindhi *utaṇu* can stand for either *utta*- or *vutta*-).

A similar inaccuracy of thought seems to be responsible for the explanation of *traidasa* as from *\*trayadaśa*. What authority, or what



starting-point. has Professor Hultsch for this form. which would. if it had existed. have become *\*tredasa*? Nor does his critic Professor Charpentier (in *JRAS.* 1926, p. 137) seem more happy in his suggestion "that a form *\*trai-daśa* is a very old-fashioned and original one and of much greater age than the Skt. *trayodaśa*". For firstly Prim. Ind. *ai* has become *e*: secondly this form implies an IE. form of the root with lengthened grade, *\*trēi-* or *\*trōi-*, for which there seems to be no authority. On the other hand, supposing *trāyodaśa* represents earlier *\*trayazdaśa*, this agrees well with similar formations in other languages (in which the numbers 11-19 are formed by composition of the unit number in the nominative with the word for 10: thus for 11 we have Av. *aēvandasa*, Gk. *ἑνδεκα*, Lat. *undecim*, Goth. *ainlif*; for 12, Skt. *dvādaśa* = Av. *dvadasa* = Gk. *δώδεκα* = Lat. *duodecim* = Welsh *douder*: for 13, Pers. *sēzdah* = Lat. *trēdecim* (Brugmann, Grundriss. ii. 2, p. 24 ff.). Whether, as I believe, IE. *ezd* > Skt. *ēd* (while *ozd* > *ōd*), or whether, with the more general view interior Aryan *azd* > Skt. *ēd* (while final *-az* > *-o*), IE. *\*treyezdekṃ* would become, Prim. Ind. *\*trayedaśa*, replaced in Sanskrit by *trāyodaśa* after *trāyo*, but surviving in Aśoka *traidaśa* and the various modern words like Hindī *tērah*. In Gīrnār, vi, 12. *sukhāpayāmi* (and similar forms elsewhere) is explained as a subjunctive because it is co-ordinated with an optative and an imperative. Is this necessary in view of what we know of the subsequent development of the present indicative as a future and conditional tense?

It is difficult to see why (p. lxxi) the Gīrnār equivalent *vṛacha* (< *vṛkṣá-*) disproves Pischel's derivation of Pkt. *rukka-* from *rukṣa-* (though this is not necessarily the *rukṣá-* of RV. vi, 3, 7). The two forms may have existed side by side, *vṛkṣá-* and *rukṣá-*, as numerous IE. words containing the sonants *v* and *r* in conjunction show doublets with *vṛ* or *ru*, under conditions which Meillet specifies (Introduction, p. 113). Similarly for "wolf", IE. had *\*vṛkʷos* and *\*lukʷos*, which both appear in Indo-Aryan, the first as Skt. *vṛkaḥ*, the second as Romanī *ruv*.

The long *ā* of Kālsī *uyāma* and *lāti* (p. lxxi) may be, not a case of lengthening *a*, but of preserving an original long *ā*: cf. Skt. *udyāmāḥ*, the act of stretching out (ŚBr.), and *\*rānti-* preserved in Sindhī *rādi* f., play. It is obviously wrong to say that *palisā* (p. lxxii) has had its final lengthened: *pariṣāt* > *\*parisa* *\*palisa*, with an ending which coincided with the nominative form of no existing declension: it thereupon had *-a* replaced by the known feminine ending *-ā*; but it is

no more correct to say that *-a* was lengthened, than to say that in *dīśā* the zero after *dīś* was lengthened.

These, it is true, are largely criticisms of detail, but they show that from the side of comparative grammar the book cannot be taken as an authoritative guide. This is regrettable, since the epigraphical and strictly philological work is so good, and since this volume must for long, as it deserves, remain the standard work on the Aśoka inscriptions.

R. L. T.

MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CEYLON. Vol. II.

By A. M. HOCART. 37 pp. Colombo : Government Press, 1926.

This is another of the profusely illustrated volumes published by the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. It contains a detailed description of the three temples of Polonnaruwa, the Thūpārāma, the Lankātilaka, and Veherabāṇḍigala. In addition to the text, there are thirty-four plans and eighty-four plates.

R. L. T.

THE VERB IN THE RĀMĀYAN OF TULSĪ DĀS. By BABURAM SAKSENA, M.A. 32 pp. Extract from the Allahabad University Studies.

This is a useful study of the forms of the verb found in Tulsī Dās, with a discussion of their uses and history. The descriptive portion is perhaps more useful to the student than the historical, which, however, is a fairly clear and accurate résumé of our present knowledge. The establishment of the impersonal use of the passive is interesting, especially in relation with Dr. S. K. Chatterji's description of the Passive in Bengali, with its few survivals in modern Hindī. On p. 231 the form of the 2nd plur. imperat. *dadāta* accredited to Sanskrit seems to be a slip for *dadāta* or *dattā*. There is no need to assume (p. 233) that in the present participle the suffix *-ant-* followed by the termination *-o* must have the same phonetic development as the termination *-anti* of the 3rd plur. : for sounds in terminations may have a different phonetic development from similar sounds in other unaccented syllables. The loss of nasalization in unaccented *-ant-* is regular : the form *jāta* is analogical. It is difficult to see how *h* in *dīnha* avoids an hiatus (p. 234). Mr. Saksena rightly derives the form in *-i* from two sources (p. 234), viz. the Pkt. gerund in *-ia* and (when used with the verb *sakab*) the infinitive in *-iwin*. Nor need the difficulty raised in the author's mind by

Dr. S. K. Chatterji worry him. The regular development in this dialect group of final *-iu* appears to be *-ī*, not *-u*. Hence the masculine nouns in *-ī* from Skt. *-ikaḥ* Pkt. *-io*. Ap. *-iu*. It is scarcely credible (p. 231) that the *-u* of 2nd sing. imperat. goes back to Skt. *-u* in *śṛṇu*, *kuru*, etc. Its origin must be sought elsewhere, perhaps in Pkt. *-asu*. Nor can it be right to follow Beames in ascribing the *-r-* of causative forms like *dekharāvā* to a variant evolution of *-p-*. Whatever their explanation, similar *-r-* forms are found in Ṣiṇā and Romani. But on the whole this is a useful and interesting study, and it is to be hoped that others will follow.

R. L. T.

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PAṆJĀBĪ AUR HINDĪ KĀ BHĀṢĀ-VIJÑĀN. By DUNICAND, M.A. 303 pp.  
Lahore : The Hindi Press, 1982 vi. Rs. 3.4.0.

This is an attempt to write a historical grammar of Pañjābī and Hindī. Unfortunately the author seems to be ignorant of the first principles of comparative linguistics. The book is therefore, except for certain stray facts of description, practically worthless. It is encouraging to find Indians beginning to take interest in the history of the modern languages; but it is discouraging to find them following the example of too many Europeans who have attempted historical and comparative studies of modern Indo-Aryan. Immense labour is thrown away through neglect to apply themselves seriously to the acquisition of the doctrines of Linguistic Science. In this case the writer seems to have read a few books, but to have assimilated little. The list of books consulted does not, however, even contain the name of Bloch's *La langue marathe*. Still, Mr. Dunicand's work is sufficiently superior to the average writing in India on such a subject to make us hope he may now apply himself to the serious study of linguistics. He may afterwards write a book well worth reading.

R. L. T.

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“VOIR” EN INDO-ARYEN. By JULES BLOCH. Extract from  
Festschrift für Wackernagel. pp. 143-49.

LE NOM DU RIZ. By JULES BLOCH. Extract from Etudes Asiatiques  
publiées à l'occasion du 25<sup>e</sup> anniversaire de l'Ecole Française  
d'Extrême-Orient. pp. 37-47.

These two articles are most interesting studies in the vocabulary of the Indo-Aryan languages. It is to be hoped that the author will publish further studies of the same kind. The dialectology of India is

complicated to a degree. Many of the sound-change isoglosses have been obscured by mutual extensive borrowing. But both this and Dr. Tedesco's exhaustive study of the words for giving and taking show that there is much information to be gained from the examination of vocabulary. In the first Professor Bloch discusses in his always illuminating fashion the word for seeing. I should like to add to his lists the Romani word, which is *dikh-*. This is another indication that Romani originally belonged not to the north-west, but to what is now the central group, of which Hindi may be taken as representative. It would have been interesting if this short article could have included some discussion of the difference of meaning of the various words occurring side by side in a single language. Thus Nepālī has two words, *dekhnu* and *hernu*: the former is momentary in action, and means "to see, to catch sight of". The second is continuous and means "to look, to look at".

The second article is an equally interesting study of the word for rice. The question posed is: from where did the Greek *ὄρυζα* come? From Dravidian (e.g. Tamil *ariśi*), or from Sanskrit *vr̥hīh*, or from Iranian (Persian *birinj*, etc., from *\*vr̥jhi-*, *\*vr̥injhi-*)? The Dravidian is shown both on cultural and phonological grounds not to be the source. The Sanskrit word is also put out of court because of its *-h-*. But the interesting suggestion is made that it is really a Middle Indian form of earlier *\*vr̥mhi-* = Ir. *\*vr̥injhi-* as Pa. *sīho* < Skt. *simhāh*. The author concludes that *ὄρυζα* must be borrowed from a North Iranian dialect in which *\*vr̥injhi-* would have regularly become *\*ur̥vinji-* and makes the interesting comparison with the transcription of initial *vi-* in Iranian and Indian names by Gk. *ύ-*.

R. L. T.

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REPORT ON A LINGUISTIC MISSION TO AFGHANISTAN. By GEORG MORGENSTIERNE. Instituttet for sammenlignende Kulturforskning. Serie C 1-2. 96 pp. Oslo, 1926.

Afghanistan presents to the linguist problems of the most intense interest: for in or about its borders there are spoken some of the least known of existing Indo-European languages, belonging both to the Iranian and the Indian branches of the Aryan group. But these languages are in process of disappearance before the more powerful Pashto or Persian. It is therefore most fortunate that a scholar of Dr. Morgenstierne's calibre has had the good fortune and the enterprise to examine these languages on the spot. The borderland between Indian

and Iranian is a most fruitful ground for research, which hitherto has been largely prevented by political conditions.

Dr. Morgenstierne made amazingly good use of his opportunities: he studied three groups of languages: Iranian, Kafir, and Dard. The general conclusions he comes to are interesting in the extreme. In the Iranian group he has studied Persian as spoken in Afghanistan, the dialect divisions of Pashto, Shughni, andOrmuri. But he has also discovered speakers of the hitherto unknown Parachi (*parācī*), noted by Babur. This, with Ormuri, forms, so Dr. Morgenstierne suggests, the last remnants of a south-eastern group of Iranian languages. If these were the earliest Iranian languages in Afghanistan, Pashto belonged originally to the north, it and the Saka language of Khotan, with which it has several isoglosses in common, belong to different branches of the Scythian dialects.

Of the Dard group the author examined Khowar and Pashai. These, with the other Dard languages, he demonstrates clearly to be wholly Indian. They have no early Iranian sound changes: even the loss of aspiration by the voiced aspirates is comparatively late, since, e.g., Aryan *śh* becomes *h*, and Aryan *-bh-* becomes *-h-*; *s* remains, *°ra* becomes *īr* or *ūr*, *-tt-* remains.

But the Kafir group is still more interesting. Here Dr. Morgenstierne examined all the main dialects, for although not allowed to go to Kafiristan, he managed to obtain subjects in Kabul. The Dard group shared all the early Indian sound-changes as indicated above: but Kafiri, though it shared some did not share all; and, in summing up, the author connects it rather with the Indian than the Iranian branch of Aryan. Most important for his argument is the fact that it did not share two innovations which have occurred in all recognized Iranian dialects (Dr. Morgenstierne might perhaps with advantage laid a little more stress on the importance of common innovations as against common conservations in estimating linguistic community). Over against Iranian, which changed *-s-* to *-h-* at an early period, and lost *-ə-* when coming between two consonants, Kafiri, like Indian, preserves both. The case of *ə* is particularly instructive. IE. *\*dhughater-* becomes Av. *duyda*, but Skt. *duhitā*. Prasun *lūstu<sup>k</sup>* represents older *\*duzhūtā*, not *\*dugdhā*. Waigeli *trāmis* is parallel with Skt. *tāmīsrā*, not with Av. *taθra-* (< *\*tamsra-*). Similarly IE. *\*rə* becomes Av. *ar* (< *°r*), but Skt. *īr* or *ūr*: in this, too, Kafiri has not followed the Iranian innovation.

But one conservation (but not, be it noted, innovation) it shared

with Iranian. Aryan *zh*, *jh*, appear as *z*, *ẓ*. This, Dr. Morgenstierne interprets as indicating that after forming a group with the other specifically Indian dialects (while probably still on the northern side of the Hindu Kush, but sufficiently isolated from the Iranian dialects not to share their specific Iranian innovation), Kafiri lost touch with them before the Indian change of *zh* and *jh* to *h*, and being left behind at the time of the Indian invasion of India, crossed the Hindu Kush at a later period. This would certainly account for their geographical position between the two specifically Indian dialects of Khovar and Pashai.

Such in broad outline appears to be the main conclusion contained in this preliminary report. At the same time almost every page raises problems of great interest, or throws light on already debated questions.

In Shughni (p. 14) *ūrj* "kidney" is derived from *\*vrtka-*. Is Skt. *vṛkkañ* (AV.) a prakritism also from *\*vrtka-*, or a variant form *\*vṛk-ka-*? The latter view is perhaps supported by the form occurring in TS. *vṛkyau*, and agrees with other cases of unexplained variations of the names for parts of the body. The IE. names for "spleen" do not altogether agree; nor do the Indo-Aryan: Skt. *plīhā* (cf. Hindi *pīlī*) but Nepali *phīyo* (< *\*splī-*). It is therefore interesting to note that also in Indo-Aryan the words for kidney do not seem to be all referable to *vṛkkañ* or *vṛkyau*: Śiṇā *zūk* is regular, but Sindhi *buku* points to earlier *\*bṛkka-* (contrast *udhañu* < *vṛddhā-*). Similarly (p. 22) does the Parachi *ruc* "flea" (instead of *\*rhuc* < *\*fruc-*) display the same irregularity of phonetic development as the IE. group of words for flea with which it is connected? Again, within Indo-Aryan, while Romani *pušum*, except for its suffix agrees with Skt. *plūṣiḥ*, Hindi *piśṣū* and Śiṇā *prīzu* agree quite neither with the Sanskrit nor with each other.

In Khovar Dr. Morgenstierne found traces of the augment (p. 71), e.g. *šer* "it is" (< *śete*) *ošoi* "it was" (< *úśayat*). With this may be compared similar vestiges in Kalāśā (LSI. viii, 2, p. 75 ff.): e.g. *kāren* "he does": *āro* "he did"; *ešteu* "he stands": *acištan* "he stood": *pīu* "he drinks": *apīau* "he drank".

The author is wrong in stating (p. 71) that the retention of *-t* as *-r* in Khovar has to some extent a parallel in Śiṇā. In that language *-t* is altogether lost. We have 3rd sing. old present *-ēi* (*-ati*), participles like *gou* (*gatāḥ*) and *māu* (*mṛtāḥ*), *kōnyī* (*kānkataḥ*) *condāi* (*cāturdaśa*) *dīh* (*duhitī* or *dhitī*) *pom* (*pātāmi*), *mā* (*mātvī*), *bēu* (*vetasāḥ*) *šyō*

(*śvetāḥ*) *sēu* (*sētuh*) *hai* (*hatih*) *to* (*tātah*) *zā* (*bhrātū*) *śtam* (*śātīgāmo*) *sal* (*śtalah*). Over against these the past participles in *-lu -lū* (e.g. *būlu* : *bhūtāḥ*, *jālu* : *jātāḥ*, *maḷ* : *mathitāḥ*) are Middle Indian formations with a suffix *-lla-* of the same type as the *-l-* participles of Gujarati, Marathi, and Bengali. With *gāl* (cf. *ghātāḥ*) may be compared Hindi *ghail*, and with *jāl* (cf. *jīritām*) Hindi *jilāwā*. This leaves only *śidālū* (cf. *śtalah*) beside *śal*, an opposition strikingly parallel with that between Romani *śidro* and phonetically correct *silelo* : while *śāl* (*śatām*) and *lēl* (if from *līhitām*) must be considered loanwords, even if the dialect from which they come cannot be identified. European and Armenian Romani are the only certain modern dialects where *-t-* regularly appears as *-l-*. But it appears not impossible that Kalāsā is a dialect which also had *-l-* for *-t-*. The specimens given in LSI. are not conclusive, but on the whole *-t-* seems to appear there as *-l-* or *u* (the latter perhaps a further development of a velar *-l-*), e.g. *tiel* "he beats", *ui* "he comes".

I do not agree with Dr. Morgenstierne (p. 92) that we can admit that in Pashai the *-t* of the 2nd plur. represents a special treatment of Skt. *-tha -ta*. Kati *āsēr'* and Prasun *eseno* "you are". Dr. Morgenstierne derives from *\*as-a-thana*. For the Pashai (and Ṣiṇā) 2nd plur. form in *-t*, I should also go to the ending *-thana -tana* and just as in the 1st plur. Pashai has *-ōes* or *-aīs* or *anz* from *-āmasi* (with early loss of *-a-* in a termination), so I suppose *-athana* > *-athna* > *-atha*. It is parallel, then, to the preservation of *-t-* in *vast* (*\*viśati* > *\*višti*, before the loss of intervocalic *-t-*, p. 91).

On p. 63 it would be more correct to say that in the group *rt t* has become *t* > *r'*, and not that it has fallen out. Kati *kr'ā* < *kṛtāḥ*, *mr'a* < *mṛtāḥ* seem quite parallel with *kər'ā* < *katukāḥ*.

P. 79 seems to imply that Skt. *bhūrja-* > *\*bhrūja-* > Ṣiṇā *jūš*. The intermediate step was rather *bhrūrja-*, or *bhūrja-* > *bhūrjja-* (cf. what the Śikṣās teach as to the pronunciation of stops after *r*) > *bhrūjja-*. This anticipation or metathesis of *r* extends over all the Kafiri and Dard languages, and goes south into Sindhī and west nearly as far as Simla, and in every case the consonant following the original *r* appears in the modern language as the ordinary representative of a Middle Indian double consonant.

Kati *śtruits* (p. 65) cannot therefore be derived from *cāturdaśa*, which would become *\*catrurdaśa* or *\*catruddaśa*, not *\*catrudaśa*. It may be doubted, however, whether the *-r-*, being the final of the first member of a compound (which in Sanskrit had the pronunciation of a

final of a word) would be sufficiently articulated to lead to anticipation or metathesis, and elsewhere over this *r*-metathesis area we find forms going back to *\*catuldaša* only. Further, the *r* seems to be attracted to the first consonant of the word, e.g. *tamisra-* > *\*tramissa-* (Waigeli *trāmiš*), not *\*tamrissa-*.

We shall await with great impatience the publication of detailed memoirs by Dr. Morgenstierne on the material collected by him, of which this is a preliminary report.

In the meantime we would remind scholars that these languages are for the most part dying out, and that unless they can be recorded fully within perhaps the present generation, future philologists may mourn their loss as we mourn the loss of other Indo-European languages. Can we not appeal to the Government of India, or of the Panjab, or to the Panjab University, to take some step in this matter? Dr. Morgenstierne believes that during a moderate stay in Peshawar one could find speakers of most of these border Iranian and Indian languages. Are there no Indian scholars to take up this work?

R. L. T.

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THE DIALECT OF THE GYPSIES OF WALES. Being the Older Form of British Romani preserved in the Speech of the Clan of Abram Wood. By Dr. JOHN SAMPSON. xxiii + 230 + 419 pp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. £4 4s.

Readers of the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society* have already been made aware of the extraordinary archaism of the dialect of Romani spoken by a Gypsy clan in Wales. All students of Indo-Aryan must have been astonished by the language of the tales which Dr. Sampson has for so long been collecting and publishing. It is a real language with which we have here to do, and not a mere jargon of Gypsy vocabulary fitted into an English framework. It is, indeed, an Indian language spoken among the mountains of Wales. In this book Dr. Sampson has now written a complete grammar and vocabulary of the dialect. It is the best and most complete description that we possess of any Romani dialect, and students of Indo-Aryan cannot be too grateful for the immense labour of research, sifting and arrangement which the author has performed in thus making available for them the results of more than thirty years of work since he first discovered Edward Wood, the Welsh Gypsy harper at Bala, in 1894.

As a work of description, it is pre-eminent. Two hundred and thirty pages are occupied with phonology, morphology, and syntax: 419 with



vocabulary (full of quotations) and indexes. In only one respect could one wish it bettered, the inclusion of a number of texts; but that probably was forbidden by the consideration of cost, already very high; and, after all, a great number have, as I have stated, already been published, with notes and translation, in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*. Whatever I may say in criticism below must not be allowed to detract from the merits of the work as a description.

That portion of the book which is most open to criticism is the historical and comparative. Had Dr. Sampson confined himself to history and comparison within the Romani group, or, at least, within the European Romani, all would probably have been well: for here his observations are of great value. But he goes further, and attempts to show its connexion with Indo-Aryan generally, Sanskrit and the medieval and modern languages. Here one must regretfully admit that Dr. Sampson is not sufficiently a student of Indo-Aryan, or perhaps even of comparative philology, to have been able to offer new information and trustworthy theories. He takes us back to the age of Miklosich, whose writings on Romani, invaluable as they still are and stimulating as they have been to subsequent scholars, are dated before the theories of the Junggrammatiker had gained ground and had revolutionized the science of comparative philology. Dr. Sampson pays little regard to the laws of sound change. Yet the best reverence to be paid to a teacher is not slavishly to follow his teachings, but to build upon them and develop them further (even if necessary to their overthrow), in the light of new facts and new ideas. Occasionally, it is true, Dr. Sampson differs from Miklosich, but not always happily. It may be true, in the author's words, that "a personal familiarity with the tongue—when fortified by becoming respect for linguistic principles—confers upon the open-air student a certain intuition which safeguards him from errors that may befall the arm-chair philologist". But the reservation is all-important, and Dr. Sampson has by no means shown a becoming respect for linguistic principles. Nor is it true that "the habit of brooding affectionately over words and sounds seems to bring with it soon or late the gift compelling them to reveal their true lineage".

It may seem ungracious in considering a work of such outstanding merit on its descriptive side to devote much space to criticizing in this way its comparative side. But it is important to prevent the growth of a false tradition, and not to allow the undoubted mastery that the author displays in one aspect to create a legend of infallibility in all

others. And without doubt Dr. Sampson, true scholar as this work shows him to be, would be the last to wish that to happen.

I therefore say that that part of the work which deals with the phonology, and morphology, and etymology of Romani as compared with other Indo-Aryan languages is not trustworthy. Much is right: for much is obvious; but much is very wrong. In a work of this magnitude, permeated as it is by the comparative method (however falsely applied), it would be obviously impossible to discuss all the wrong phonological and etymological conclusions at which the author has arrived. I shall therefore pick only a few out of many in order to substantiate my statement.

Again and again Dr. Sampson compares a Romani word with a Hindi word, which does not belong to the inherited (*tadbhava*) vocabulary, but is a loanword borrowed from Sanskrit (*tatsama*). Such comparison is not only of no value for comparison, but may lead to quite false conclusions. It is as though a student of Romance linguistics were to compare, say, Italian *padre* with French *paternel* (instead of with *père*), and to draw a conclusion therefrom that Italian *d* corresponds to French *t*. Thus he compares *čurō* "poor" with H. *chudr* (loan from Skt. *kṣudra-*), *taχ-* "to paint" with H. *takṣan*, *tamlō* "dark" with H. *tamaḥ*, *bātē* "work" with H. *vṛtti*, *t'ulō* "fat" with H. *sthūl*, *šidrō* "cool" with H. *śītal*, *dud* "light" with H. *joti*, *mol* "wine" with H. *mad*, *šel* "whistle" with H. *svar*, *tula* "then" with H. *tad*, *lilai* "summer" with H. *nīdādh* (mistake for *nīdāgh* ?), *šil* "cold" with H. *śīt*, *kišlō* "slender" with H. *krśīt*, etc. etc.

Dr. Sampson appears to have no regard for the principle of the constancy of sound-laws, without which in some form or other there can be no science of comparative philology or of etymology. Thus, though Skt. *-t-* becomes *-l-* in European Romani, he appears to derive *but* "much" from Skt. *bahutara-*. The presence of *š* in *traš-*, to fear, instead of *-s*, which he derives from Skt. *trasa-ti* (and compares with the Hindi loanword *trās* !), occasions no remark, although the normal representation of Skt. *-s-* is by *s*. Nor does it seem to concern him that in this case the Romani word should have *e* not *a* (I have attempted elsewhere to explain both the *a* and the *š*). He accepts the derivation of the past participial suffix *-dō* (beside *-lō*) from Skt. *-ta-* (although *-t-*, as we have seen, becomes regularly *l*), instead of connecting it with the past-participles in *-dho* of Gujarati and other languages, which are due to an analogical extension of a phonologically correct *-dho* resting upon Pkt. *-ddha-* in a certain number of verbs. Although intervocalic *-k-*

regularly is lost in Romani, he derives *śukār* (presumably on the authority of a continental *sukar* beside *śukar*) from Skt. *sukṛta*-. Such examples, again, are innumerable.

The same fatal mistake invalidates the author's speculations in the realm of word-formation and inflection. We have already seen that the past participle in *-dō* is derived without hesitation from Skt. *-ta*-. Similarly he derives the comparative ending *-dēr* from the Skt. *-tara*- (which he rashly and wrongly states to be wanting in other Indian vernaculars: it is very common, e.g. in Panjābī in the form *-erā*). It is certain that *-dēr* is not derived from Skt. *-tara*-. It may be borrowed from an Iranian dialect. In Iranian the suffix *-tara* is kept regularly as a comparative. The regular Middle Persian development of *-t* was *-δ*-: and although the suffix usually appears as *-tar*- in Middle Persian (due doubtless to the large number of cases where it was added to a consonant stem, and when in consequence the maintenance of *t* was phonetically regular), there are isolated cases in Persian itself where the suffix, when preceded by a vowel, has its expected form, e.g. *ēḍar* "here", while other Iranian dialects with which the Gypsies were in contact may have kept the regular phonetic development undisturbed by analogy, as, e.g., in Ossetish *sandārdūr* "very black", Sargolī *jūl-dēr* "fewer".

In etymologies, even where they might accord with regular sound changes, Dr. Sampson often appears to have gone wrong: thus *mol* "wine", in Persian *mūl*, is not derived from Skt. *mūḍhu* (which leaves the *-o*- unexplained). He accepts the derivation of *řiv*- "to place" from Skt. *kṣipāti*, although Dr. Grahame Bailey's *Ṣiṇā* grammar shows this to be impossible. *Ṣiṇā civoiki* or *curoiki* cannot represent Skt. *kṣ*-, but only Skt. *c*- or *ch*- (and in any case the regular representation in Romani of Skt. *kṣ* is *kh*). *Lubnī* "harlot" cannot be derived from Skt. *lobhinī*, but is perhaps formed from a loan from Slavonic where the root *ljub*- is prolific in the sense of loving etc. *Manuš* "man" (with *a*, not *e*) is plainly derived from *mānuṣa* not *manuṣa*-.

Many quotations from Sanskrit and other Indo-Aryan languages require correction. *Asmé* is a dat. loc., not a nominative: *vātavat* (misprint for *vāṭavat* - ?) means "windy" not "tempest", and is no more a reduplication of *vāta*- than *balavat*- is of *bala*-; Hindī for "big" is *baīā*, not *baīā*, for "seek" is *dhūḍhnā* or *dhūḥhnā* not *dhūḍhnā*: there is no Skt. *mākṣa* "fly", only *mākṣ*-, *mākṣā* and *mākṣikā*; Hindī has *māīā* not *māṇḍā*.

It is a pity that Dr. Sampson did not hold to his original intention

(as expressed in the preface) of dismissing the subject of historical grammar. His reputation would have been the higher.

But putting this on one side, it remains a magnificent, nay, a unique description of a Gypsy dialect. full of information. full of interesting observations. Take, for example, the numerals. In all languages they present problems of phonetic irregularity. borrowing from other dialects or languages. inconsistencies. renewals. Hence it is of great interest to read that the only Indian numerals regularly kept are 1 to 5. After that they are borrowed from various sources, or remodelled. Even the words for 10, 20, and 100, though still found, have become vague in meaning, or are used only in set expressions.

The Clarendon Press preserves its reputation for such works : the printing is beautiful : the price, alas, is high.

R. L. T.

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HINDI AND URDU--THE POSSIBILITIES OF THEIR RAPPROCHEMENT.

By BABURAM SAKSENA, M.A. 20 pp. Extract from the Allahabad University Magazine.

This study of a modern linguistic political problem is interesting to the student of the Comparative Grammar of Indo-Aryan. It pleads for the unification of Hindi and Urdu into one language, which actually already exists, and is sometimes known under the name of Hindustani. Practically speaking the two, used over the same area, differ only in their alphabets, and in the sources of their loanwords. Hindi borrowing from Sanskrit, Urdu from Persian and Arabic. In ordinary speech their fusion is already largely accomplished. A very similar situation exists in the Panjab with Panjabi as written by Muhammadans and Panjabi as written by Hindus and others.

R. L. T.

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NEPĀLĪ SĀHITYA : PRATHAM BHĀG By PĀRASMAṆI PRADHĀN. 44 pp. 8 annas.

NEPĀLĪ SĀHITYA : TRTĪYA BHĀG. By PĀRASMAṆI and ŚEṢMAṆI PRADHĀN. 90 pp. R. 1.5.0.

SWĀSTHYA-SIKṢĀ. ŚEṢMAṆI PRADHĀN. 71 pp. R. 1.4.0.

These books, published by Macmillan and Co., are of the usual type of Indian reading book, which would not deserve notice in this *Bulletin*, except that, the published literature of Nepālī being limited, it may be useful for students to hear of any fresh books. They are well printed and the spelling is fairly consistent.

R. L. T.

BIHAR PEASANT LIFE. By G. A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E. Second edition. Patna. 1926. Rs. 10.

This is the much-needed new edition of Sir George Grierson's invaluable work, first published in 1885 and long out of print. *Bihar Peasant Life* is too well known to require further comment here. Let us simply express the hope that it may yet find imitators in other parts of India : as the foreward states, local customs are continually changing under modern influences, and, unless the customs and vocabulary of the people are recorded now, the knowledge of them may be altogether lost beyond recall for future generations. We could wish that the author himself had been able to superintend the production of this edition ; for though the thanks of the Government are given to the two gentlemen who read the proof for the care they exercised, nevertheless 29 pages of corrigenda do not exhaust the number of misprints.

R. L. T.

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INDO-SUMERIAN SEALS DECIPHERED. By L. A. WADDELL, LL.D., C.B., C.I.E., xix + 146 pp. London : Luzac and Co., 1925.

We are hurt that in this volume the author has made no acknowledgment of our valuable suggestion, contained in a review of one of his previous fantasies, of the intimate connexion between Tibet and top-hats. We shall therefore pass over in silence the no less marvellous "discoveries" of this volume.

R. L. TURNER.

LINGUISTIC SPECULATIONS OF THE HINDUS. By Dr. PRABHAT CHANDRA CHAKRAVARTI. In two parts. Calcutta University Press. 1924-25.

This work is an interesting contribution to the history of Linguistics and is an attempt to bring into a consistent whole the linguistic theories of ancient Hindu philosophers and grammarians. The author gives a fairly complete exposition of Hindu theories on the origin of language and his treatment of the well-known controversy on the eternity of sound shows considerable freshness and sound judgment. Attention may also be drawn to the very interesting record of speculations on the nature of the sentence (pp. 84 ff.) and on the relation between the stem and the suffix (pp. 96 ff.).

It is to be regretted, however, that the author's treatment of the fundamental topics of linguistics, viz. its phonetic and psychological

aspects, is so meagre that it is likely to give a poor impression of ancient Indian philosophy of language. For instance, in his treatment of the physiological basis of sound he quotes a passage on the aspects of *vāk*, bordering rather on the fanciful and the mystical, so well-known in works on Yoga and allied subjects. Had he consulted the *Prātiśākhya*s and other works on phonetics proper, he might have offered the reader more scientific material on the Hindu theory of articulation. His assertion that this mystical explanation of articulation is psychologically truer than European theories (p. 81) is hardly convincing and is not supported by any argument.

As regards the relation between thought and language, his treatment is disappointingly meagre. In one place he points out the antecedence of ideas to words (p. 140); while in another (p. 79) he refers to the impossibility of thinking without language, and he leaves the reader in the dark as to the exact position of the psychology of language in the Indian systems of linguistic philosophy.

The title of Part II, viz. "Semantics", is not happily chosen, and will be disappointing both to the comparative philologist and still more to the philosopher. For the general acceptance of the term "Semantics" is the *change* which meanings of words undergo in course of time, and on this Indian linguistic philosophers have little to say. The author gives the well-worn principles of Semantic change, viz. analogy, generalization, specialization, etc. (163-7), but an exposition of these modern theories in a thesis on the linguistic speculations of ancient Hindus, who never had this modern view-point, is irrelevant.

The author gives an able exposition of distinctly verbal knowledge as opposed to inferential knowledge (p. 153), but his treatment of several other philosophical theories is either meagre or obscure. Thus he sums up the great controversy on the doctrine of Universals with the following obscure assertion (p. 89): "The *Naiyāyikas* have brought about the reconciliation by holding that the individual conditioned or qualified by genus represents the real significance of words." The author has here missed and unconsciously misrepresented the *Nyāya* theory. For according to *Nyāya* the denotation of words has three elements: (1) individual (*vyakti*), (2) class or genus (*jāti*), and (3) the distinctive *property* of the genus (*ākṛti*). The great contribution of the *Nyāya* theory was this third element, viz. *ākṛti* or species, which several other theories had missed, as the author also seems to have done. That this additional element *ākṛti* is held by

even some modern authorities to be unnecessary, the reader may be referred to Max Müller, who in his *Science of Thought* (p. 578), where he translates *ākṛti* as species, points out that the name of species is not wanted, and that genus and individual would do. But although in the field of biological metaphysics the term "species" may be unnecessary, linguistic thinking can not proceed without reference to specific attributes of the class of which the individual is a member, however latent the consciousness of those attributes may abide in human memory.

The author has, unfortunately, missed a very important point in the history of Sanskrit linguistics by erroneously translating (on p. 99) the term *vyāpāra* as action. Here was a problem which would have roused the interest of modern philologists if the author had handled it fully. The problem in question relates to the controversy on the nature of the verb: whether the verb refers to the *process* of action (as the Indian Grammarians believe it predominantly does: "*phale pradhānam vyāpārah*,"—*Brhad-vaiyākaraṇa-bhāṣana*, verse 2), or whether it refers to the *end* of action, as the *Naiyāyikas* maintain. Thus Kaundabhaṭṭa in his *Brhad-vaiyākaraṇa-bhāṣana*<sup>1</sup> (p. 5) quoting Bhartrhari, distinctly points out that action is essentially a process, and it is in this sense that the phrase "he cooks" involves all the stages of cooking, viz. lighting the fire, blowing it, etc. Action is the synthetic unity of activities which constitute a process. Action does not mean the immediate creation of the result, i.e. it does not mean only that stage of activity which immediately precedes the result. Kaundabhaṭṭa opposes the view that other stages in the process of action are only secondary and that the primary content of action is only the stage immediately preceding the end. Against this view Kaundabhaṭṭa gives an interesting argument: if all the preliminary stages of activity do not really deserve the name of action, then, when the cooking has begun, i.e. when fire has been lighted and the kettle placed on the fire, we should not use the present tense, "he is cooking," but should use the future tense, viz. "he will cook," for the action proper, according to hypothesis, is still to come.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *ata eva pṛcchāntīyūṣau phutkāratrādhahsanāpūnatra-yatnatrādibhir bodhak saṁvasuddhak saṁgacchate uktaṁ ca harinā:—*"*gunabhūtair arayarah samūhah kramajanmanām, buddhyā prakalpātābhedah kriyeti vyapadeśyate.*" *kramajanmanām eṣām vyāpārāṇām samūha ekatrabuddhyā samkulānātmikayā prakalpito 'bhedo ya-yu sa ca samūhah śābhāvato gunabhūtair arayarair yuktah.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 3: "*nāpi yadanantaram aryaśādhānena phalotpādah sā kriyā, adhi-śṛyanādīnām tajjanakatayā kriyātram aupacārikam—ārabdhe'pi pāke kriyāyā bhāvitatvāt, pakṣyatīti prayogāpatteś ca.*

Here the Hindu grammarian, with a wonderful deductive penetration, realized that if verbal action pointed only to the end, the future tense should supersede the present in all the pre-end stages of an action. He had before him no data offered by modern Comparative Philology from the Slavonic verb, in which the perfective form is used to denote the future tense. These inductive data, if accessible to him, must have strengthened his deductive reasoning.

SIDDHESWAR VARMA.

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THE MUSIC OF INDIA. By ATIYA BEGUM FYZEE RAHAMIN. With illustrations. p. 95. Luzac and Co. 1925.

The present volume is a welcome one. It touches incidentally on many points to be mentioned hereafter concerning the history of the art, but stresses the religious and philosophical side of it without giving a connected history thereof. Further, those interested in the practical side of Indian music cannot find much in this book. It gives a short history, a bibliography, a long string of names of practical experts, and so on. It shows the rudiments, the terminology and such other auxiliaries of the art. In the foreword we are promised by the author that this volume will be followed by another, which will contain Indian melodies set to notation. We think the next volume will be more valuable from the practical point of view.

A fault to be found in this volume is that the Sanskrit terms employed in it are not put correctly. For instance, we have "adhya" for "adhyāya", "math" for "mata", "arohi" for "avarohi" and so on. Some of the names of *shruties* and *murchhanās* are not spelt in the correct way.

It will not be out of place to summarize the contents of the work under review.

Chap. I deals with the works on Indian music from the Vedic period, through the Sutra and epic periods down to Kālidās and after him to the modern period.

Chap. II mentions the exponents of the art from Nārada, Tumburu, Bharata, Jayadeo, etc., through the days of Sultan 'Alāu' a-Dīn Rājā Mān of Gwalior, Akbar and Jahāngīr down to Muḥammad Shah, the last king of Oudh. Incidentally some interesting information is given of the penetration of foreign music from Persia, Greece and Arabia.

Chap. III deals with the four schools of Indian music, now united into one by the famous Tānasen.



Chap. IV and V treat of the technique of Indian music.

Chap. VI describes fifty different kinds of musical instruments in detail and then goes on to deal with the various Rāgas or tunes.

Chap. VII in conclusion regales us with tales of how birds and animals listened to "the voice of the charmer" and were fascinated by the music and song of celebrated exponents of the art.

Indian music has a most complicated theory. It would be a stupendous task to build a proper system out of the mass of material to be found scattered about in the ancient literature. In that vast country, inhabited by so many different races, with so many languages, with a variety of manners and customs, with so many religious sects, it would have been a wonder if there had been only one uniform system in the whole land.

From pre-Buddhistic times, there has been constant communication between India and other countries in Central Asia, Greece, etc. The nature of this communication would vary according to the needs of the times, commercial and religious being the principal factors among the many before the Mohamadan supremacy in India. Ideas concerning astrology, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, philosophy, etc., were freely exchanged. The Caliph Harūnu 'r-Rashīd of Bagdād was a patron of learning and art. He invited Indian physicians and rewarded them munificently.<sup>1</sup>

The art of Indian music was carried to Greece and Arabia through the medium of Persia. We find even to-day the signs of Indian influence on Arabian music. (One day the reviewer was singing Indian music in a friend's house; an Englishman who had been many years in Arabia was present. He at once remarked that his music reminded him of Arabian music.) After the Mohamadan invasion of India, the tide turned. Arabian and Persian styles came into vogue and got mixed up with the original Hindu music. The music of the Sufis, moreover, who sang ecstatic and devotional songs, took the Indians by storm. The resemblance between Greek and Indian music is obvious, if we examine critically the scales of both systems. The present system of Hindustani music is a conglomeration of Indian, Arabian and Persian music.

<sup>1</sup> "Twenty-two centuries ago Alexander the Great kept Hindu physicians in his camp for the treatment of diseases which Greek physicians could not heal, and eleven centuries ago, Haroon ar Rashid of Bagdad retained two Hindu physicians known in Arabic records as Manka and Saleh, as his own physicians."—*Ancient History of India*, by Dutt., vol. iii, p. 395.

The art of Indian music flourished chiefly in the reign of the great Mogul Emperor Akbar. After him the art was decadent, but the decadence was imperceptible. It lingered on during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shah Jahān. The final torpor occurred in the reign of Aurangzeb. Still, the art having been sound and vigorous once, had a dormant life in it, and so it held on, and revived during the reign of Muḥammad Shah, the last of the Padishahs, in whose reign the greatest singers of the *Khyāl* style of music, Sadāranga and Adāranga, flourished. Then the art of music declined, no more to rise again for a couple of centuries or so.

During the supremacy of the British, the art has had no encouragement from the Government. It is only in the native states, where the tradition is kept up to a certain extent, and where the ancient art has been patronized, that we find some artists of great repute, who have kept the art just alive, but no more. Some of these artists, of both vocal and instrumental music, who are in the service of the native States, are expert singers and performers. The fault with them is that these artists are, as a rule, absolutely illiterate. They are eccentric as well. They can sing or perform music; but they know nothing about the theoretical side of the art. If you ask them any question they will simply answer, "We don't bother about what you ask; we only sing exactly as we have been taught." And that is quite true. Their art has a great tradition behind it. It has been handed down with exactitude from generation to generation, from teacher to the pupil. They cannot answer your "whys" and "hows". The oral teaching may have, and has, many advantages, but it has the great disadvantage mentioned above. These artists again, being of a most conservative character, do not impart their knowledge to anyone except their sons, if any. Or if it is imparted to any devoted pupil, it is given half-heartedly and with reservation. It is only by flattery and coaxing that the pupil can wring a traditional song from these cranks. So the death of every reputed artist means a general loss to the art.

Having no support of any kind or encouragement from the British Government, a few artists, if there are any, have to maintain themselves entirely on the generosity of a few rich people. Besides, the art has become despised for the same reason: it is not held in any respect at any rate. But happily that period is now over, and some educated people have applied their minds and literary powers to the expounding and disentangling of the complicated theory and systematization

of the traditional songs. Some great cities such as Bombay and Poona in Western India have music classes attached to the public schools. They are trying to popularize the art. Original Sanskrit textbooks on music are being published, some of them are being translated into the vernacular. Attempts are being made to put classical melodies into notation, although, strictly speaking, the task is one of impossibility. Independent research works are being published, though few. The Philharmonic Society of Western India has done a good deal of work on these lines. It has published several hundreds of Indian melodies set to European notation.

The system of Karnatic music is little affected by foreign influence. And that music gives us an idea of what original Hindu music was. The difference between Karnatic and Hindustāni music is chiefly in the primary scales.

The art suffers mainly through the lack of Government support. It will surely rise and prosper if the Government shows sincere and active sympathy and encouragement. It has prospered in the past only when it was patronized by the Government. The Muhammadan rulers not only patronized it but actually were practical experts both in vocal and instrumental music.<sup>1</sup> If the British Government shows real appreciation and finds out some means of encouraging it, the art will revive with marvellous rapidity, otherwise the day of extinction is threatened and nigh at hand. The artist will find himself quite a different personality, and raised in the social standard. He will secure an honourable place in society, and not merely be the contemptible creature he is considered, despised by all, honoured by none. The support of the native princes is not enough, but the art must be encouraged by the central Government, too.

In conclusion we may say that this volume gives some idea of the significance of Indian music but we cannot say whether it will interest the European reader in general.

S. G. KANHERE.

<sup>1</sup> "Yusaf Adilshah (A.D. 1490-1510), the first Sultan of Bijāpur. His taste and skill in music were superior to those of most of the masters of his time, whom he encouraged by munificent rewards to attend his court. He himself performed to admiration on two or three instruments and in his gay moments would sing improvisatore compositions."—Quoted from *Feshta* by Havell, *History of Aryan Rule*, pp. 389-90.

MAHĀRĀṢṬRA ŚĀKUNTALA. BY KEṢEO VINĀYAK GODBOLE, B.A., LL.B. Pages 20-14-38-112-7. Śree Gaṇeś Printing Works, Poona city, 1925.

The Śākuntala of Kālidās is a drama which is enjoyed equally by orthodox pandits, modern educated scholars, and even men who have not the least knowledge of Sanskrit but are only content with reading the beautiful story written in any language. Even European scholars speak of it very highly. The famous German poet Goethe speaks about it,

Would'st thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline  
And all by which the soul is charmed enraptured, feasted, fed.

Would'st thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine ?  
I name thee, O Shakuntalā ! And all at once is said.

Messrs. Dāsagupta and Lawrance Binyon have written a concise form of three acts for the European theatre. It is practically a free rendering. To this rendering Sir Rabindranāth Tagore has written a kind of introduction.

The wonderful skill of the Indian Shakespeare is that he clothes most profound and sublime ideas in the simplest of words. His poetry has wonderful grace, sweetness and the poet's delicate taste. His writings reveal the poet's love of external nature. His knowledge of external nature is accurate. Śākuntala is bristling with this kind of poetry. Sir William Jones translated Śākuntala in 1789 and his work was received most enthusiastically in Europe. Since then it has been translated into almost every European, and into every Indian, language. English, French, German, Russian, Italian, Hindi, Bengālī, Gujarāthī, Marāṭhī, Tamil, Telegu, Kanarese, etc. In Marāṭhī, we have Śākuntala translated by Rājawāde, P. Godbole, Āpte and Kirlokar. The translation of Kirlokar is mainly for theatrical purposes and therefore does not require much consideration. Āpte's translation is all in prose. Rājawāde's and P. Godbole's translations are in both prose and verse. Both of these translators rendered the original prose into Marāṭhī prose and the original verses into Marāṭhī verse. But they have not kept to the same metre as in the original, and in some places they have translated the original single verses into one, two or three verses. Also they have employed pure Marāṭhī vrittās or metres, like, abhanga, sāki, dindi, etc. The author of the present volume has translated the original prose into Marāṭhī prose and in the translation of the verse he has employed the same metre. It is called *samavṛitta*, *samāśloka*, translation. He bound himself down to this

kind of hazardous translation and he has come out victorious. The preface is written by the learned professor R. D. Rānade, who has done full justice to the author's labours. We examined a few instances quoted in the preface, and compared them most critically and carefully and found that the present translation stands out by itself.

Marāṭhi poetry does not lend itself to blank verse, and so the author was also bound, even against his wish, to rhyme all verses, even *anuṣṭup* metres.

The poetry of Kālidās is one of the gems of the Sanskrit language. Its grace, ease, poetical ideas, conciseness, all these virtues are obvious in Kālidās' poetry : and that is the reason why it is so difficult to render it appropriately into any other language. It is a hazardous and arduous task to translate any work into another language without losing the delicate shades and subtlety of meaning. How much more difficult is the task of translating the best work of Kālidās, in which characters, so divergent as an emperor, an ascetic, the daughter of a nymph, the buffoon, the disciples of the ascetic, Indra, his charioteer, and nymphs, also scenes like palace, hermitage, hunting, bowers, heaven, regions between heaven and earth, etc., are depicted so easily and in homely language, much less keeping to the same metre. To render a Sanskrit verse into Marāṭhi, with a limited number of words, and without the least loss of meaning or shade is not an easy task. No wonder that the author has been working hard for four whole years.

The Marāṭhi employed in the translation is extremely good. Marāṭhi has become a quite well-developed language. In exemplary works like Kālidās' Śākuntala's translation, there is no hitch for the lack of an appropriate Marāṭhi word for the original Sanskrit. If we examine and watch the development and steady growth of Marāṭhi since the time of Jñāneśvara, we see that it has assumed very high proportions, though it is not at its climax. The Marāṭhi of the present day has no lack of words to express any sentiment or emotion. It may, however, be devoid of some words in the field of modern science. But that difficulty will soon be got over. To show the stages of development is outside the scope of this review. We were agreeably surprised to read the fitting and accurate expressions like *ufaluṇe*, *sailave*, etc. In short, the translation throughout reproduces the meaning and spirit of the original.

The Marāṭhi verses are exact translations. The rhymes employed in the *Anuṣṭup* metre are charming. In some places the composition reminds the reader of Wāman paṇḍit. The style is graceful and happy.

This book will be most useful for those who are unable to understand the original Śākuntala. It will give an exact meaning. The other translations are not sufficient to give an accurate knowledge of the original. This book will stand on a high level among many Marāṭhi translations of Sanskrit works or of foreign languages. Also this book has contributed much to Marāṭhi literature which is growing marvellously.

The author has given his own views on Śākuntala in 38 pages. He has refuted all objections raised by Dr. Belwalkar. His drift of argument, his judgment, and his searching criticism deserve consideration. He also disagrees with certain views held by the famous poet Sir Rabindranāth Tagore. He has surveyed the sequence of seven acts, linked together as they are, in the course of his free ideas about Śākuntala. Mr. Godbole is polite but firm in criticizing Sir Rabindranāth Tagore, Professor Roy, Dr. Belwalkar, and some orthodox pandits. In his criticism he throws some light upon ancient customs, the state of society, the freedom of woman in choosing her husband, and some other subjects. He says that the standard of morality that prevailed thousands of years ago is not to be judged by that of our time. He believes in evolution and not in revolution. There is no gap, he says, between instinct, reason and inspiration. The first grows into the second, which again expands into the third. Between heaven and earth there is not a gulf to be bridged, it is only filled with ether. It is all one solid mass all over. Between vice and virtue, between light and dark, there is no gap, the only difference is that of degree.

In conclusion we congratulate Mr. Godbole on his success, and hope that he will do more service to the Marāṭhi language by translating other works of Kālidās, Bhavabhūti, etc.

S. G. KANHERE.

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DIE METHODE DER ARISCHEN FORSCHUNG. VON JOHANNES HERTEL.  
(Indo-Iranische Quellen und Forschungen. Beiheft zu Heft VI.)  
pp. 80. Leipzig: H. Haessel. 1926. 8vo.

The unfriendly greeting which has been accorded in some quarters to the hitherto published *Hefte* of his *I.I.Q.F.* has stirred Dr. Hertel to produce this lively booklet, in which he seeks to make clear the objects and methods of his criticism, to show the fundamental weaknesses which have hitherto hindered the study of Vēda and Avesta

from arriving at definitive conclusions except "auf formalistischem Gebiet", and finally to deal with the objections raised by Professors Clemen, Keith, and Charpentier against the date proposed by him for Zoroaster. As a test-case he takes *R.V.* viii. ii. 12, and has no difficulty in showing that the explanations of it offered by Sāyana, Grassmann, Ludwig, Griffith, Oldenburg, Bergaigne, Hillebrandt, and Zimmer are inconsistent and unacceptable. His own view is based upon the conclusion which he laid down in *I.I.Q.F.* vi, 67 ff. : the Aryans regarded both *Sōma* and milk as liquid forms of the heavenly fire (*bráhma*, *x'arənah*) and imagined that by drinking them they absorbed them into their hearts, where these liquids became pure celestial fire which inspired them with heroic power ; thus the *Sōma* was regarded as a *dēvā* within the warrior's body, battling against his enemies, and the milk was conceived as essentially similar to it, creating by its mixture with *Sōma* a double *bráhma* and thus rendering the drinker *dvibárhās*. Hence he renders the verse : "[The *Sōma*-draughts] drunk into the hearts do battle : they who are possessed by evil intoxication in [drinking of] *sírā* glow [= sing] not, nor do they who are naked<sup>1</sup> at the udder," and explains this in detail from the standpoint of his theory with much ingenuity.

He next deals with *R.V.* X, xxii, which in his opinion "must have been composed at a time when most of the tribes had already moved into India and the Mazdayasnian religion had become the dominant one in Eastern Iran". In proof of this he discusses verses 1, 2, and 10, which he renders :—

1. "Where is Indra heard of ? Among what people now is Mitra not heard of, who is zealously praised, whether in the dwelling place of the *Ṛṣis* or in secret ?"

2. "Here Indra is heard of : among us now is he praised, he that is armed with the thunderbolt, the brilliant one (?), who has won for himself like Mitra a glory that is not half."

10. "Stir up these men for the slaughter of foes in the place of dead bodies [the battlefield]. O valiant one who art armed with the thunderbolt, if thou art hidden from the tribes<sup>2</sup> of the Kavis who have the *śavas* of stars."

<sup>1</sup> One is tempted to see in the word *nagnāh* a sneer of the well-armed and clothed Aryan at the very airy costume which was probably worn then by the natives of India, as it is to-day.

<sup>2</sup> With the use of *gūhā* with gen. *karīṇām* we may compare *κρύφα* with gen., Thuc. i, 101.

This, Dr. Hertel contends, is the utterance of a tribe that worshipped Indra and was opposed to tribes adoring Mitra as their chief god, i.e. to Mazdayasnians, whose attitude towards Indra is expressed in Yt. V, x, 9 and xix, 43, where Indra is mentioned with loathing as a *daēva*, in company with other demons. This is certainly a valuable suggestion, and has considerable probability. In Dr. Hertel's opinion it is definitively proved by v. 10: he understands by the *Kavis* the Avestic tribes of Eastern Iran, where, according to his view, *kari* = prince, and he regards this identification as finally confirmed by the epithet *nákṣatraśavas*, "having divine fire or inspiration [*śavas* = *bráhma*, *arānah*] from the stars," inasmuch as these East-Iranian tribes looked upon the constellations Tištrya and Satavaēsa, and above all upon Miθra, the starry heaven, as being peculiarly endowed with this divine fire and dispensing it to the pious. This explanation is very attractive, and as regards *śavas* I believe Dr. Hertel is right. As to the rest of the verse, however, I venture with much diffidence to suggest an alternative interpretation, which may be wrong, and if right does not invalidate his explanation of vv. 1-2. It seems to me possible that *gíhā yádi karínām viśám náḁṣatraśavasām* may mean "if thou art hidden from the tribes of Kavi's race inspired by the Star". I suspect that "Kavi's race", *Kaváyas*, are the priests of the family of Kavi, alias Uśanas-Śukra, who was the first of the race of Bhr̥gu; in other words, they are the Bhārgavas. Uśanas-Śukra is identified with the planet Śukra already in Mahābhārata (I, lxvi, 2605 ff.), and the connexion may be based upon a Vedic tradition.<sup>1</sup> Now the hymn VIII, ii is ascribed to either Mēdhātithi Kāṇva or Priyamēdha Āngirasa: the Kāṇvas were a branch of the Āngirasa, the race of Bṛhaspati, so in either case the hymn is an Āngirasa one. I am therefore tempted to see in this passage an expression of the old rivalry between the Āngirasa and the Bhārgava, which is indicated in the ancient legend that makes Bṛhaspati Āngirasa the Guru of the Dēvas and Uśanas the Guru of the Daityas, Dānavas, and Asuras, and hence the arch-enemy of Indra. According to Puranic tradition, this hostility was hereditary: the three sons of Varūtr̥in, son of Uśanas, were also priests of the Daityas and foes of Indra (see Pargiter, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 196). Virtually, then, our poet says: "We are orthodox,

<sup>1</sup> This curious myth seems to be based upon the idea prevailing in Eastern Iran that certain stars were especial sources of the heavenly fire, which has already been mentioned, and which was particularly associated with the Miθra-cult. The Bhārgavas then would seem to belong originally to this cult-area.



you are heretics." The Bhārgavas would thus seem to have been originally opposed to the Indra-cult and later to have accepted it, probably under compulsion. This is possibly indicated in the Kāṇva (and therefore Āṅgīrasa) hymn VIII. iii. where we read in verse 9 *yēnā yātibhyō Bhīgavē dhānē hitē yēna Prāskanvam āvitha*. "wherewith [thou gavest help] to the Yatis and Bhṛgu when their possessions were at stake [cf. I. cxvi. 15. IV. xli. 6]. wherewith thou didst aid Praskaṇva " (who, it may be observed, was also a Kāṇva). This seems to indicate that once upon a time the Yatis (whoever they may have been) and the Bhārgavas were compelled to choose between losing their property and confessing the supreme divinity of Indra, and accepted the latter alternative. There is a vaguer allusion to the event in VIII. vi (a Kāṇva hymn). 18, *yā Indra yātayas tvā Bhīgavō yē ca tuṣṭavūḥ*. The Indra-cult was propagated at one time by a vigorous persecution of the Yatis, to which legend bears frequent evidence (*Taitt.-Sam.* II, iv, 9, 2; VI, ii, 7, 5; *Āit.-Br.* VII, xxviii=XXXV, ii; *Tāṇḍya-Br.* VIII, i, 4; XIII, iv, 17; XVIII, i, 9; *Kauṣ.-up.* III, i. etc.), and the passages of *R.V.* quoted above strongly suggest that the Bhārgavas were companions in misfortune with the Yatis.

His fourth chapter is devoted by Dr. Hertel to meeting (not without some asperity) the objections which his critics have based upon the supposed testimony of Xanthus as quoted by Diogenes Laertius (*Proœm.* 2) and the clay tablet of Assurbanipal which Hommel believed to contain the name of Ahurō Mazdāh. It must, I think, be admitted that the context of the passage in which Xanthus is quoted proves that the words cited as from his pen could not possibly have been written before the fourth century B.C. at the very earliest.<sup>1</sup> The tablet of Assurbanipal is likewise of small value as evidence. It is a miscellaneous list of deities for invocation, and the line in question. *AN-as-sa-ra-AN-ma-za-aš*, seems to contain the names of two gods who are unconnected with one another<sup>2</sup> (compare, e.g., col. xi, lines 25 and 30 of the same tablet). Moreover, the names *Assara* and *Mazāš* can hardly be phonetically equated with *Asurō* (or *Ahurō*) and *Mazdās*.

<sup>1</sup> That this passage of Xanthus is spurious is of course not a new discovery; the fact was asserted by C. and T. Müller in *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* in 1841.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this statement to my learned colleague Mr. Sidney Smith, whose authority in this branch of science is indisputable. It may be added that the name *Mazdaka*, which has been quoted as evidence for the early date of Zoroaster, does not necessarily refer to Mazdāh at all, and may possibly be Elamitic. See Hall, *Ancient Hist. of the Near East*, p. 555, n. 2.

To follow Dr. Hertel through the further rounds of his fight is forbidden to us by the exigencies of time and space, and we must conclude. He has undoubtedly corrected some errors and presented some interesting Vedic exegesis; and now we venture to hope that he and his adversaries will shake hands.

L. D. BARNETT.

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DIE KUNST INDIENS. Von Dr. ERNST DIEZ. (Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft: Ergänzungsband.) pp. 193, 13 plates. Wildpark-Potsdam (Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion), [1926?]. 4to.

This work, which after a short historical introduction surveys the progress of the arts of building, plastic, and painting in India, with an account of the arts in the Indian colonies of Ceylon, Java, Cambodia, Annam, Burma, Siam, and Laos, possesses patent merits. It is handsomely got up: it is profusely illustrated by plates and smaller pictures which for the most part are well chosen and admirably executed; and it is written by a scholar of great technical knowledge, wide reading, and fine taste, whose æsthetic appreciations are always interesting and often instructive. On some points, however, the judgments of Dr. Diez would be more acceptable if they were supported by a sounder knowledge of history. He views Indian art with intense admiration and love, which is a valuable asset for the writer of a *Kunstgeschichte*. But when he passes from art-criticism to theorise upon the origins and primitive symbolism of Indian art, he falls into patent errors and glaring absurdities. Seduced by the fantastic imaginations of Mr. Havell, he sets up an airy theory of "chthonic-telluric origin" according to which Viṣṇu and Śiva are both "mythological derivatives of that primitive dualism in which the religions of youthful cultures are rooted": the *śikhara*-temple, corresponding to the pyramid, represents Viṣṇu-Apollo and "solar fatherhood", while the *vimāna*-temple, corresponding to the *omphalos*, symbolises Śiva-Dionysus and "lunar motherhood": and these two style-complexes arose by polarization out of a "Vedische Klassik", represented by the *stūpa*, the abode of the One bisexual Brahma (p. 183 ff.). Now with all respect to the learned author we beg leave to say that all this is sheer myth—in German phrase, *aus den Fingern gesogen*. The One Brahma (neuter) was never the object of an

external cult lodged in a material dwelling; the Brahmā who was worshipped in early epic times was purely masculine, and there is no evidence that his cult, or the cult of any other great god, was practised in *stūpas* in pre-Buddhist days. Śiva and Viṣṇu are gods of totally different origins; normal Hinduism did not "polarize" them, but regarded either one or the other as the Supreme: and it is sheer perversity to see in the phallic Śiva an embodiment of *das Ewig Weibliche*.

The idea that the *śikhara*-temple was originally evolved as a symbol of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa and the *vimāna*-temple correspondingly represented Śiva has really no legs to stand upon. Dr. Diez admits that the former type was used by both churches even in the Gupta period (p. 50): and in regard to the *vimāna* we may point out that e.g. in the ancient Pallava temples of Conjevaram there is no essential difference of outward structure between the Kailāsanātha, which belongs to Śiva, and the Vaikunṭha-perumāḷ, which belongs to Viṣṇu. As to later temples, no distinction exists. The simple facts are these. The North evolved the classical type of *śikhara*-temple, the South the classical *vimāna*-temple. In the North the cult of Viṣṇu found more wealthy patronage, in the South the cult of Śiva won more favour from the great in classical times: hence Viṣṇu was more often lodged in the *śikhara*, Śiva in the *vimāna*. But there is no organic relation between the god and the outer form of his temple, as may be proved by dozens of examples. This unlucky theory tends to make the chapter on Hindu temples somewhat confused and confusing.

There are a few other deficiencies. Dr. Diez omits to lay due stress on that characteristic feature of Southern architecture, the growth of the *gōpuram* from the modest proportions of the early Pallava school to the colossal bulk of later times. He hazards the proposition that columns were not introduced into Indian architecture until Aśoka's age (p. 95), which is almost certainly a mistake. He has hardly anything to say about the cave-paintings of Bagh, which are equal, if not superior, to those of Ajanta. And lastly there are many irregularities and misprints in rendering Indian words, and he speaks of the Pāṇḍavas' "Schwester Draupadi" (p. 58). Yet in spite of all this he has given us a really valuable book, which no student of art can afford to overlook.

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TOWN PLANNING IN ANCIENT INDIA. By BINODE BEHARI DUTT, M.A., B.L. pp. xxxii. 379. 1 plate. Calcutta and Simla : Thacker, Spink & Co., 1925. 8vo.

The leading idea of Mr. Dutt's book, as he tells us, has been to deal with Indian principles of town-planning from the standpoint of the Hindu conception of the subject : and in this design he has achieved considerable success. His chapters discuss successively the origin and growth of Indian cities, the survey of the city, its boundaries and approaches, streets and their planning, site-planning and distribution of population, improvement and expansion of towns, the village and its types, buildings and bye-laws thereon, centres and enclosed places, the individuality of towns, and the city as an expression of civic life, with introduction and appendices. For the study of these matters he has read widely and generally well, especially in the available Sanskrit literature, the chief data of which he presents with clearness and accuracy, so far as the sources permit.

Mr. Dutt's introduction shows some confused thinking on the history of the art ; and he has an occasional tendency to mix theory with fact. Undoubtedly the ancient Hindus often had sound views of town-planning, and often realized them more or less successfully in practice. But they did not always act up to theory, being human and of many sorts. And it is critically unsound to write, as Mr. Dutt does on p. 297 f., of cities in mythical times such as Ayōdhyā, Dvārakā, or Indraprastha as being laid out in the most approved fashion because the Epics or Purāṇas say so. Equally uncritical is the remark that a certain improvement is due to Śukrācārya (p. 255) because it is not mentioned in sources assumed to be earlier : we know very little either about the dates of the works in question or about the sources of Śukrācārya. Finally, it may be pointed out that Mr. Dutt has omitted to utilize the inscriptions, which throw a good deal of light on civic polity. However, these are minor matters in a book which aims primarily at setting forth what the Hindus conceived as the ideals of the art rather than what they actually achieved ; and Mr. Dutt's work deserves recognition as a useful and intelligent performance.

L. D. BARNETT.

TRAVEL AND TRAVELLERS IN THE MIDDLE AGES. Edited by A. P. NEWTON. pp. x + 223. Kegan Paul, 1926. 12s. 6d.

This volume comprises a series of studies by different authorities ranging from Professor Laistner's paper on the decay of geographical knowledge in the fourth and fifth centuries to Professor Prestage's descriptions of the activities of Prince Henry and the early attempts of the Portuguese to discover a sea-route to the East. Most of these papers are of very real interest to the student of Eastern history, since they illustrate with a wealth of learning the manner in which the modern European knowledge of the East came gradually into being. For instance, Miss Power's chapter on the land routes to Cathay provides a brilliant résumé of the work of Yule and Cordier and the beginner could not desire a better introduction to that most interesting subject. Sir Thomas Arnold's paper on the Arab travellers supplies an admirable account of Ibn Batuta and his fellows, who on all accounts deserve to be much better known to English readers than they are. Baron Meyendorff discusses the problems of the trade-routes of Eastern Europe. Two papers present points of decidedly novel interest. One of these is Sir Denison Ross's paper on Prester John. This shows clearly how mediaeval ideas regarding that strange potentate wandered in search of him between Central Asia and Ethiopia. It is suggested that the origin of the legend and of the name may be traced to the latter source. A careful examination of Portuguese historians, especially Almeida and Paez, suggests that Italian merchants learnt that the King of Ethiopia was called *Jan hag*, which they transliterated *giannoi* and then *Gianne*—John. This notable suggestion will, we think, be found to contain the final solution of a problem that has long baffled European scholars from the time of Kircher, Mosheim, and d'Avezac. Once stated, the solution seems irresistible. The particular point which Professor Prestage makes, in his study of the Portuguese search for the sea-route to India, supports Dr. Cortesão's suggestion that about the middle of the fifteenth century the Portuguese deliberately adopted a policy of suppressing information about their discoveries, in order to render foreign rivalry more difficult. This would explain why Barros could find no complete copy of Zurara's *Chronicle of Guinea*, surviving manuscripts of which have clearly been tampered with, while the work of Cerveira disappeared altogether.

H. D.

CHRONICLES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TRADING TO CHINA. 1635-

1831. By H. B. MORSE. 4 Vols. pp. xxii + 313. viii + 451. viii + 387. and viii + 427. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 70s.

These admirably produced volumes form a large additional monument to the knowledge and industry of Dr. Morse, who has already done so much to illuminate the modern history of China. But in these he has contented himself with analyzing the records of the East India Company, and has added little by way of comment. The details of the trade are given usually in tabular form: and are followed year by year with brief narratives of the out-standing events, interspersed with quotations from the diaries and despatches of the Company's servants in China.

These servants long maintained the character and organization that had marked the whole body of them at the outset of the Company's career. They were supercargoes. They accompanied the vessels on the outward and the homeward voyage, long after their fellows had settled down to a permanent factory life in every other part of the Company's limits. At Amoy and then at Canton they obtained privilege of trade, but no privilege of residence. It was only gradually, first by the establishment of a general council to manage the affairs of all the Company's vessels, instead of separate sets to each: then by appointing the chief to remain, and so carry over the experience of one year direct into the next: and finally by the establishment of a permanent Council or select committee, that conditions were attained at all resembling those which the Company secured so early and with such comparative ease at the ports of the Moghul Empire. In this respect the China supercargoes differed much from their fellow-servants in India. This difference was very significant. They were trading in a larger, a wealthier, a more stable, and a much more incomprehensible empire than that of the Moghuls. And they were there on sufferance, because their trade profited the mandarins of Canton. The theory at the capital was that they, and the other European traders, were allowed to buy Chinese produce out of compassion for the inhabitants of less-favoured regions. Accordingly they never attained at Canton that position of respect which they attained at Surat. They were never allowed to buy the factory in which they lived: the officials did everything in their power to make the merchants who were allowed to trade with the foreigners the sole channel of communication with them; they forbade anyone to teach them Chinese: and they regarded with singular suspicion,

such of them—and they were exceedingly few—who managed to evade the obstacles in the path of learning the language. Dr. Morse points out very justly at what a disadvantage the English stood in this respect as compared with other nations. The Portuguese and the French generally found some Roman Catholic missionary who could assist them : and the Dutch could draw on the large Chinese colony resident at Batavia : while the English, till late in the day, had no means of intercourse save a chance missionary or the picturesque but loose patois of Pidgin English.

The origins of Anglo-Chinese trade may be traced back to the time when the Manchus were just completing their conquest of Southern China. The early officials with whom the supercargoes came into contact seem to have been Manchus, and, as Dr. Morse points out, were quite inexperienced in sheering the trader's fleece. But these early officials were succeeded by others, whose methods were less violent in operation if equally interested in purpose. The Chinese merchants, not the foreign traders, became the objects of taxation ; and grew into a corporation that monopolized the European trade. With them—as one would expect—the relations of the supercargoes were generally friendly and became friendlier. It is, however, remarkable to find the supercargoes intervening on several occasions to save Hong merchants from bankruptcy.

One or two aspects of the Company's trade deserve special mention. One of these is the bullion trade. When we first began to trade to China the prevalent ratio of gold to silver was much higher than it was in the West ; and it was very profitable to import silver and export gold, which was usually carried to Madras. Gradually, however, under the constant influence of continuous trade the balance seems to have turned the other way, and we even find exports of silver from China, sometimes to Europe, sometimes to India. When these took the form of *sycee*, the traffic became illegal and subject to the special exactions that such traffic usually involves.

This feature was a marked characteristic of the opium trade, in which, however, the Company rarely took part, though indirectly interested through its opium sales at Calcutta. Profitable as it was, it would have involved too heavy exactions on the Company's legal trade in tea and silk to have been really advantageous, while the supercargoes would have no longer been able to maintain their attitude of impeccable correctness. On the early history of this subject Dr. Morse's researches have thrown much new light.

The case is the same with the finance of the trade. Dr. Morse's figures show in a most interesting way that in the course of time the Company was able materially to reduce its shipments of bullion to China, and sometimes to do without them altogether. This was brought about in part by the existence of an active private trade from India to Manilla and China, in part by the strong demand for private remittances to England from India. The first placed large sums of silver at the disposal of private merchants at Canton; and the second impelled them to pay these sums into the Company's cash at Canton in return for bills on London, drawn usually at 365 days' sight. When American merchants, too, became active in the China trade, importing English cloth and exporting tea, they found it convenient to take payment for the balance of their imports in Company bills on London.

On various special incidents Dr. Morse's documents contain much that is new. For instance, we find several new documents on the embassies to China, from that of Lieut.-Colonel Cathcart, who died before reaching China, down to that of Lord Amherst which was so complete a failure. These Dr. Morse regards, and rightly, as steps in a struggle between the Company and the local officials at Canton—a struggle in which the mandarins won. He illustrates also with great fulness a number of incidents in which the question of the liability of Europeans to the Chinese Courts was involved. His extracts show how deeply the supercargoes mistrusted the Chinese system of administering justice, and how great reason they had for their mistrust. Indeed on both sides, economic and political, these volumes are full of precious material which lay buried in the records of the Canton factory, till Dr. Morse's skill, knowledge, and perseverance at last made them available. They will prove indispensable to every student of Anglo-Chinese relations and of the history of the East India Company.

H. D.

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THE MEMOIRS OF WILLIAM HICKEY. VOL. IV (1790–1809). pp. xii + 512. Hurst & Blackett, 1926. 21s.

With this volume the memoirs of the entertaining Hickey come to an end in the quiet seclusion of Little Hall Barn, at Beaconsfield, whither the author retired on his final return from Bengal, and where he actually composed these memoirs. Even in this the fourth volume his lively fund of reminiscences runs with the same bubbling zest



as in the earlier volumes. Emilia has given place to the plump "Jemdanee", and "Jemdanee" herself dies and is succeeded by no one; and a drinking-party now leaves Hickey with a headache for forty-eight hours afterwards. So he gives up the vices of youth, and betakes himself—so far as such a volatile creature can do—to economy and virtue. But it was no sour virtue or miserly economy that replaced the frolics of earlier days, but rather the mellow moderation of one who has seen a great deal of life and has found it vastly entertaining. No one so well testifies to the truth of Smollett's novels as this Anglo-Indian hero. His early wildness, his love-affairs, his casual adventures by land and sea, and his outlook on life after it all, are strongly reminiscent of Mr. Peregrine Pickle, who must have been copied from just such a one as William Hickey in his youth.

Great men figure in this last volume, but mainly in walking parts. Arthur Wellesley moves on and off the stage; his brother, the great marquis, having handed over the cares of office to his successor, goes dashing by in his coach and six, with outriders and bodyguard, while Cornwallis, the new governor-general, drives his own phaeton, with his secretary sitting beside him. But we get some very illuminating pictures of lesser men. There is, for instance, Hugh Boyd's *ménage* in Fort St. George, with the worst wines, food, and service in the world, of all which the owner was most placidly and characteristically unaware: or Sir John Royds, judge of the Supreme Court, saved from death by three or four bottles of claret a day. The number of suicides that occurred at Calcutta during these years will certainly strike the reader with surprise, until he recollects the habits of the age and the desperate uncertainty of commerce. We find an acid description of Sir George Barlow, the narrow and unstatesmanlike stop-gap who filled the Governor-General's chair between Cornwallis and Minto, and a full account of the gossip which the Vellore Mutiny produced at Calcutta. But it is as a social historian that Hickey excels. We like to sit at Sir Alured Clarke's table and note the sarcasm with which he discourages his guests from helping themselves to salt with their knives; and to share with General St. Leger his pleasure in finding Lieutenant Forrest with a really good "sagar" from Madras. Altogether the editor and the publishers of this work have done good service in making accessible so curious and exact a picture of the morals and manners of the second half of the eighteenth century. As readers of the earlier volumes may have suspected, the MS. has not been printed *in extenso*. At the end of the present

volume is a collection of *errata* and notes, in which is to be found a list of the principal passages which have been excised with a brief description of the nature of their contents. It does not appear that much of interest has been omitted: and in concluding we should congratulate the editor on the completion of a task so very well worth doing.

H. D.

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RECORDS OF CLAN CAMPBELL IN THE MILITARY SERVICE OF THE  
HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1600-1858. By Sir DUNCAN  
CAMPBELL, Bart. pp. lxxxv + 311. Longmans, 1925. 12s. 6d.

These records have been compiled very carefully and accurately. Sir Richard Temple contributes a pleasant introduction, although he trips here and there in his facts. He seems, though he cannot really intend, to make Clive present at Baksar and to confuse the revolution of 1760 with the succession to the nawabship of Bengal in 1765: he miscalls the commanding officer at the siege of Pondicherry in 1793: and he repeats the hoary error that the French were the first to train their sepoys in the European manner. But the records themselves (so far as the present writer has been able to check them) seem admirably exact. It has sometimes been thought that the invasion of India by the Scotch began in the time of Dundas. But, as the present volume demonstrates, the movement really began a generation earlier. It may most naturally be dated from Boscawen's expedition which sailed in 1747, because of his independent companies, half were raised by Scots in Scotland, and the gaps in their strength were in part made good by condemned rebels. Of the officers several joined the Company's service, and first introduced into it that strong Scotch tone which later was so firmly established. Some of Sir Duncan Campbell's clansmen were curious rascals—witness the major who assembled a committee of officers under his command to inquire into his own gambling transactions. Another curious episode, of a very different nature, is the account of a lady who, though she did not feel any attachment for a retired Colonel, was so melted by the apparent misery caused by her refusal that she changed her mind and accepted him. The third anecdote which struck the present writer particularly relates to the death of Lieutenant Alexander Campbell, who was shot down in a defile. A sepoy rifleman took post over his body, and kept the enemy at a distance until the lieutenant's own men rallied and returned.

In conclusion a few corrections and additions may be suggested. The first Company's Commission received by Charles Campbell of Barbreck was that of Lieutenant of Artillery, dated 29th September, 1749, which lends colour to the statement (which Sir Duncan appears to doubt) that he had served in the Royal Artillery. The account of the two James Campbells (Nos. 115 and 119) seems doubtful. At all events Lieutenant-Fireworker James Campbell claimed administration of the estate of Neil Campbell, his father, before the Madras Mayor's Court on 1st November, 1791; the Madras Burial Lists show a McNeil Campbell to have been buried on 12th July, 1791. Lieutenant-Fireworker John Campbell (No. 150), whom Sir Duncan could trace no further, was appointed to the King's service on 30th March, 1789. Kenneth Campbell, appointed a cadet for Bengal and not further traced, seems to have stopped at Madras, there receiving a commission as Ensign dated 10th November, 1782, and being later transferred to the Cavalry; and the two Roberts (Nos. 206 and 207) were probably the same person, for the first, according to Colonel Wilson, accompanied Clive to Bengal and joined the Bengal Army. These suggestions, it should be added, are offered not in criticism of Sir Duncan's laborious researches, but in supplement of them at the one or two points where the present writer happens to have additional information.

H. D.

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FOUR CENTURIES OF MODERN IRAQ. By S. H. LONGRIGG. pp. xii + 378. Oxford: 1925. 21s.

It is seldom that an English author has the chance of writing a book on a subject almost totally unknown to English readers. But this has been Mr. Longrigg's fortune in his *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*. Plenty is known about Baghdad the capital of the 'Abbasid Khalifs; and plenty is known about Baghdad, the capital of the new Arab monarchy; but very little about that long stretch of time during which it was the capital of a Turkish province. The inquirer had to resort to the uncertain pages of those travellers who followed at intervals the ancient overland route to India, or painfully to pick out the story from the numberless pages of von Hammer. Mr. Longrigg has used these sources; but he has used as well the Turkish chronicles, such as the *Gulshan-i Khulafā* and the *Dūhat-ul-wazarā*; and he has enjoyed the advantage not only of knowing the country of which he writes—he is Administration Inspector to the 'Iraqi government—but also of obtaining on the spot information

derived from tribal or family tradition. Indeed, in this respect the book reminds one of famous Anglo-Indian works—Tod's *Rajasthan* or Wilks' *Southern India*—in which the authors depend not only on literary sources but also on traditions and beliefs gathered from the lips of the people themselves. In that way the present work is related to those noble memorials of British activities in the East. Mr. Longrigg's style is at times neither easy nor accurate: he speaks of a *begler begi* kissing hands at Constantinople, when presumably he means kissing the dust of the threshold; he talks of a "dome that became a pilgrimage"; and he can write such a sentence as, "a few bare facts remain to record". But the reader should not allow these regrettable lapses to prejudice him against a well-documented presentation of a singularly interesting story.

Its interest is partly political, partly administrative. In its political aspect, we have the long duel between the Turk and the Persian for the possession of Baghdad—its capture by Shah 'Abbas in 1623, when its women were sold into slavery, the Sunnis persecuted and many put to death, and the mosque of Abu Hanifa partly destroyed; its recovery, after several failures, by Murad; and the almost successful siege by Nadir Shah. These events yield striking episodes: but more deeply interesting is the administrative side of the story. We have, for example, the relations with the Arab tribesmen—sometimes left under the control of their tribal chiefs, as when the Abu Rishah was recognized and made Sanjak Begi within his own area, just as in the nineteenth century was done with the rulers of Najd or Kuwait; and sometimes encouraged by the digging of canals to settle down into peaceful subjects; but always ready to take advantage of foreign or domestic troubles to throw off their dependence and withhold the revenue. Then, too, we have the spectacle, so familiar to the student of decadent states in India, of new pashas making it their first care to divide out the territory into convenient farms, and selling the revenues by auction to farmers who become indistinguishable from governors. Above all, we have the curious relations between the pashas and their ostensible master, the sultan, who sends them their annual farman and khil'at of confirmation, but who often receives neither tribute nor obedience. Gradually we find the practical independence of the pashalik become more and more evident. One of them is said to have assumed the title of Padishah. Others bequeath their rule to their slaves and sons-in-law. A dynasty of mamelukes almost establishes itself. The last of these in 1830 murders the envoy

charged with orders for his dismissal and reports that he has died of cholera ; but by then the sultanat was recovering from its decline in the eighteenth century, and Da'ud Pasha was at length taken and sent a prisoner to Constantinople, dying twenty years later in the odour of sanctity as custodian of the Holy Shrine of Medina. It is perhaps as a study of Oriental administration in decay that this volume is most interesting.

Finally one finds from time to time mention of the East India Company and its agent at Baghdad. But under this head Mr. Longrigg adds little that is new. He depends on a summary of the documents made in the Indian Foreign Department. . But indeed the part played by the English in the main development was small, and to be profitably studied must be approached from a much broader aspect than is afforded by the history of the province of Iraq, which is Mr. Longrigg's special concern.

H. D.

#### OUTLINES OF INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY (BRITISH PERIOD).

By W. A. J. ARCHBOLD. pp. 367. King & Son, 1926.

This very useful volume surveys the growth of the administrative machinery in India from the establishment of the East India Company down to the scheme produced in 1918 for the gradual transfer of control from English into Indian hands. However, it does not aim at covering the whole of this extensive field. Mr. Archbold puts altogether on one side (1) the relations between the Home and the Indian Governments, and of the Indian Governments among themselves, (2) the attempts to develop local self-governing institutions ; and (3) the status and position of the native states. The exclusion of the third is more justifiable than that of the other two. By omitting the first, Mr. Archbold has deliberately restricted himself from discussing the constitutional usages which are really essential to a comprehension of the machinery which he describes ; by omitting the second, he excludes from view the attempts at development which fill the period running from the Councils Act of 1861 to that of 1892. The volume would have been more useful if its author had not cut out what are really essential portions of his subject. With that exception, the work has been well and carefully done, and, especially for the latest scheme of constitutional development, is well documented by the inclusion of considerable extracts from the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, by the text of the Act itself, and by excerpts from various papers connected with its evolution. These make it a very convenient

volume for those desiring an introduction to the study of the existing constitution of India. A few points of detail need correction. The East India Company was never a regulated company ; in spite of its early terminable stocks, the management of the Company's business was always limited to the Company's officers. Then, too, Mr. Archbold seems mistaken in discriminating (p. 20) between the New or English Company and the General Society. His account of the trial of pirates under the Act 11 and 12 Will. III. c. 7 is based on an out-of-date and inaccurate authority. It is stating the reverse of fact to assert that the allowance assigned in 1765 to the Nawab of Bengal was intended in any way for the maintenance of troops : or that the Secret Committee of the Directors, preserved by Pitt's India Act, was a mere device for saving the Company's face when over-ridden by the Board of Control. There are some misprints—e.g. on p. 23 *Adijar* for *Adigar* ; and on p. 44 the battle of Plassey seems confused with the battle of Baksar.

H. D.

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THE STATE-PAPERS OF THE GOVERNORS-GENERAL OF INDIA—  
CORNWALLIS. By Sir GEORGE FORREST. 2 vols. Blackwell.  
1926. 36s. net.

This consists of one volume containing a study of Cornwallis's career in India and another containing a selection of his letters and minutes taken from the edition of Ross. The introduction is devoted principally to the war with Tipu concluded by the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792. Sir George Forrest was engaged on this down to the last ; and had he lived would doubtless have dealt much more fully with the administrative side of his subject. As was the case with Hastings, Sir George warmly defends his hero's policy from the attack of Mill, and shows that the latter in citing Wilks and Malcolm omitted passages unfavourable to the view which he was advocating.

H. D.

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A HISTORY OF THE DECCAN. By J. D. B. GRIBBLE. Vol. II. Edited  
and finished by Mrs. M. PENDLEBURY. pp. 269 and appendix.  
Luzac, 1924.

The first volume of this work appeared in 1896 ; and political circumstances may be suspected of having had something to do with the present appearance of the author's notes worked up by his daughter into their present form. It forms not so much a history

of the Deccan from the death of Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-mulk, as a disquisition on the rights and wrongs of the Berar case. The account of the second half of the eighteenth century appears to be drawn principally from the familiar pages of Orme, Wilks, and Duff. The chapters relating to the nineteenth century are similarly indebted to Hastings Fraser's *Our Faithful Ally* and Brigg's volume under a similar title. It will therefore disappoint those who look to it for anything new regarding the history and administration of the Nizam's dominions.

H. D.

THE EDUCATION OF INDIA. By ARTHUR MAYHEW, C.I.E. pp. xii + 306. Faber & Gwyer, 1926. 10s. 6d. net.

This is the best book we have seen on the history of educational policy in India. It is well-written, and, what is of much more importance, it is written with understanding. It opens with an acute analysis of the ideas and aims of those who set up English education in India. Mr. Mayhew rightly points out that the prominent position usually assigned to Macaulay in this connexion exaggerates the importance of the part that he actually played, for the change would certainly have taken place even had he never set foot in India. To the weakness of that generation Mr. Mayhew is keenly alive. It certainly sought to make the best of both worlds; in its eyes "material prosperity, though distinguishable from spiritual salvation, was not only consistent with it but also in itself a sign of grace". Its policy led not to union but rather to an impact of two civilizations; but although that has produced unrest, it has also "sustained and stimulated life". In a like spirit of justice Mr. Mayhew discerns alike the qualities which made Lord Curzon so unattractive to Indians and the vigour and zeal which he displayed in educational reform. But nothing could make up for the blighting influence which State control exerted over higher education; and university autonomy is one of the essential conditions of Indian cultural development. The publication of this well-balanced volume is a public service both to England and to India.

H. DODWELL.

THE PHONETICS OF ARABIC. By W. H. T. GAIRDNER. Oxford University Press. 1925. pp. 107.

Canon Gairdner's book is a remarkably clear and accurate analysis of the phonetic structure of classical as well as colloquial Egyptian Arabic.

It is, in many respects, a model of what such a work should be, and is set out largely in accordance with the practice followed by phoneticians. Arabic script is not employed, save in the early pages, where the phonetic values of the Arabic letters are given. All examples and texts are printed in thick phonetic type, the alphabet used being that of the International Phonetic Association. Examples are given of both colloquial and classical versions of the same passages.

The sounds of the language, vowel and consonant, are dealt with in detail, and much help can be gathered by foreign students of Arabic in overcoming the technical difficulties—and they are many—of the spoken language.

The influence of consonants on vowels is dealt with at some length. There is here an observation that is not borne out by investigation into the pronunciation of the Egyptian members of the School of Oriental Studies, London. Canon Gairdner classes خ and غ (x and g) among the modifying consonants, which when followed by the a phoneme give it the value of u. None of our Egyptian members agrees with the pronunciations given by Canon Gairdner on p. 47. viz. :—

|                       |                    |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| xu:f (he feared).     | xuf (fear).        |
| gu:b (he was absent). | gumm (he grieved). |

The pronunciations we have observed are

xæ:f, xæf, gæ:b and gæmm.

A very valuable chapter is that which contains examples of words differing only in respect of features frequently overlooked by foreign students, such as the doubling of consonants, the lengthening of vowels, and the velarization of consonants. They constitute an exceedingly useful series of ear-training exercises, as we have found from practical experience in teaching Arabic phonetics. Some exercises might be added on the distinction between ʔ and ʕ, which we have found in practice to be a source of great difficulty to learners., e.g.

|                                       |
|---------------------------------------|
| ʔajal (delay) and ʕajal (haste),      |
| nawʔ (rain)      nawʕ (species), etc. |

On the other hand, in cases such as rabʔ (rising) and rabʕ (abode) there is no appreciable difference unless rabʕ is pronounced with a helping vowel rabʕʕ.

The rules governing the incidence of word stress are not very clearly stated, and there appear to be certain discrepancies between Canon Gairdner's allocation of sentence stress, and that of the Egyptian



speakers here. In the main they stand the test of experiment. The whole question of stress, however, is so important (and so neglected in general) that we think it worth while to discuss a few points in detail. (1) The first rule on p. 68 is not well drafted; "in a non-final closed syllable" should be substituted for "before a non-final closed syllable" and "an unvowelled consonant" for "a closed consonant". (2) The accenting (i.e. pronouncing with a falling intonation) of the intrusive vowel in *ʔulti lu* (I said to him) and *katabti\_bha* (I wrote with it) does not appear to be universal; some of our Egyptian students pronounced them so only when special emphasis was laid on the pronoun. The difficulty is by no means cleared up by the rules for intonation given on p. 71, as there seems to be no difference between the conditions for accentuation of the penultimate and those for accentuation of the ante-penultimate. (3) That the high pitch cannot fall on a final short vowel followed by a single consonant is undoubtedly true in general (though in some dialects, e.g. Tunisian, it is the rule in certain classes of nouns and verbs). One very important exception is illustrated in the passage on p. 95, where the phrase *fi: nahḏḏṭi f ʃuʕu:b* is represented in the "go-as-you-please style" by *fi: nahḏḏṭ i f ʃuʕu:b*. The transcription is perfectly accurate *provided that the falling tone comes on the second syllable of nahḏḏṭ*; otherwise it becomes singular. It follows that in this style of speech the distinction between singular and plural in feminine nouns of this class (when followed by a noun "in annexation") is a distinction solely of intonation, that in the singular falling on the first syllable (*'nahḏḏṭ*), that in the plural on the shortened termination (*nah'ḏḏṭ*)—an instance of significant stress (or intonation) in Arabic. (4) The absoluteness of the rule on p. 77 that final vowels *must* be dropped at the end of breath-groups may perhaps be questioned, except in rhyming prose. The too thoroughgoing application of this rule has led in one place at least (p. 90) to the appearance of a form *wa\_mf* (and walk), which seems totally indefensible.

The principles discussed in this chapter suggest incidentally a solution of that most perplexing problem in Arabic—"What is colloquial?" No answer hitherto has been satisfactory, as no single dialect or group of dialects could be taken as a standard. It appears now from the data supplied by Canon Gairdner (though he perhaps would not agree with the conclusion) that what constitutes colloquial as distinct from literary Arabic consists less in details of vocabulary and syntax (most of which vary with locality and degree of education) than in the elisions and contractions due to a rapid and easy

pronunciation. The spoken language, consequently, while continuing to be “colloquial” and as such possessing its special features of accentuation, is capable of an indefinite degree of assimilation to the literary dialect.

The following slips have been remarked in the course of working through the book and are given here in case they may be of use if (as is to be hoped) a second edition is called for.

P. 5: The remarks on the neutral sound *a* in colloquial are in contradiction to the principles stated on p. 44.

P. 47: *la:ðð* (لاظ) means “driving away” not “blazing” (لاظ).

P. 49: *zuhu:r*, for “flows” read “flowers”.

P. 60: For *ṭpwr* “bull” (the colloquial pronunciation of *ṭawr*) read *ṭpwr* “sort”.

P. 62: For *ḥṣfðð* “he kept” read *ḥfið*.

P. 63: For *ʔṣḥaḥ* “chapter” read *ʔṣḥa:h*.

P. 70: *ka:tiba:ha:* means not “writing (f.) it”, but “its two (m.) writers”.

P. 74: *‘ḍarabatak* can scarcely be called “classical” for “she struck you”, the correct form being *ḍara’batk(a)*.

P. 95, last line: For *jansu:na* (they forget) read *jansawna*.

P. 98, second last line: For *ḥiga:ratin* read *ḥija:ratin*.

H. A. R. GIBB.

A. LLOYD JAMES.

AL-MASHRA‘. Par le P. PAUL SBATH. pp. 210. N.D.

In a brief preface the author explains that this book contains a collection of “addresses and lectures delivered in Egypt, Syria and Palestine, with the aim of reconciling Muslims and Christians”. If the “reconciliation” turns out to be somewhat one-sided, it must be conceded that the presentation of Christian dogma is extremely able. This, one feels, is how the thing ought to be done if it is to be done at all. Armed with all that equipment of dialectic and scholasticism which the Roman church has inherited from mediaeval times, Père Sbath meets the Muslim on his own ground and with his own weapons. It is doubtful whether any Protestant missionary could ignore so completely modern European currents of thought, and here, of course, lies the weakness of the book as an appeal to the Western-educated leaders of the Muslim world. A special word of praise is due to the elegant literary style of the author, enhanced by sparing and most effective touches of *saḥ*, as well as to the excellent typography of the anonymous press.

H. A. R. GIBB.

THE DIFNAR OF THE COPTIC CHURCH. From the manuscript in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. Edited by DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D. viii + 120 pp. Luzac, 15s.

It would be as difficult to derive *دفنار* from *ἀντιφωνάριον* as *خولاجي* from *εὐχολόγιον*, if we had not the intermediate forms *†φωπαρι* and *ΧΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ* to help us; of its liturgical origin we know very little—there was a book of the name in use about the eighth century, but this is cleared a later compilation, probably nearer the thirteenth or fourteenth. Dr. O'Leary's very brief preface should be supplemented by a careful reading of pp. 210–15 of Mr. Crum's Catalogue of the Coptic MSS in the John Rylands Library (Manchester, 1909), where sources are carefully investigated. The chief interest of the *Difnār* to students lies in its connexion with the various recensions of the *Synaxarium*: the hymns are probably founded on the (Arabic) text of the *Synaxarium*, and it seems to me that the author used a recension more like that employed by Wüstenfeld, and the original from which the Ethiopic was translated, than the text printed by Basset in the *Patrologia Orientalis*. (Crum, loc. cit., deals with the comparatively scanty material derived from other sources than the *Synaxarium*—the stories of greatest interest are those of the neomartyrs Michael of Damietta and Salib, both put to death for conversion from Islam to Christianity.<sup>1</sup>)

Dr. O'Leary would not, I think, claim that this is more than a preliminary study. Although its value is increased by the addition of some texts placed at this disposal by the late Mr. H. G. Evelyn-White—they come from the Dēr Abu Makār in the Wadi en-Natrūn, and can hardly be later than the fifteenth or sixteenth century—Dr. O'Leary's reproduction is one-third only of the whole work, covering only the months Thoth, Paopi, Hathor, and Choiak. The Göttingen manuscript has only the same months, but the whole year is at Rome; and Dr. O'Leary makes no mention of the British Museum fragments, Or. 5644 (7), which should be of about the same date as the Dēr Abu Makār leaves, and the more valuable because they represent a different time of the year (months Phamenoth and Paoni); they also come from

<sup>1</sup> The case of the former was a re-conversion. He had been a monk in the monastery of Abba John in Scete, but fled to Cairo "lived with the Hagarenes, and took unto himself a wife of the daughters of Ishmael". But he repented within a week, confessed his sin to "a priest, a monk", and then made open protestation of his faith to "the king of Egypt", who "burned him in a fire".

Nitria, and may be closely related. A complete edition of the *Difnār* is still to come, and it will possibly have to take into account the Pierpont Morgan MS. (Sa'idic of course), which figures as No. x in Professor Hyvernat's check list.

Dr. O'Leary's text, judging from my own copies, is very accurate : he could have helped us by some marginal indications of the day of the month and the saint commemorated, for which we now have to read the Arabic heading or refer to Dr. O'Leary's index. And this index is perhaps open to more criticism than any other part of the book, for it would have been so much more helpful if Dr. O'Leary had corrected the names, or, at any rate, given them in their correct form in brackets, instead of leaving them in the corruption due to a transliteration from Greek or Coptic into Arabic, and back again into Coptic : for the sake of those who have to work with this book, I give a few corrections :—

14 Thoth *not* Agatha *but* Agathon, or Agathou.

23 .. *not* Ounanios *but* Eunapius.

29 .. *not* Aresima *but* Rhipsima.

24 Paopi *not* Aplarion *but* Hilarion.

25 .. *not* Pello *but* Apollo.

11 Hathor *not* Sarchellias *but* Archelaus.

26 .. *not* Palarianos *but* Valerianus.

8 Choiak *not* Iroclas *but* Hierocles.

And there is a grievous mistake at 3 Choiak, where Dr. O'Leary writes "Holy Cross". Not at all—Holy Cross has been celebrated at

17 Thoth : 3 Choiak is the neomartyr ⲛⲓⲥⲧⲁⲩⲣⲟⲥ صليب mentioned above : and here Dr. O'Leary might have given us the تفسير which tells the story at much greater length than the Coptic hymn, for we learn from it that the Rylands MS. once belonged to the Church in which his relics were deposited.

But I do not want to end on a note of criticism. This is a pioneer work, like others of Dr. O'Leary's publications of Bohairic liturgical books : we shall owe him a real debt of gratitude if he will continue, a new Raphael Tuki, in making them accessible, for there are many more still unprinted.

S. GASELEE.

ELEMENTARY KISWAHILI GRAMMAR. By the REV. FRs. A. REICHART and DR. M. KÜSTERS, O.S.B. 8vo, pp. viii + 350. Heidelberg : Julius Groos, 1926.

A most dangerous book which ought to be kept out of the hands of any person desiring to learn Kiswahili correctly. The book abounds in errors, both grammatical and otherwise, and is certainly no improvement on the books which are already in existence.

Amongst the errors in grammar are some which are very serious : the following are chosen at random.

P. 7. The passive voice. *Ninapigwa*, etc., being the passive of the present, does not mean "I am struck", etc., but, "I am being struck." "I am struck" would be the perfect, *Nimepigwa*, etc.

P. 8. *Nilipiga*, etc., is the past tense and not the imperfect as given here, and therefore would mean, "I did strike," not "I was striking". "I was striking" is *Nilikuwa nikipiga*, etc.

The statement, "The usage of the imperfect is practically restricted to the written Kiswahili only where it serves to distinguish between unfinished and finished action. In conversation, however, the Negroes do not like to say *Nilipiga*, *nalifanya*, but *nimepiga* (perfect)" is wrong and very misleading. In the first place, the *-li-* tense is the past, and used for a finished action and of course is used by the Negroes when they wish to use the past tense. The imperfect is used in conversation as well as in the written Swahili.

P. 13. *Nimefika*, *nikaona nikashinda* = "Veni vidi vici" is wrong. The perfect would not be used here, it should be *Nilifika*, *nikaona nikashinda*.

P. 14. Subjunctive, *Nipige*, "that I strike, that I may strike," but not "that I may have struck".

Pp. 17, 160, etc. The present tense with the relative of time or place is quite distinct from the Actual Conditional (*-ki-*) tense, but the authors have confused them and treat them as equal. *Ninapofanya* = "When or where I am doing," but not, "if I do." (*nikifanya*) on p. 160 the statement that "*Ninapofanya* or *nafanyapo* = *nikifanya*" is wrong. *Nalimuona akiiba* means, "I saw him stealing," but *Nalimuona alipoiba* would mean, "I saw him when he stole," (or "when he had stolen").

P. 18. *Utakapovunja feza* certainly does not mean "If you are

going to change money". it means "When or where you shall change money": the future tense with the relative of time or place.

- P. 28. *Mtoto analala sana*, "the child is fast asleep." should really be *Mtoto amelala sana*. The child having lain down, or gone to sleep, is still in that condition, and therefore the tense should be *-me-*. *Analala* would mean "is in the act of lying down".
- P. 75. *Mliomwona huko?*, "Did you see him there?" This is absolutely wrong! *Mliyemwona* or *Mliomwona* means "He whom you saw" (the latter might also mean "you who saw him").
- P. 108. *Asifungwe* means "He may not be imprisoned." or, "He must not be imprisoned." but not "He shall not be imprisoned." "He shall not be imprisoned" would be, *Hatafungwa*, or, as the negative present is often used to denote the near future, it may be rendered, *Hafungwi*.
- P. 124. *Mngoni* is a man of the Angoni tribe, *Mgoni* is an adulterer. [This word is not in Madan's Dictionary, but seems to be current in Tanganyika Territory: it is evidently derived from the verb *gona* = lie down, sleep, pass the night, etc., which is not used in Swahili, though found in cognate languages—Zigula, Shambala, etc.—A. W.]
- Pp. 144, 145, 146, etc. The authors have in some way got hold of an extraordinary formation for the relative past. *Nalipigaye*, etc., is not correct. The relative without time would be *Nipigaye*, etc. The same applies to *Twalipigao*, *mwalipigao*, etc., the *li* is an error. *Mti ule niliyeukata juzi* (p. 146) is wrong. The relative here refers to the person, not the tree—it should be, *Mti ule niliukata juzi*.
- Pp. 150, 232, etc. The order in which words are placed is frequently absolutely wrong, for instance. *Wanafunzi wanaitwa watu waingiao mafundisho ya dini*, etc., should be *Watu waingiao mafundisho ya dini wanaitwa wanafunzi*.
- Pp. 221, etc. The locatives given, *munyumba panyumba*, etc., are not Swahili and should not appear in an Elementary Swahili grammar. [They are found in Nyanja and (with phonetic variations) in Nyamwezi, Zigula, Shambala, etc.—A. W.]
- Pp. 235, etc. *Akiwa akisema hivi* really means "If it be that he says so," not "while he said so". "While he said so" is *Alipokuwa akisema*, or *Alipokisema*.
- P. 237. *Alipokuwa alikuja* is not Swahili for "Just when he came".

*Mara alipokuja* or *Mara alipofika* is "Just when he came".  
*Nalikuwa nalikula* is not "Just when I was eating", it should  
 be *Nalikuwa nikila*.

These are but a few of the errors found; thus it will be plain that such a book is a positive danger to anybody desiring to learn the Swahili language.

Regarding the other matter contained in the book, it may be remembered that the "Introduction into African Life" contains many interesting and useful facts, but unfortunately it also contains misstatements, mostly because, although published in 1926, the book is out of date, and may represent conditions as they were before the war. For instance, it is not correct to say "At the present day, the *Grandees* (I take *Grandees* to mean the native chiefs, *vide* p. 282, lesson viii) as far as they still retain their titles, have no influence on the Government of the country". This may have been true a few years ago, but it is not true in 1926, when many native authorities have already been reinstated, and others are being inquired into and established with all speed.

The statement that whipping is inflicted with a hippopotamus-hide, and to the number of fifteen stripes, is also incorrect. The *Kiboko* has been abolished and a rattan cane is now used, and further, even a court of the first class cannot inflict more than twelve strokes without the confirmation of H.M. High Court.

The statement that "Chains represent the prison in Africa" is incorrect. Convicts are chained together only when working near thick woods, where there is great danger of escape.

Reference is made throughout the book to rupees and hellers, which was the German currency—this has now been withdrawn for some time, and the currency in use is shillings and cents.

To sum up, the book is full of errors, is out of date, and where the Swahili is not actually wrong, it is ugly and of the type used by illiterate up-country natives whose acquaintance with the language is slight. The order of words in sentences in many places is wrong, and words are used incorrectly (for instance, *kufunika nyumba* instead of *kuezeke nyumba*, etc.).

As I have said, the book contains many interesting features, and would be of interest to students able to discriminate between the correct and incorrect, but such students would hardly need a book of this character.

FREDERICK JOHNSON.

DAS RECHT DER DSCHAGGA. VON BRUNO GUTMANN. (*Arbeiten zur Entwicklungspsychologie*. Herausgegeben von FELIX KRUEGER, Professor an der Universität Leipzig. Siebentes Stück.) 779 pp.,  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ . München : C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

Bruno Gutmann's work is too little known in this country. His *Dichten und Denken der Dschagganeger* and *Volksbuch der Wadschagga*—published as long ago as 1911 and 1913—testified not only to unequalled knowledge of country and people gained during twenty years' residence on Kilimanjaro,<sup>1</sup> but to a rare power of sympathetic insight. The volume before us may be described as his *magnum opus*—without prejudice to the further productions which may be hoped for from his pen. It may fairly be called the most thorough and minute study of Bantu customary law which has yet appeared.

The Wachaga (if we adopt the more usual spelling) would appear to be a race of composite origin : but to have been welded, since their settlement in their present domain, into a tolerably homogeneous whole, as regards customs and institutions. (This is quite compatible with frequent feuds between the small kingdoms which grew up on the slopes of the mountain—a state of things favoured by the nature of the country, as in Greece.) No doubt this result was facilitated by a fairly close relationship between the component tribes (apart from a possible admixture of Masai blood). For the history and general characteristics of these people the reader may be referred to the work of the Hon. C. Dundas, reviewed in this *Bulletin* (Vol. III, p. 563). Till recent years, they have remained quite untouched by European influence, the stability of their institutions being unaffected by the changing relationships between the little states, of which now one, now another attained for a time to a kind of supremacy.

The customary law of the Wachaga is discussed by our author under six headings :—

1. *Normen des Blutverbandes* includes the organization of the clan (*Sippe*), the rules of inheritance, laws of marriage and divorce, guardianship, adoption, blood-feud, and blood-brotherhood, and the interesting ceremony of dedicating a new house (*Hüttenweihe*), with other cognate matters.

2. *Normen des Bodenverbandes* deals with land tenure and property rights, e.g. in the clan-groves (really the sites of the clan *sacra*, where the skull of the common ancestor is buried), in beehives placed out

<sup>1</sup> One is glad to learn that Herr Gutmann is returning to the scene of his former labours.



in the forest and in water—an important point where agriculture depends so largely on irrigation.<sup>1</sup> This section also includes a chapter devoted to age-classes, and initiation ceremonies, particulars about taxation, markets (a peculiarly interesting feature in the life of the country), the law of debtor and creditor, etc.

3. *Schichtungsnormen*: the position and privileges of the chief, whose power—as with other Bantu peoples—is not absolute, but limited by the public opinion of the tribe, as represented by the elders and councillors.

4. *Verbrechen gegen Normgüter*. Criminal law, which would seem to apply to cases of slander and defamation of character (*Ehrkränkungen*) as well as to murder, theft, and arson.

5. *Rechtsgang und Rechtsbehelfe*. Civil procedure; the rules of evidence; various forms of ordeal, and the institution (somewhat distinct from the last) of the “cursing-pot”. It is noteworthy that it was never considered right to bring a civil case directly before the Paramount Chief. In the first instance, the plaintiff summoned his adversary to the local court (*Bezirksrasen*, elsewhere called *Spruchrasen*, as we might say, “the village green,” supposing folk-motes to have been held there; seemingly equivalent to the *bwalo* of Nyasaland or the *moro* of the Wanyika), “wo sich die Bezirksgenossen unter Vorsitz ihres *mtšili* die Sache vortragen liessen und als ein Schiedsgericht den ersten Spruch fällten.” This village court is still an important feature of tribal life, and it is to be hoped that the present administration will not fail to recognize its value. The account of the “cursing-pot” (*Fluchtopf*: *nungu yesesa*) is perhaps the fullest hitherto given, and calculated to throw light on the analogous *kithathi* of the Kamba and Kikuyu.

Our author is of opinion that *nungu* (= Swahili, *nyungu*, *chungu*) is etymologically connected with *Muungu* (= *Mulungu*) and with *kyungu* (*ki-ungu*), the Chaga word for a sacred grove.

6. *Der Spruchrasen und die Einzelseele*. Here we have a most suggestive discussion of the influence of tribal opinion on individual conduct. Most important, and deserving of careful study are the sections explaining the native attitude towards (1) oaths, and (2) truth-speaking or the reverse. In the concluding section, *Die Erfassung des Gewissens* we have the illuminating remark that it is rash to conclude from the absence of a Chaga word which could be used as an equivalent for “conscience” that the conception is entirely foreign to the native

<sup>1</sup> As to the Chaga irrigation system and terrace-cultivation, see Dundas, p. 261.

mind. We are reminded that, as Wundt has shown, "auch unser Wort Gewissen der ursprüngliche Uebertragungsversuch eines Klostergelehrten ist, also die überlegte Bildung eines Einzelnen"—while *conscientia*, the word thus Teutonicized, had itself to be coined by Cicero from the Greek *syneidisis*.

The editor of the series in which this work appears, Professor Krueger, has contributed a final chapter in which, after a well-merited tribute to the author, he sums up the latter's conclusions, in order to, in his own words "einigermassen kennzeichnen, inwiefern hier für die Entwicklungspsychologie, sonderlich des Rechts, Grundlegendes geleistet ist."

A translation of this work is greatly to be desired, so as to make it accessible to all English administrators in Africa. The style is somewhat difficult, even for a tolerable German scholar (though less so than in some other works of the same author) and abounds in peculiar words and phrases, which are either provincialisms, or freshly coined *ad hoc*—a procedure which, under the circumstances, has justified itself.

I am much mistaken if this work does not come to be regarded as epoch-making in the department of Bantu studies, if not of sociology generally.

A. W.

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NOTES ON THE KAMBA LANGUAGE. By GERHARD LINDBLOM (*Archives d'Etudes Orientales*, publiées par J.-A. LUNDELL). Vol. 10, Liv. 1. 10 × 6½, 100 pp. Upsala (Appelberg): Leipzig (Harrasowitz): Paris (Geuthner).

Dr. Lindblom's very full and thorough account of the Kamba people appeared in 1919; the present work was really produced at the same time, but owing to various circumstances, publication has been delayed till now. The materials for studying this important Bantu language consist, in this country, of a few scanty vocabularies; the only serious work being the *Handbuch der Kambasprache* of Ernst Brutzer (1905). Dr. Lindblom modestly states that his essay is "merely meant to form a supplement" to this, "chiefly such things being treated as are not mentioned by Brutzer." The dialect on which Dr. Lindblom has based his notes is, moreover, not the same as that used by Brutzer, though this should not cause any difficulty to the student, since "dialectal differences are very slight in Kikamba in comparison with so many other Bantu languages."

It seems strange, considering the extent and importance of this tribe, that their language has been so little studied; but no doubt those

Europeans who have been most in contact with them have been able to use Swahili as a means of communication.

Ukamba proper, Dr. Lindblom considers, is, roughly speaking, a triangle, having its three points at Kiu, Mito Andei and the Mumoni mountains, respectively. There are, however, numerous detached settlements of Kamba folk outside this area, notably the villages at and near Jimba (in the Rabai district) containing several thousand people. We also find Akamba living in the Kilimanjaro region, and in Usambara, and it is interesting to note that "those who have emigrated not only preserve their language and their customs fairly pure, but also keep up relations with their kin at home, and in East Ukamba, from where the emigration appears chiefly to have started. I have many a time come across visitors from Rabai, and I have also, on the other hand, met with people from Ukamba at Lake Yipe".

Bearing these circumstances in mind, one is not disposed to dispute the correctness of Dr. Lindblom's conclusion that "Kikamba is one of the most widely spread languages in East Africa", and that "next to Kisuaheli, the lingua franca of East Africa, Kikamba is the best language to know for the traveller in the parts of East Africa above referred to. It is understood and spoken by a great number of Akikuyu and Masai, the immediate neighbours of the Akamba to the west and south-west. Also among the tribes living upon and around Kilimanjaro, my knowledge of the Kamba language was sometimes very useful to me".

Dr. Lindblom's book is a most welcome addition to our knowledge and would be still more generally useful if he had adopted for Kamba words the script of the International Phonetic Association instead of the Swedish dialect alphabet.

A. W.

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THE NORTHERN TRIBES OF NIGERIA: An Ethnographical Account of the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, together with a Report on the 1921 Decennial Census. By C. K. MEEK, B.A., F.R.G.S., F.R.A.I. 2 vols. 9 x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ . vol. i. xviii + 312 pp.; vol. ii. 277 pp. Oxford: University Press, 1925.

Mr. Meek has spent a considerable part of his life in the Nigerian Government service, and the two volumes before us are the result of intensive work in various districts, besides incorporating valuable reports, which might otherwise have been consigned to oblivion in

administrative pigeon-holes. It is impossible to summarize and very difficult to convey in brief compass any notion of so encyclopædic a work : one must be content with calling attention to a few of the most important points. The chapter on "Social Organization" contains matter of the highest interest to students of anthropology, dealing as it does with totemism, kinship, and marriage-laws and the constitution of the family in general. In connexion with totemism, the belief in lycanthropy, practically universal in Africa, is considered, and Mr. Meek suggests that it may have originated in the conception of the "bush-soul" or "personal totem"—the animal counterpart of every human individual. The chapter on "Religion" necessarily devotes a certain section to Islam which has exercised so great an influence on tribal movements in West Africa for the last thousand years, and to which, even in the nineteenth century, must be ascribed "the political revolution effected by the Fulani and the entry of the Kanembu tribes into Bornu". The common factor in the religion of the Muslim peoples collectively classed as "Pagan" is Animism ; starting from this basis, we find various developments "from the most primitive forms of ancestor-worship to the impersonation of the dead . . . to the attribution of a spirit to material objects (fetichism and spiritism) to the deification of natural phenomena and finally to the extensive system of polytheism such as we find among the Yoruba and kindred tribes".

The chapter on Languages, contributed by Mr. N. W. Thomas, is the latest pronouncement, in English at least, on a perplexing and, so far, little understood subject. He proposes a classification of the Sudanic tongues into four main branches : (1) West Sudanic, (2) Central Sudanic, (3) Middle Zone (including four groups of Semi-Bantu and two of Pre-Semi-Bantu), (4) Eastern Sudanic. Mr. Thomas regards the Semi-Bantu languages as "belonging to the Sudanic sub-family", while "classifying their nouns by means of pronominal affixes after the manner of Bantu languages" and "showing the concord between noun and verb adjective by the use of the same affix". But we also find, unexpectedly, several genuine Bantu languages in this area—Jarawa,<sup>1</sup> Bankalawa and others. "From the scattered information of the Bantu tribes, it seems probable that they found themselves in the road of the Central advance" (of the Sudanic tribes coming from the direction of Lake Chad) "perhaps on . . . the line of the Upper Middle Benue, and were broken up and ceased to form a continuous

<sup>1</sup> This is classed by Sir H. H. Johnston as Semi-Bantu.

group." This question is further discussed by Mr. Meek in his chapter on "Ethnological Conclusions".

This is a most inadequate notice of a work which, we can only repeat, deserves the most careful study and will be a special boon to anthropologists.

A. W.

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**TANGANYIKA TERRITORY. REPORT OF THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE. 1925, TOGETHER WITH THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE STANDARDIZATION OF THE SWAHILI LANGUAGE. 177 pp. ; 13 in. by 8 in. Government Press, Dar-es-Salaam.**

This Report marks a significant new departure in East African administration. It is mainly occupied with the proceedings of a Conference held at Dar-es-Salaam in October last year, at the invitation of the Governor (Sir Donald Cameron, K.B.E.), in which Government officials, missionaries and representatives of commercial interests took part. Papers were read by the Director of Education (Mr. S. Rivers-Smith, O.B.E.), by the Deputy Director (Mr. Isherwood), by the Hon. Charles Dundas, the Rev. G. W. Broomfield (U.M.C.A.), Miss Gelding (C.M.S.), the Rev. A. M. Anderson, Mr. W. B. Mumford, Mr. G. B. Latham, Father Van Aken, Mr. Frederick Johnson, and several others. Mr. Johnson's paper and the report of the Sub-Committee on the Standardization of Swahili are discussed elsewhere. Samuel Chiponde (Native Interpreter of the High Court) and Mwalimu Leslie Matola (Head Teacher of the Training Class) also read papers and took part on more than one occasion in the discussions. Mr. M. O. Abbasi, representing the Dar-es-Salaam Indian Association, also contributed to the discussion on Mr. Rivers-Smith's paper ("Co-operation between Government and Missions in Secular Education") and to that on the training of native teachers. He pointed out that "there is a large section of settlers in this country whose co-operation is equally necessary and desirable in the matter [with that of the Government and the missions], i.e. the Indian community . . . Indians are very often accused of being middlemen in commerce. Let them be middlemen in the spread of knowledge and culture also. They occupy rather an advantageous position in this respect, because they furnish a happy mean between the extremely civilized Europeans on the one hand and the extremely primitives on the other". His other suggestion, that native teachers should be sent to Europe for training, has less to be said in its favour.

Of outstanding interest, besides Mr. Rivers-Smith's paper just referred to, are Mr. Isherwood's ("The Problem of the Vernaculars in Education"), Miss Gelding's on the education of girls, Mr. Latham's ("The School in its Relation to Agriculture"), the Rev. A. M. Anderson's (Scottish Mission, Iringa) on "Native Handicrafts", and Mr. Dundas's ("The Ideal of the African Citizen"). Readers of *Kilimanjaro and its People* will know what to expect from this admirable essay, the keynote of which is struck in the following paragraph:

"If we want our African to grow up a true man, let him be brought up in the atmosphere of his true environment, but that will not be assured if the main impression made on the pupil's mind is that the school stands in complete contrast to his accustomed life and environment, and that the object of schooling is to eradicate the spirit and instincts of his race".

It is only possible within these limits to give the barest indication of the wealth of information and interest contained in these pages. The Dar-es-Salaam Government Press must be congratulated on its typography, which is admirably clear, neat and (except for a few misprints on pp. 164 and 169) accurate. Appended is a useful map of the Tanganyika Territory.

A. W.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS. Edited by J. H. OLDHAM and G. A. GOLLOCK. *Special Double Africa Number*. July, 1926. International Review of Missions, Edinburgh House, Eaton Gate, Sloane Square, and Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 5s. net.

This important publication was issued, in the first instance, as a preliminary to the international missionary conference which met at Le Zoute in September of this year. But its appeal is of much wider scope and well worth the attention of many who are not directly interested in missions. M. Elie Allégret, one of the Directors of the Paris Mission (best known by nearly a century of work in Basutoland), supplies (under the title "Black and White in Africa") some much-needed information as to the position of natives in the French colonies. (He does not, however, touch on the vexed question of military service.) "The South African Problem" is discussed from three different points of view, by a writer who prefers to veil his identity under the pseudonym "X", by Dr. Du Plessis, and by Professor Tengo Jabavu, of the South African Native College. All three will

be found eminently suggestive. One of the most important papers is Professor Westermann's on "The Value of the African's Past"—but we would also call attention to Mr. Oldham's "Population and Health in Africa" and Dr. Loram's account of "The Separatist Church Movement", an impartial consideration of features in native life which are sometimes regarded with an unwarrantable degree of alarm. Father Callaway—a son of the eminent Zulu scholar whose collections have proved of such inestimable value—writes on "Manners and Race Relationships", a subject to which his intimate knowledge of native life and character enables him to do full justice. The superficial observer may be surprised to learn that "the Native of South Africa is by nature a courteous person"; but he will be fully enlightened by the subsequent explanation that "he does not certainly express his courtesy in the same way that we do", illustrated by some of the ways in which this courtesy may easily be misunderstood. There is much more in this publication which is both highly informative and provocative of fruitful discussion, and it is warmly recommended to the perusal of all engaged in African studies.

A. W.

MY AFRICAN NEIGHBOURS. MAN, BIRD, AND BEAST IN NYASALAND.

By HANS COUDENHOVE.  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ , xiv + 245 pp. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1925.

The author of this fascinating book tells us, in his Preface, dated from Kiva Malemia, that he first went to Africa in 1896 and has remained there ever since, with an interval of a few months only. His experience is not confined to Nyasaland, as he appears also to have lived among the Masai, in Jubaland, in Taveta, and in other parts of the Kenya and Tanganyika territories. This renders some of his sweeping generalizations all the more surprising—one can only conclude that he had a more sympathetic understanding of the animals whom he describes so attractively (insects, and more especially ants, being apparently the only ones outside the circle of his affection) than of their human kinsfolk. It is certainly not universally true that natives are "incapable of feeling pity for suffering fellow-creatures, man or beast", or that "they love to see animals die", or that they "lack the most rudimentary notions of hygiene and sanitation" and are "indifferent to the cleanliness of their surroundings". (To this last he admits one exception—that of the Wasokiri to the north of

Lake Nyasa, but there are others ; and he certainly can never have come in contact with the fastidiousness of a well-bred " wild " Zulu.) It is only fair to say that he has himself supplied incidental qualifications to some of his more reckless statements. But the chapters on animals—especially those dealing with his mongooses and ravens—are a pure joy, or would be, were it not for occasional tragedies, such as that of poor little Nyasa, the genetie.

A. W.

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## NOTES AND QUERIES

### ON EDITING THE *MATHNAWÍ*.

The notice of Vol. I of my edition of the *Mathnawí* by Professor C. E. Wilson, which appeared in the last issue of the *Bulletin* (p. 200) is, in my opinion, so misleading that as one interested in the advancement of Persian studies, I think it advisable to offer some remarks on the views which the writer has expressed and on the criticisms which he has thought fit to make. If I can scarcely expect that he will reconsider his general views on the subject, I hope to convince both him and others that his particular statements are not always correct. Oriental editions of the *Mathnawí*, some with commentaries and some without, exist in plenty, but most of them contain hundreds or thousands of interpolated verses and, judged by any critical standard, are more or less negligible, with two outstanding exceptions: (1) the edition, including a Turkish translation and commentary, of Ismá'il Anqiraví, who lived in the early seventeenth century: and (2) the Búláq edition, A.H. 1268, which is accompanied by the Turkish verse-translation of Nahífí. Both these books, as I know from personal experience, are difficult to procure; and that was one of the motives which led me to undertake a new edition. It is "not a sufficient reason" in the eyes of Professor Wilson, who regards the *Mathnawí* as a book suitable only for a few "advanced students", and has forgotten how widely it is studied in India and Persia. And though European students of Persian are comparatively few at present, it may be hoped that in the future their numbers will increase, and that many of them will wish to become acquainted with the *Mathnawí*. A volume of selected extracts from the poem might be of great interest and well within the range of the ordinary student.

Another motive was supplied by the necessity of providing a standard text to serve as a basis for the translation. To Professor Wilson my remark that an annotated translation would be of little use by itself, seems "uncalled for". Why? Surely the utility of any translation for students depends very largely on the establishment of quick and easy communications between the translation and the original. By referring students to one of the Turkish editions, which few possess and still fewer can hope to obtain, and where the verses are not numbered, I should have restricted the full use of the

English version to a small band of scholars like Professor Wilson and myself.

A third motive, and the most powerful of all, was my desire to investigate the authenticity of the Oriental printed or lithographed texts of the poem. This I did, in the only possible way, by collating the oldest MSS. I could find with the two best Oriental editions. The result of that comparison, so far as Books I and II are concerned, is set forth in the Introduction to Vol. I of my edition, p. 16 seq. It amounts to this: the Turkish editions are distinctly inferior to the four ancient MSS. which I have collated: the variants are numerous and often affect materially the form or the meaning or both: in the Turkish editions the language and prosody have been modernized to some extent, while a considerable number of verses have been interpolated. The MSS. in short represent *an older recension* of the poem, and that fact alone would justify my edition, even if the divergencies were less important than they are; for the main object of a new edition is, presumably, to restore the original text as far as possible. Professor Wilson thinks otherwise. He maintains, in effect, that the existence of a relatively good text (Anqiravî's) ought to deter anyone from attempting to make a better: *le mieux est l'ennemi du bon*; the only hypothesis on which he will admit the need for a new edition is "if those existing are really unsatisfactory". What he means by "really unsatisfactory" may perhaps be conjectured from his remark "that a great number of the emendations (in my edition) . . . are of so slight a character as to be but little needed by the advanced student". It would seem that, in his judgment, advanced students can dispense with textual criticism—a comfortable doctrine, which throws us back even further than twenty-five years ago, when the late Professor Browne was just beginning his successful efforts to promote the scientific study of Persian. Professor Wilson recognizes that in preparing my edition I have adopted "the historical method", i.e. I generally follow the text of the oldest or most authoritative MS., without seeking to incorporate readings of other texts, notwithstanding that I may regard such readings as preferable. Hence he is mistaken in charging me with inconsistency on the ground that in Book II, v. 2752, the MS. reading is retained, though the variant in Anqiravî's text, to judge from the incorrect rhyme, is probably older. In this and several other cases, which will be discussed in my commentary, the fault, if fault there be, lies in adhering too strictly to a method approved by my critic.

I now come to a vital point. While studying the ancient MSS. of the *Mathnawí*, I found evidence which convinced me that from an early period the text of the poem had suffered considerable alteration at the hands of its copyists. One proof of this is the disappearance in the later MSS. of many archaic words and forms which occur in the older ones. Another and more striking phenomenon, pointing in the same direction, is the fact that some peculiarly incorrect rhymes, which are common in the oldest MS. of Book I (c), undergo a gradual process of elimination, so that the MS. next in age (A) has fewer of them than c, while the youngest MS. (B) has fewer than A. I knew, as everyone who reads with open eyes and ears must know, that although imperfect rhymes of a certain type are not unusual in Persian poetry, the particular specimens which occur most frequently in the oldest MS. of the *Mathnawí* are almost without parallel in the works of other poets. I inferred that the copyists of the *Mathnawí* would naturally try to get rid of these blemishes when the alteration could be made without difficulty, and that in the numerous cases where the same verse appears in one MS. with the faulty rhyme and in another MS. with a correct rhyme, the former reading is likely to be the original. Otherwise it would be hard to explain how it is that the greatest number of these faulty rhymes occur in the oldest MS., or why so many of the verses in which they occur are accompanied by variants exhibiting a correct rhyme.

Professor Wilson does not attempt to answer this reasoned argument. "Who can account," says he, "for the vagaries of copyists or know the contents of older MSS. no longer extant?" He has ventured, nevertheless, to assert that "Dr. Nicholson speaks of ordinary poetic licenses as if peculiar to Rûmî". If this assertion were true, the force of my argument would be impaired; for I rely not so much upon the abnormal *quantity* of these incorrect rhymes as upon their unprecedented *quality*. He says they are ordinary: I say they are extraordinary, and I will now give him an opportunity of putting his statement to the test. The verbs شَدَن, زَدَن, and آمَدَن are among the commonest in Persian, and it is evident that a poet who was not fastidious in his versification would be tempted to use them freely as rhymes. This is just what Rûmî does, and what his copyists have endeavoured to disguise. Sometimes بَدَن takes the place of شَدَن as one of the rhyme-words, the other being either زَدَن or آمَدَن. Here are the details (for Book I of the *Mathnawí* according to the oldest MS.). The figures in brackets indicate the number of the verse.

- شدند, زدند (2774, 3475, 3478).  
 شدند, آمدند (2538).  
 شدی, زدی (3891).  
 بُدی, زدِی (2428, 2852).  
 شدست, زدست (2531, 3836, 3926).  
 شدست, آمدست (3313, 3933).  
 بُدست, آمدست (3371).  
 بدم, زدم (2439).  
 شده, زده (2688, 2866).  
 شده, آمده (2097, 2448, 2780).

In fourteen out of these nineteen verses the false rhyme has been corrected by later copyists.

If the rhyming of شَدَن or مُدَن with زَدَن or آمَدَن is "an ordinary poetical license", as Professor Wilson describes it, we may expect to meet with numerous examples in Persian poetry of the first class. I do not ask him to show me a list equivalent to that given above: let him produce a single example if he can. I have not been able to find one, but he may be more fortunate; and perhaps it will save him a little time and trouble if I inform him that there is nothing of this sort in the (approximately) 4,000 verses of the *Bústán*. He does not like to think that Rûmî's versification is less polished than that of Nidhâmî and Sa'dî. Still, facts must be faced, and it is safer to verify a statement than to deny it. That Rûmî not seldom rhymes *wâw-i ma'rûf* (û) with *wâw-i majhûl* (ó) is unquestionable. I gave a brief list of examples, and added the words "etc., etc.", which Professor Wilson ignores, thus suggesting that my six examples were intended to be exhaustive; he then declares that two of them are indecisive.<sup>1</sup> Possibly, but the admission will not help him. Here are five more instances: I 1121 (نور, فور); I 1294 (دور, گور); I 1357 (جوش, وحوش); I 2708 (شور, محصور); I 2741 (مور). Will Professor Wilson contend that in these cases and in others that might be quoted the verse is spurious or the reading doubtful?

<sup>1</sup> Outside of the *Mathnawî* and the *Diwân-i Shams-i Tabriz*, I cannot recall any instance in which زور (zôr) is rhymed with a word having the *ma'rûf* vowel. In the *Bústán* زور occurs in rhyme ten times, and in every case the word that rhymes with it has the *majhûl* vowel. Here again the *onus probandi* lies on Professor Wilson.

As regards the frequent occurrence of *yá-yi majhúl* (é) rhyming with *alif* (á) in the oldest MSS., e.g. *نهیّب, حجاب*. this is of philological interest as indicating a nearly similar pronunciation of the two sounds. I have therefore retained it, and am confident that my critic's surprise will not be shared by others.

He asks on what authority I write *نگسکد* instead of *نگسد*. The verb *سُکستن* (of which an example from the *Sháhnáma* is cited by Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, ii. 310). occurs at least a dozen times in the old MSS. of the *Mathnawí*: the Oriental editors, of course, replace it by *شکستن* or *گستن*. The following instances, where it occurs in rhyme, will perhaps satisfy my critic.

Book III. v. 3507.—

این تائنی از پی تعلیم تُست \* که طلب آهسته باید بی سُکُست

Book III. v. 3997:—

خویشتن آویخت بس مرد و سُکُست

وقت پِچاپِچ دست آوِیز جُست

Book III. v. 4463:—

چون قضایش حبل تدبیرت سُکُست

چون نشد بر تو قضای حق دُرُست

In the first verse the Turkish editions read *شُکست*, in the second *گُست*, and in the third *شُکست*—hardly possible rhymes even for *Rúmí*. My edition will restore what the poet wrote, by making three of those slight emendations which, we have been told, are "but little needed by the advanced student".

I regret that I have not been able to find Professor Wilson's criticism so helpful as it might have been if he had directed it to the many questions in which a difference of opinion is natural and legitimate. One of these is raised in the last sentence of his review. He is inclined to doubt the possibility of a translation of the *Mathnawí* without an accompanying commentary, i.e. a commentary published simultaneously with the translation. I have acknowledged elsewhere that a bare translation of the poem is often unintelligible. Ideally

the translation and the commentary should be twins. But this means either that the whole poem must have been studied before the annotated translation appears in print, or that the commentary on each Book can take little or no account of the remaining Books. I would not reproach anyone for choosing the latter course : but what would classical scholars think of the author of a commentary, say, on the First Book of the *Aeneid*, in which the other eleven Books were treated almost as if they were non-existent ? Yet life is short, and Persian literature is so enormously long that an Oriental scholar may sometimes feel himself obliged to adopt this alternative, as Professor Wilson has done with praiseworthy results in his commentary on the Second Book of the *Mathnawî*. I can only hope that my preference for the other horn of the dilemma may equally prove to be an illustration of the Arabic proverb

عِنْدَ الصَّبَاحِ يَحْمَدُ الْقَوْمُ السَّرَى

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

I have received from authoritative correspondents information which sheds further light on certain points of my contribution to the last issue of the *Bulletin* entitled " History of the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in China, and other Kingdoms of the East ". Sir William Foster, whose wide knowledge of the Eastern history of this period is universally acknowledged, suggests that the " untraced " publication mentioned in footnote 2, p. 47, is probably the work of which there is now a modern edition, under the title : " Voyages et Missions du Père Alexandre de Rhodes, S.J., nouvelle édition, conforme à la première de 1653, annotée par le Père H. Gourdain." Lille, 1884. Sir William also points out that " Jacquetra " mentioned on p. 50, is Batavia (from the original name Jakatra), the kindly President of which place at this time was Aaron Baker, not " Becza ". A further interesting point to which he draws my attention is that the voyage made by Père Alexandre, from Bantam to Surat (p. 50) receives mention in " The English Factories in India ", 1646-50, p. 173 and note. Further the Reverend Father L. Riondel, Principal of the Jesuit College at Ore Place, Hastings, has directed my notice to a very exact and complete list of the works of Père Alexandre de Rhodes, which is included in Sommervogel's *Bibliothèque de la C<sup>ie</sup> de Jésus*, 1895.

ARNOLD T. WILSON.

SOME ROOTS COMMON TO THE TURKANA, LOTUKO, AND BARI  
LANGUAGES

| <i>English.</i> | <i>Turkana.</i>           | <i>Lotuko.</i> | <i>Bari.</i> | <i>Suggested<br/>common root.</i> |
|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| abuse           | akamori                   | imoryu         | mor          | mor                               |
| answer          | eruko (sing.<br>to sing.) | iruk           | rugo         | ruk                               |
| ascend          | adoki                     | odogho         | dukin        | dok                               |
| cover           | emugo                     | imoghok        | muk          | muk, mok                          |
| sandals         | anukak                    | ghamogha       | kamoka       | —                                 |
| drink           | enathi                    | amata          | mata         | mat                               |
| kill            | ari                       | oriamo         | rem          | ri(m)                             |
| bad             | ngaroko                   | orogho         | narok        | arok                              |
| big             | epol                      | obolo          | bulo         | bol                               |
|                 |                           |                | (powerful)   |                                   |
| black           | ngerioko                  | iriok          | naruk        | riok                              |
| painful         | adiaka                    | odiagha        | dika         | diaka                             |
| man             | ekili                     | lale           | lalle        | le                                |
| milk            | akili                     | nali           | le           | li                                |
| teeth           | ugelai                    | nalai          | kele         | la                                |
| mouth           | akitok                    | kutuk          | kutuk        | (ku)tuk                           |
| tongue          | aliep                     | ngadyep        | ngedeb       | dyep                              |
| head            | ako                       | naghu          | kwe          | ku                                |
| breast          | ethigina                  | kina           | kina         | (ki)na                            |
| bone            | akoit                     | naghotyu       | kuyutyu      | koit                              |
| horn            | amwarak                   | namwerak       | ungwuri      | mwar                              |
| spittle         | ngakimulak                | namilak        | kamulak      | (ki)mulak                         |
| urine           | ngul                      | naghula        | kola         | kul                               |
| dung            | achino                    | kino           | kin          | (ki)no                            |
| elephant        | etom                      | tome           | tome         | tom                               |
| rhinoceros      | amothi                    | nemwi          | mui          | mui                               |
| giraffe         | yekori                    | kori           | kurit        | kori                              |
| crocodile       | akinyan                   | kinyang        | kinio        | (ki)nyang                         |
| guineafowl      | etapen                    | tapeng         | tafingi      | tapeng                            |
| snake           | emun                      | munu           | munu         | mun                               |
| bird            | ngken                     | nakenyi        | kwen         | ken                               |
| cow             | ate                       | kiteng         | kiteng       | te(ng)                            |
| goat            | akini                     | kini           | kine         | (ki)ni                            |
| sun             | akolon                    | kolong         | kolong       | (ko)long                          |
| moon            | elap                      | yapa           | yafa         | ap                                |



| <i>English.</i> | <i>Turkana.</i> | <i>Lotuko.</i> | <i>Bari.</i> | <i>Suggested<br/>common root</i> |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| smoke           | apurru          | napuro         | kofurot      | puro                             |
| chain           | erikot          | naririk        | rerekat      | rik                              |
| tobacco         | etaba           | taba           | taba         | taba                             |
| and             | ka              | ka             | lunga        | ka                               |
| what ?          | nyo             | nyo            | nyo          | nyo                              |
| who ?           | ngai            | ngai           | nga          | nga                              |
| whose           | angai           | anangai        | aninga       | anga                             |
| two             | ari             | arega          | ori, murek   | re(k)                            |
| four            | omwon           | angwan         | unguan       | ngwan                            |

Authorities : Owen's translation of Mitterutzner's *Bari Grammar*, my *Lotuko Language* (B.S.O.S. II. ii), and Juxon Barton's *Turkana Vocabulary* (B.S.O.S. II. i).

RAGLAN.

#### THE STANDARDIZATION OF SWAHILI

The Report issued last year by a Committee which met at Dar-es-Salaam, in order to consider the standardizing of the Swahili language, raises several questions of interest. Without entering into the question of how far it is possible for any external authority to "standardize" a language, one may agree with the finding of the Committee in thinking that form of the language which is current at Zanzibar and on the adjacent mainland to be the one most widely understood and most useful for general purposes. But a standard language—by which is presumably meant a literary language—usually grows up through the influence of native writers, whose genius, while expressing itself in their own local speech, makes use of words and forms from other dialects when united to its purpose and thus renders them current coin. It must not be forgotten that the dialects of Mombasa and Lamu<sup>1</sup> (which are, after all, less restricted in scope than Mr. Johnson

<sup>1</sup> "Of the several Swahili dialects I think we can rule out straight away all except that of Zanzibar and Mombasa, the others are of too local a character and are spoken by very few people compared with the others. . . . Most of the people, European and native, with whom I have discussed the matter, agree that the niceties of [the Mombasa] dialect obtain only in and about Mombasa itself, and that up country that of Zanzibar is the common tongue when Swahili is spoken." This coincides more or less with my own experience, as regards "up country", where most of the natives only speak Swahili as an acquired language—but, on the coast. I fancy it will be found that the Mombasa dialect will be understood as far north as Malindi—while certainly that of Lamu extends, with variations, as far north as Mambrui. It must also be remembered that migrations, e.g., of families from Siu and Shela settled at Mambrui, tend to bring about a mixture of dialects, which is one of the agencies for producing a standard language.

asserts) are in some respects richer than that of Zanzibar and contain a considerable amount of ancient literature in a diction which, if somewhat conventional, is accepted and understood by educated Swahilis in other districts and, to a certain extent, is kept up in modern poetry.

The proposals of the Committee for a revised orthography are certainly a step in the right direction, but two of the most important, one regrets to note, have been rejected by the Government of Tanganyika Territory: these are the substitution of *c* for *ch* and of the phonetic symbol *ŋ* for the velar nasal hitherto written *ng*. (But why are these two sounds repeatedly described as "double consonants"? Here we have an example of that deplorable bondage to the written letter which scientific phoneticians are always combating.) I have said that the proposed substitution of *c* for *ch* is a step in the right direction—but it is only a partial one, for a distinction should certainly be made between the two sounds usually written *ch*: one being the palatal plosive, as in *chakula* (phonetically *cakula*) the other the affricate (for which the Mombasa dialect substitutes dental *t*) as in *chini* (*tʃini*—or, as Professor Meinhof would have it, *tʃini*—at Mombasa *tini*). Some distinction ought also to be made between the aspirated and unaspirated forms of the consonants *k*, *t*, *p*, the difference being significant, thus:—

*ku kaa* = "to sit", but *khaa* = "a crab".

*tembo* = "palm-wine", but *thembo* = "elephant".

*paa* = "roof", but *phaa* = "gazelle".

One other remark of Mr. Johnson's calls for comment:—

"I feel that we ought to endeavour to prevent peculiarities which are being introduced by the particular tribes who are adopting the language. For instance: *sangaa* for *shangaa*, *kirongozi* for *kiongozi*, *mashika* for *masika*, *mutu* for *mtu*, *munataka* for *mnataka*, etc." Now, some, at any rate, of these are older forms which have become atrophied in Swahili as spoken to-day. It seems to me that there is no sufficient reason for rejecting them indiscriminately.

A. WERNER.

#### AFRICAN IRON-WORK

A careful study of an interesting native craft is given by Dr. Lindblom in a paper on "African Wire-drawing" (*Dragning av Metalltråd i Afrika*), recently received from Stockholm. A map shows the distribution of this craft, which is curiously sporadic, being known to the Kikuyu, Kamba, Masai and Chaga in East Africa, to a group of tribes

(Ruanda, etc.) between Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika, to the Konde and Kinga at the north end of Lake Nyasa, to the Barotse on the Zambezi, the Malemba in North Transvaal, the Bakuba and Chokwe in the southern Congo basin, and, more doubtfully, to the Zulus, and in three separate areas of West Africa. The process varies locally in detail: the apparatus used in Ruanda (illustrated in fig. 6) is perhaps the most elaborate. The literature of African travel has been ransacked for evidence, of which Dr. Lindblom has accumulated a surprising quantity, ranging from Wilkinson (1837) and Moffat (1842) to Dr. Schachtzabel in 1823. Residents in Africa may be able to adduce other localities where this art is practised, and to ascertain how far it is likely to survive the importation of wire from Europe. As native craftsmen made brass wire as well as copper and iron, and no brass is locally produced, but the imported coils and rods are used for the purpose, it may not be in danger of immediate extinction.

A. W.

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JOURNAL OF THE GIPSY LORE SOCIETY. Editor E. O. WINSTEDT, 181 Ifley Road, Oxford.

Vol. IV, Pt. 2:—(i): Welsh Gypsy Folk Tale, No. 25, by John Sampson; (ii): Specimens of Finnish Romani taken from a Finnish Missionary paper by F. G. Ackerley and E. O. Winstedt. In addition to the Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes and the Birth of Christ, there is a charming legend of the Bethlehem inn-keeper who would not admit Joseph and Mary. (iii): Two Romani Songs. (iv): A brief account is given of the activities of the late Mr. David MacRitchie, founder of the Society. I recall with much pleasure the two or three occasions on which I met him, and can fully bear out what is said here of his very attractive personality.

Vol. IV, Pt. 3:—(i): Welsh Gypsy Folk Tale, No. 26, by John Sampson; (ii): The Song of the Bridge as recited by a blind beggar in Ruschuk (Bernard Gilliat-Smith); (iii): Anglo-Romani Gleanings (from Hampshire), with a vocabulary of about 270 words.

Vol. IV, Pt. 4:—(i): Welsh Gypsy Folk Tale, No. 27, by John Sampson; (ii): Irvine's Vocab. of Gypsy Words; (iii): Review of Rev. C. P. Cape's "Prisoners Released", an excellent account of work among outcasts in India.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

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## OBITUARY

### **Nawab Imadul Mulk Bahadur Sayed Husain Bilgrani**

On 3rd June died after a short illness, at the age of 85 years, at his residence in Saifabad, a suburb of Hyderabad, a man and scholar who was revered far beyond the confines of India. Sayed Husain was born at Sahibganj, Gaya, in the year 1842 as the son of Sayed Zainuddin Husain Khān, who was a magistrate in Behar, one of the first Muhammadans appointed to such a position. Sayed Husain enjoyed an excellent education under the care of private tutors and acquired through his father's teaching a mastery of the English language hardly ever equalled by any other foreigner. He was finally sent to the La Martinière College at Calcutta where he matriculated at the Hare Academy. He then entered the Presidency College and took his degree after four years' study. In 1868, at the age of 26, he was appointed to the chair of Arabic at the Canning College in Lucknow, being at the same time, on account of his proficiency in English, made chief editor of the *Lucknow Times*, at that period a very influential paper among the landowners of the province. In 1872 the great Minister of the State of Hyderabad, Sir Salār Jang, recognizing his merits, invited him to enter the service of that State, which invitation he accepted in the following year. From that time all his energies were devoted to the service of this, the paramount independent Indian State, and the enlightenment of its subjects. At first private secretary of Sir Salār Jang, he became subsequently Educational Secretary and Director of Public Instruction. How highly he was honoured by his sovereigns can be estimated from the fact that during his long service to the State he was appointed in succession tutor to His Highness the late Nizām Mir Maḥbūb 'Alī Khān, to his Exalted Highness the ruling Nizām, and to the princes of the latter.

Though a politician by virtue of his offices it is mainly due to his efforts that most of the educational institutions in the State were inaugurated, and the latest of these, though not directly due to him, the Osmania University and the new Girls' School, are the result of his example. But it was not only in the establishment of schools and colleges that he worked for the development of the intellectual advancement of Indians. He, assisted by a number of high-minded and generous friends, initiated a Society, known under the title of

“Dā‘iratul Mā‘arif”. for the publication of important and rare Arabic works to enable Muslims, not of India alone but of the whole Muhammadan world, to study at moderate prices the masterpieces of their literature. At the time of his death no less than fifty-seven separate works had been issued by the Press established for this purpose. We owe to the efforts of the Dā‘ira the publication of many works of which manuscripts are either entirely lacking or only in fragments in the great libraries of Europe. As early as 1872 he had urged the publication of the great Optics of Ibn al-Haitham, one of the chief scientific works composed by the Arabs in the Middle Ages. Only one manuscript, that in the Leiden Library, was known to Oriental scholars, but by diligent search four more copies were brought to light in India, and sparing no expense an edition was prepared, of which the last sheets of a final revision were ready shortly before his death. At the same time the Dā‘ira had undertaken to publish the extensive book on tradition, the Sunan of al-Baihaqi, the Jamhara fil Lughā of Ibn Duraid, the Amālī of Ibn ash-Shajarī, and the biographical dictionary, the Durar al-Kāmina, of Ibn Hajar. Supported as the Imad ul-Mulk was during his life-time by a devoted circle of friends, many of whom I could name, they are determined that the great work incepted by him shall not cease with his death and it has been decided that the work will be carried on under the auspices of the Osmania University, and it is to be hoped that the new arrangement will continue to contribute to the advancement of Muhammadan learning.

The devoted collaboration of so many high-minded friends throws a vivid light upon the personal character of the Imad ul-Mulk; he was untiring and unselfish to the highest degree in assisting friends and scholars; a noble soul and of the purest integrity, a man of whom any land can be proud and who will be greatly missed by all who came into touch with him.

F. KRENKOW.

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#### PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

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‘OMAR KHAYYAM

By E. DENISON ROSS

THE interest in ‘Omar Khayyám is perennial, not only among those who can only appreciate FitzGerald’s masterly version, but also among those who can study the Persian poet at first hand : and within the last few years notable contributions have been made to the biography of ‘Omar and more critical examination of the verses attributed to him. It is with this last subject that I wish to deal in the present article.

As is well known, and as is also inevitable, there is no definite edition of the *Rubá’iyyát* of ‘Omar Khayyám. Collections of these isolated poems vary in number from thirteen to upwards of 800. It is consequently a question of considerable interest to attempt by a process of elimination to define which quatrains may be safely attributed to ‘Omar Khayyám and which may be with certainty rejected. The task is by no means a simple one, and the following tests have been applied.

(1) To eliminate from the attributed verses all those which are found in old MSS. of early poets.

(2) To eliminate verses which have from the first been claimed for later poets.

(3) To accept as genuine incidental quotations from ‘Omar, occurring in early works of biography and in anthologies, and

(4) To take the style and subject matter as the test of genuineness.



The first two methods have been carefully pursued by the late Professor Schukofsky, by Professor Christensen, and by myself. The result of these researches reduced the number of quatrains as known to us to-day and presumably attributable to 'Omar, to about 100.

In connexion with the third test, most valuable light has been thrown on this subject by the discovery of a unique MS. dated 741 (A.D. 1340-1) and bearing the title *Mu'nis ul-Ahrār* (مؤنس الاحوار). This MS., which occupies upwards of 500 folios, contains an anthology of the works of famous Persian poets from the earliest times down to the compiler's day. The whole is written in the hand of the compiler, whose name was Muḥammad ibn Bahr-i-Jáarmi. The MS. was first brought to Paris in 1913 by the well-known dealer, Mr. Kevorkian, but unfortunately was not purchased at that time and no one knew what had become of it. It was not, however, sold elsewhere, and a few weeks ago the dealer, who shows no inclination to part with it, was kind enough to lend this precious volume to the Bibliothèque Nationale for a short period, in order that it might be more fully examined by Mírzá Muḥammad Khán of Qazwín. I have been fortunate enough to obtain Mr. Kevorkian's permission to reproduce the whole work. As a preliminary measure, it was necessary to take negatives, and thanks to the generosity of a former pupil of this school, who wishes to remain anonymous, this part of the work is being at once proceeded with. It only remains now for funds to be collected to defray the cost of facsimile reproduction. Fortunately the writing is a very clear Naskh.

Though I am actually talking of 'Omar Khayyám, I cannot refrain from mentioning here that this MS. is possibly the most important document for the history of early Persian literature that has ever come to light ; for in it are presented not only copious extracts from famous poets whose works have disappeared, but also first-class poets with whose names we are quite unfamiliar.

I hope on a future occasion to publish a more detailed description of the contents of this MS. from the pen of Mírzá Muḥammad Khán, than whom no one is better fitted to deal with it.

Among the poets included is 'Omar Khayyám, who is represented by thirteen quatrains. This constitutes the earliest collection of 'Omar's *Rubá'iyyát* which has yet been discovered, and is 123 years older than the famous Bodleian MS. Of the thirteen only two have hitherto been known, and thus we have eleven new quatrains which may more safely than any others be accounted genuine.

In connexion with the fourth method, Dr. Rosen, of Berlin, has made a very careful study with a view to ascertaining from their manner and contents which quatrains with the greatest likelihood may be attributed to ‘Omar Khayyám. It is, of course, almost impossible to judge of the precise date of any Persian poem by the language test alone, so little change has poetic diction undergone in the course of over 1,000 years. Dr. Rosen has therefore confined himself to the consideration of the thought and significance of these verses. Incidentally I may remind the reader that Professor Christensen in his *Récherches sur les Rubaiyyats d’Omar Khayyam* pointed out that in no less than twelve of the ascribed quatrains the name of Khayyám occurs. But he admits at the same time that the occurrence of this name by no means proves the genuineness of these quatrains as it would be quite easy to change some other name to Khayyám if one wished to ascribe some particular quatrain to him. Moreover, one of these twelve certainly seems to imply that ‘Omar was dead when it was composed.

For further details I must refer my readers to Dr. Rosen’s recent article, *Zur Textfrage der Vierzeiler Omar’s des Zeltmachers : Z.D.M.G. Neue Folge*, Bd. v. p. 285 et seq. Suffice it to say that he finally decides for thirteen quatrains, and that, including the new quatrains belonging to the Kevorkian MS., he would admit “a basis of 23 Ruba’iyyát from which we may obtain a true idea of ‘Omar Khayyám’s poetry, and by which we may test the numerous other Ruba’iyyát which pass under ‘Omar’s name.”

Dr. Rosen has been further influenced in his choice by the discovery in Berlin of a hitherto unknown MS. of ‘Omar’s *Ruba’iyyát*. This MS. bears the date 721 (A.D. 1321). Unfortunately the paper of this MS. is certainly of a far later date than the colophon. It is, however, quite possible that many, if not all, of the quatrains in this MS. were copied from a MS. bearing that early date. This collection, which contains 329 quatrains, has been edited and printed in Berlin at the Kaviani Press, with a learned introduction in Persian from the pen of Dr. Rosen. As an appendix to this edition, Dr. Rosen reproduced the thirteen quatrains from the Kevorkian MS., and in view of their importance I am again printing them here together with a literal translation.

It will be noticed that No. 8, which is No. 252 in Nicolas, begins with  $\text{ایام}$  in the Kevorkian MS., instead of with  $\text{خایم}$  as elsewhere.

## CHAPTER 5 OF BĀB 28 OF THE MU'NIS UL-AHRĀR

فصل بنجم در رباعیات ملک الحکما عمر خیّام رحمة الله علیه  
 عالم اگر از بهر تو می آرایند مکرای بذان کی عاقلان نکرایند  
 بسیار جو تو روند و بسیار آیند بر بای نصیب خویش کت بر بایند  
 ایضاً

جون روزی و عمریش و کم نتوان کرد خود را بکم و بیش درم<sup>1</sup> نتوان کرد  
 کار من و تو جنانک رای من و تست از موم بدست خویش هم نتوان کرد  
 ایضاً

وقت سحرست خیز ای مایه ناز نرمک نرمک باذه خور و جنک نواز  
 کانه‌ها کی بجایند نپایند<sup>1</sup> بسی و آنها کی شدند کس نمی آید باز  
 ایضاً

جون نیست مقام ما درین دهر مقیم بس بی می و معشوق خطا نیست عظیم  
 تا کی ز قدیم و محدث امیدم و بیم جون من رفتم جهان جه محدث جه قدیم  
 ایضاً

جون ابر بنوروز رخ لاله بشست برخیز و بجام باذه کن عزم درست  
 کین سبزه کی امر وز تماشا گه تست فردا همه از خاک تو بر خواهد رست  
 ایضاً

بر سنک زدم دوش سبوی کاشی سرمست بدم جو کردم این او باشی  
 بامن بزبان حال می گفت سبو من جون تو بدم تو نیز جون من باشی

<sup>1</sup> Sic with three points.

ایضاً

يك قطرهٔ آب بود و با دریا شد يك ذرهٔ خاك با زمین یکتا شد  
آمدن تو اندرین عالم چیست آمد مکی بنید و نا پیدا شد

ایضاً

ایام زمانه از کسی دارد نك كودر غم ایام نشیند دلتنك  
می خور تو در آبکینه و نالهٔ جنگ زان بیش کی آبکینه آید برسنك

ایضاً

این بحر وجود آمده بیرون زنهفت كس نیست کی این کوهر تحقیق بسفت  
هر كس سخنی از سر سودا گفتند زان روی کی هست كس نمی داند گفت

ایضاً

ای بیر خردمند بکه تر برخیز وان كودل خال بیزرا بنكر تیز  
بندش ده و كو کی نرم نرم می بیز مغز سرکیقباد و چشم پرویز<sup>1</sup>

ایضاً

دوری کی درو آمدن و رفتن ماست اورانه نهایت نه بدایت بیذاست  
كس می نزند می درین معنی راست كین آمدن از جفا و رفتن بكجاست

ایضاً

مَی خور کی فلک بهر هلال من وتو قصدی دارد بچان بال من وتو  
درسبزه نشین و می روشن میخور كین سبزه بسی دمذ زخال من وتو

<sup>1</sup> Sic with three points.

## ایضاً

ی آنک نتیجهٔ چهار وهفتی وزهفت و چهار دایم اندر تفتی  
 مَیْ خور که هزار باره بیش کفتم باز آمدنت نیست جو رفتی رفتی

## 1

Although the world is made beautiful for you  
 Set no value on it, for the wise set value on nothing.  
 For many like you come and many go  
 Take you your share ere they take you.

## 2

Since thou canst not either increase nor diminish thy daily bread or  
 the days of thy life,  
 Thou canst not complain about the more or the less.  
 My Fate and thine as I and thou well know  
 Cannot be moulded like wax between our hands.

## 3

It is the hour of dawn. rise. thou symbol of delight,  
 And gently gently sip the wine and touch the harp :  
 For none of those who are here endure for long  
 And none of those who've gone will e'er return.

## 4

Since there is no lasting abode in this world  
 It is a heinous crime to live without wine or the beloved.  
 How long must we discuss with hope and fear what is original and  
 what created ?  
 When we are gone, what matter whether the world was created or  
 exists from all time.

## 5

Now that the clouds for New Year's Day have washed the Tulip's face.  
 Rise and form your good resolutions with a cup of wine :  
 For this greensward which to-day delights your eye  
 Will be springing up to-morrow through your dust.

## 6

Last night I cast my cup against a stone  
 I was intoxicated when I did this wanton thing ;

The cup cried out to me with mystic tongue :  
 “ I was like you and you will be like me.”

7

There was a drop of water and it fell into the sea :  
 There was an atom of dust, and it mixed with the earth.  
 What is thy coming and going in this world ?  
 A fly made its appearance and then vanished.

8

The days of our life are ashamed of him  
 Who sits disconsolate lamenting his Fate :  
 Drink wine from the jug to the sound of the harp  
 Ere the jug is broken on some stone.

9

This sea of existence came out of hiding :  
 No one has pierced this pearl of Truth.  
 Each has pronounced a word out of his inner consciousness,  
 Of what really is no one is able to speak.

10

Oh ! wise old man, rise more betimes  
 And take a careful look at that child who is sweeping the dust.  
 Warn him and say : “ Sweep gently, very gently  
 The brain of Kaikobád and the eye of Parviz.”

11

This circle within which we come and go  
 Has neither a starting nor an ending point :  
 No one claims that he can tell us truly  
 Whence we came or whither we are going.

12

Drink wine, for the sky revolves for my destruction and thine,  
 It has designs upon my poor soul and thine.  
 Recline upon the greensward and drink the bright wine  
 For this greensward will often spring from my dust and thine.

13

Oh ! Thou who art the result of the Four [Elements] and the Seven  
 [Spheres]  
 And art always excited about the Seven and the Four  
 Drink wine, for as I have told you a thousand times before  
 There will be no returning for Thee, when Thou art gone, Thou art  
 gone.



AN ARABIC AND A PERSIAN METRICAL VERSION OF  
BURZOË'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY FROM "KALILA AND  
DIMNA".

By E. DENISON ROSS

IN my Foreword to the fifth volume of *The Ocean of Story* (Mr. Penzer's reprint of Tawney's translation),<sup>1</sup> I had occasion to discuss the well-known Burzoë Legend, which forms part of the preliminary matter in Ibn Muqaffa's *Kalila wa Dimna*. This legend relates how Burzoë, a physician at the court of Anushirwan the Just, was sent to India to discover a wonderful book of wisdom, how after infinite pains he found it, and having translated it, brought back a Pahlavi version to the Persian monarch. The story is too well known to need repetition, nor am I here concerned with the question of its origin. For my own part, I am inclined to believe that it was invented by Ibn Muqaffa himself. However this may be, the chapter containing the autobiography of Burzoë is a document of such outstanding importance to the student of Oriental life and culture, that Professor Nöldeke made it the subject of a special monograph bearing the title "Burzoë's Einleitung" (Strassburg, 1912). His translation is based on the various manuscripts and editions of Ibn Muqaffa's *Kalila wa Dimna*. As is well known, there exist, both in Arabic and in Persian, a number of adaptations and translations, both in prose and in verse, of the original *Kalila wa Dimna*, all of which I have enumerated in the foreword referred to above. Among the poetical versions there is one in Persian by a poet named Qání'í, of which a unique manuscript is preserved in the British Museum,<sup>2</sup> and an Arabic version by a poet named Naqqásh, of which only two copies are known to exist to-day.<sup>3</sup> In view of the interest attaching to Burzoë's Introduction, and the divergencies in the text of Ibn Muqaffa's original, I thought it might be of interest to publish the poetical versions of this chapter given by Qa'ani'i and an-Naqqásh. Moreover, it seemed that specimens of the writings of these two otherwise unknown poets might be of interest to Persian and Arabic scholars. With regard to these two poets, I think I cannot do better than extract from the British Museum Catalogues the admirable descriptions given by that great scholar

<sup>1</sup> *The Ocean of Story*, being C. H. Tawney's translation of Somadeva's *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*. Edited . . . by N. M. Penzer. In 10 vols. . . . Vol. v with a Foreword by E. Denison Ross.

<sup>2</sup> B.M. Add. 7766. Dated A.H. 863 (A.D. 1459).

<sup>3</sup> British Museum Or. 3626, and in the Library of the Catholic Fathers in Beyrout.



Dr. Charles Rieu. It may be claimed, without fear of contradiction, that both these poems have considerable merit, and that their authors deserve to have their names on the roll of Islamic literature.

Qānī'i writes with a rare simplicity of style, and his method of treatment is on the side of discursiveness: an-Naqqāsh, on the other hand, while employing an unaffected language, always aims at cutting down his matter to the fewest possible words, and one is often struck by the amazing neatness with which he reduces a long sentence of his original—supposing him to have had Ibn Muqaffa' before him—to a single trenchant verse in which nothing is lost either of clarity or force.

#### THE "KALĪLA WA DIMNĀ" OF AN-NAQQĀSH<sup>1</sup>

A metrical version of *Kalīla and Dimnā*, by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥasan B. Aḥmad, called al-Naqqāsh.

In the prologue, after discoursing on philosophy and on the utility of apologues, and giving various precepts of morals and practical wisdom, the author says that the book of Kulailah (*sic*) and Dimnah, which Kisra had obtained from India, had been translated by that king's order into Pehlavi. After the Arab conquest, and in the time of Ma'mūn, that Khalif's Wazir, Ibn Barmak, having expressed a desire to learn the book by heart, Abān al-Lāḥiqi volunteered to turn it into verse for the Wazir's convenience, and submitted of his free will to a period of solitary confinement in order to carry out that task, which he performed in the space of three months. His version amounted to fourteen thousand verses. Five chapters, lost at the time of the invasion, were subsequently restored by Ṣadaqah B. Sind.

It is curious to notice that the author makes no mention of the original translation of "Abdallah B. al-Muqaffa", although it appears, from the above-quoted passage of the epilogue, that his versification was based upon a prose text, which could be no other than that standard version.

Four earlier metrical versions are on record, namely those of Sahl B. Nūbakht for Yahya al-Barmaki (*Haj. Khal.*, vol. v. p. 238), of Ibn al-Habbāriyyah (No. 1158), of As'ad B. Muhaddab Ibn Mammāti, who died A.H. 606 (Ibn Khallikān, vol. i, p. 192), and of 'Abd al-Mu'min B. al-Ḥasan, who wrote A.H. 640-67 (*Vienna Catalogue*, vol. i, p. 469). For others see *Fihrist*, p. 305.

In the present copy the text runs on without any division or heading from fol. 21 to the end; but the titles of some sections have been added in the margins. The text is vocalized throughout.

<sup>1</sup> Rieu, *Supplement Catalogue of Arabic MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 735 et seq.

## THE VERSION OF AN-NAQQASH

قال الحكيم برزويه الفارسي كان أبى شخصاً من المقاتله ومن بيوت المعطاء الوالدّه وكان من تمام فضل الله أن كنت عند والدتي أفضلًا حتى إذا بلغت أعوامي أسلمني أبى إلى المودّب حتى إذا ما حسنت كتابتي وضاء نور العقل في سراجي وصرت شابًا مذرك الأمور رأيت أن العلم خير معني وطلب العلوم فرض واجب وكان في أول مبتدائي حتى إذا أدركت منه غرضي مُحققًا لحالة التشخيص نشطت بعد ذلك لاختياري في عيشتي من الأمور الأربعة المال واللذة والمفاخره

وكان محبوبًا إلى الأكاسي شهما جريًا جيد المقابله جميلة الأفعال والمشاهده على بُعد ثروتي وجاهي من إخوتي كليلهم وأنبلًا سبغًا وصرت حسن الكلام وكان شخصًا صالحًا في الكتب وحسنت مع فطنتي عبارتي ولاح شخص الفصل<sup>1</sup> في منهاجي مجود التقرير والتحرير وفيه للمرء الجمال والغنى وليس يسعى فيه إلا الناجب بالطب فيه وله اقتنائى مباشرًا علاج كل مرض مميّز الأنواع بالتخليص لأحسن الأحوال باختباري معتمدًا أنواعها المفرعه بالذكر والسعى لآخره

<sup>1</sup> كذا في الاصل ولعله الفضل.

ثُمَّ نَظَرْتُ فِي كَلَامِ الْعُلَمَاءِ  
فَلَمْ أَجِدْ مَنْ لَا يَقُولُ بِالطَّلَبِ  
ثُمَّ اعْتَبَرْتُ قَوْلَ أَهْلِ الطَّبِّ  
وَذَالَ أَنْ عَمَدَ الطَّبِيبِ  
شُرُوعَهُ فِيهِ اقْتِنَاءُ الْآخِرِ  
ثُمَّ وَجَدْتُ مِنْ كَلَامِ أَهْلِهِ  
إِذَا تَعَاطَى الطَّبُّ لِلشَّوَابِ  
لَا يَحْرُمُ الْحَظَّ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَلَا  
كَرَارِعَ الْأَرْضِ الَّتِي تَبَتُّ فِي  
فَكَانَ فِي عِلَاجِ أَهْلِ الْمَرَضِ  
فَأَيَّ مَنْ قُدِّرَتْ فِي الْقِيَامِ  
وَأَيَّ مَنْ لَمْ يَقْدِرِ الْقِيَامَا  
وَضَعْتُ مَا أَرْجُو بِهِ الشِّفَاءَ  
لِمَنْ يَلِي أُمُورَهُ فِي سَقَمِهِ  
وَلَمْ أُرِدْ أَجْزَاءَ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ أَحَدٍ  
وَقُلْتُ لَا أَغْبُطُ مِنْ أَجْنَاسِي  
أَعْلَى<sup>2</sup> عَلَوِّ الْجَاهِ بَيْنَ النَّاسِ

وَمَا انْتَهَى إِلَيْهِ رَأْيُ الْحُكَمَاءِ  
لِيُذَرِكَ الْكَمَالَ مِنْ كُلِّ سَبَبٍ  
لِلتَّقَرُّبِ فِي مَأْخَذِهِ مِنْ قَلْبِي  
فِيمَا لَهُ حَاوَلٌ بِالْوُجُوبِ  
لَا لِاقْتِنَاءِ الْمَالِ وَالْمَفَاخِرِ  
أَنَّ الطَّبِيبَ فِي اعْتِمَادِ فِعْلِهِ  
وَطَلَبِ الْأَجْرِ مِنَ الْوَهَّابِ  
يَفُوتُهُ الْعَاجِلُ<sup>1</sup> مِنْهُ مَثَلًا  
ضَمِنَ الَّذِي يَبْذُرُ نَوْعَ الْعَلَفِ  
حُسْنُ الْجَزَاءِ مِنْ إِيَّاهِ غَرَضِي  
عَلَيْهِ جَرَدْتُ لَهُ اهْتِمَامِي  
عَلَيْهِ بِالنَّفْسِ إِذَا اسْتَدَامَا  
مُقَرَّرًا فِي ذَلِكَ الدَّوَاءِ  
مِنْ أَهْلِهِ وَصَحْبِهِ أَوْ خَدَمِهِ  
إِلَّا مِنْ اللَّهِ الْمُهَيِّمِ الصِّدْقِ  
وَنُظَرَائِي ثُمَّ مِنْ أَنْاسِي  
وَالْمَالِ وَالْجَمَالِ وَاللِّبَاسِ

<sup>1</sup> كذا في الأصل ولعله الآجل.

<sup>2</sup> كذا في الأصل ولعله على.

فَنَازَعَتْنِي ثُمَّ فِيهِ نَفْسِي  
فَعِنْدَمَا نَازَعَنِي قَلْبِي بِذَا  
أَقْبَلْتُ بِالْمَلَامِ وَالتَّعْنِيفِ  
وَقُلْتُ يَا نَفْسِ كَيْفَ التَّعْدَى  
أَلَسْتُ تَدْرِينَ بِأَنَّ غَايَتَكَ  
أَلَسْتُ تَدْرِينَ فِي شَرِكَةِ أَهْلِ الْجَهْلِ  
دَعَى<sup>١</sup> الْفَخَارَ بِالَّذِي أُعْطِيتِ  
لَأَنَّهُاتِ سَلْبٍ مَا تُعْطِيهِ  
ثُمَّ انْظُرِي فِي أَمْرِ هَذَا الْجَسَدِ  
لَأَنَّهُ لِكَثْرَةِ الْأَخْلَاطِ  
بِأَيِّ خِلَاطٍ زَادَ فِيهِ أَوْ تَقْصُ  
وَهُوَ شَبِيهُ صَنَمٍ تَرْتُبَتْ  
يَضْبُطُهَا الْمَسَادُ فِي تَرْكِيبِهَا  
فَلَا تَغْرِي بِوَفَا أَحْبَابِكَ  
فَبِأَنَّهُمْ مَعَ مَقْتَضَى الشُّرُورِ  
وَعَايَةَ الْأَمْرِ الْفِرَاقِ وَالْفَنَاءِ  
وَتِلْكَ كَمَا الْمَغْرَفَةُ الْمَعْنِيَّةُ  
حَتَّى إِذَا مَا كَسِرَتْ عَادَتْ حَطَبٌ

ثُمَّ أَبَتِ إِلَّا اغْتِبَاطَ الْجِنْسِ  
وَطَرَقَتْ نَفْسِي الطَّرِيقَ لِلْأَذَى  
لَهَا عَلَى اخْتِيَارِهَا السَّخِيفِ  
أَمَا تَخَافِينَ مِنَ التَّرْدِي  
إِلَى الْمَمَاتِ وَبِهِ نَهَايَتُكَ  
وَالْجَهْلُ عَارٌ عِنْدَ أَهْلِ الْعَقْلِ  
فِي هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا وَمَا أُوتِيتِ  
وَتَقْصِدُ الْمَرْءَ فَلَا تُخْطِيهِ  
وَمَا حَوَى مِنْ جَيِّدٍ وَمِنْ رَدَى  
وَأَفَةُ الْقَبْضِ وَالْإِنْسَاطِ  
جَرَّعَهُ بِمُوجِبِ الدَّاءِ الْغُصَصِ  
أَعْضَاهُ فِي التَّفْصِيلِ ثُمَّ دَكِبَتْ  
تَزُولُ إِذْ تَنْزَعُ عَنْ تَرْتِيبِهَا  
وَلَا يَصْفُو الْوُدَّ مِنْ أَصْحَابِكَ  
إِلَى فِرَاقٍ وَإِلَى تَغْيِيرٍ  
فَلَا يَفِي الْهِنَاءُ فِيهِ بِالْعَنَا  
فِي غَرْفِهَا الطَّبَاطُخِ السَّخِيَّةِ  
وَأَوْقَدَتْ مِنْ بَعْدِ ذَالِكِ فِي اللَّهَبِ

<sup>١</sup> فِي الْأَصْلِ دَعَى.

وَكَاذَ بِالْهَيْبَةِ الَّتِي تَحْتَرِقُ  
يَا نَفْسِ إِيَّاكَ الْغُرُورَ بِالْغَنَى  
وَدَاوِمِي عَلَى عِلَاجِ الْمَرْضَى  
وَلَا تَقُولِي إِنَّ فِي الطِّبِّ كُفًا  
وَاعْتَبِرِي بِحَالَةِ الْمَرِيضِ  
وَمَنْعِهِ لِلْمَرَضِ الَّذِي بِهِ  
وَشُغْلِهِ عَنْ أَهْلِهِ وَوَلَدِهِ  
وَعُودِهِ إِلَى الصَّلَاحِ الْبَيِّنِ  
وَمَا لَئِذَا السَّاعِي مِنَ الثَّوَابِ  
فَعِنْدَ مَا أَوْسَعَتْ نَفْسِي عَذْلًا  
وَأَتَعَطَّتْ بِالنُّصْحِ وَاسْتَقَامَتْ  
أَقْبَلْتُ فِي طِبَّتِي لِأَهْلِ الْمَرَضِ  
بَلْ طَلَبًا لِلْأَجْرِ مِنْ مَعْبُودِي  
لَمْ أُحْرَمِ الْحِظَّ مِنَ الدُّنْيَا وَلَمْ  
وَنِلْتُ فِيهَا مُتَهَيِّئَةً لِإِرَادَةِ  
مُعْتَمِدٍ<sup>1</sup> مُغْتَبَطًا بِالنِّعْمَةِ الصَّرِيحَةِ  
وَصِرْتُ مَا بَيْنَ الْوَرَى مُعْظَمًا  
مُعْتَمِدَ الْآرَاءِ فِي السُّلُولِ  
لَيْسَتْ ضَيِّقُ الْغَيْرِ بِهَا إِذْ تَشْرُقُ  
فَإِنَّمَا مَصِيرُهُ إِلَى الْفَنَاءِ  
وَصَيْرَتُهُ فِي الْأُمُورِ فَرَضًا  
شَدِيدَةً مِنَ الْمَرِيضِ ذِي الدَّفَنِ  
وَجِسْمِهِ الْمُعَذَّبِ الْمَهْيُضِ  
مِنْ لَذَّةِ الْعَيْشِ الْهَنِيِّ وَطَبِيبِهِ  
بِمَا يَرَى مِنْ هَمِّهِ بِجَسَدِهِ  
بِالسَّعْيِ مِنْ طَبِيبِهِ الْمُؤْتَمَنِ  
وَالْأَجْرِ مِنْ رَبِّكَ فِي الْحِسَابِ  
وَأَصْبَحْتَ لَمِيسًا أَرَادَتْ أَهْلًا  
وَأَبْصَرْتَ مِنْ بَعْدِ مَا تَعَامَتْ  
بِغَيْرِ أَجْرِ وَبِغَيْرِ عَوَضٍ  
وَلَمْ يَكُنْ خِلَافُ ذَا مَقْصُودِي  
يُظْهِرُنِي فِيمَا تَحَرَّيْتُ النَّدَمَ  
وَفُزْتُ مَعَ أَجْرِي بِالسَّعَادَةِ  
مِنْ اعْتِمَادِ الرُّؤْيَا الصَّحِيحَةِ  
مُحَبِّبًا إِلَيْهِمْ مُكْرَمًا  
فِي غَايَةِ الْقُرْبِ مِنَ الْمُلُوكِ

<sup>1</sup> كذا في الأصل ولعله (زائد) من أغلاط الكتابة.

قَبْلَ دُخُولِ الْهِنْدِ ثُمَّ بَعْدَمَا  
 ثُمَّ نَظَرْتُ فِي أُمُورِ الطِّبِّ  
 فَلَمْ أَجِدْ مَا يَذْهَبُ الدَّاءَ وَلَمْ  
 أَوَّالَهُمْ أَغْظَمُ مِمَّا قَبْلُ  
 لَكِنِّي وَجَدْتُ تِلْكَ النَّادِرَةَ  
 لِأَنَّ مَنْ طَبَّ بِهَا لَمْ يَسْقُمْ  
 فَعِنْدَهَا اسْتَخَفَّتْ بِالطِّبِّ وَقَدْ  
 وَلَمْ أَجِدْ فِي كِتَابِ الطِّبِّ  
 عَنِ الشَّرُوعِ فِي طَرِيقِ الدِّينِ  
 ثُمَّ وَجَدْتُ النَّاسَ فِي الْأَدْيَانِ  
 عَلَى ضُرُوبٍ وَصُوفٍ وَفِرَقٍ  
 إِمَّا بِحَسَبِ سِيرَةِ الْأَبَاءِ  
 أَوْ مِنْ قَبِيلِ الْجَبَرِ وَالْإِكْرَاهِ  
 أَوْ لِاعْتِمَادِ ثَرْوَةٍ وَجَاهٍ  
 مَعَ أَنَّ كَثَرًا مِنْهُمْ مَسْرُورٌ  
 وَكُلُّ شَخْصٍ مِنْهُمْ يُزِي عَلَى  
 فَعِنْدَ مَا أَتَيْتُ أَنْ لِلْمَهْوَى  
 وَلَمْ تَبْنِ لِي حَالَةَ التَّرْجِيحِ  
 وَسَاءَنِي فِي ذَلِكَ التَّارِدُ

قَدِمْتُ مِنْهُ لَمْ أَزَلْ مُقَدِّمًا  
 بِجَوْدَةِ الذَّهْنِ وَصَدَقِ الثَّلَبُ  
 يَعْدُ بِهِ بَعْدُ إِلَى الْجِسْمِ الْأَلَمِ  
 وَعَزَّ فِي ذَالِ عِلَى الْفِعْلِ  
 لَمْ تَتَّفِقْ إِلَّا لِحَالِ الْآخِرَةِ  
 مِنْ بَعْدُ بَلْ يَا مَنْ كُلِّ أَلَمٍ  
 وَجَدْتُ أَمْرَ الطِّبِّ غَيْرَ مُعْتَمَدٍ  
 بَابًا مِنَ الْأَبْوَابِ فِيمَا يَنْبَغِي  
 يَكُونُ فِي اسْتِبْصَارِهِ مُعِينِي  
 مَعَ إِعْتِبَارِ الْكُفْرِ وَالْإِيمَانِ  
 مِمَّا ارْتَضَاهُ أَهْلُهُ فِيمَا اتَّفَقَ  
 وَرِاثَةً وَلَوْ عَلَى الْعَمِيَاءِ  
 بِمُقْتَضَى الطَّاعَاتِ وَالْمَنَاهِي  
 وَكُلُّهُمْ عَنِ الدَّلِيلِ سَاهٍ  
 بِمَا يَرَاهُ وَبِهِ مَغْرُورٌ  
 سِوَاهُ مِمَّنْ قَدْ عَلَا أَوْ سَفَلَا  
 عَلَيْهِمْ سُلْطَانُ ظَنٍّ قَدْ غَوَى  
 فِي خُبْرَةِ السَّقِيمِ وَالصَّحِيحِ  
 لِأَنِّي أَطْلُبُ مَا لَا أَجِدُ

لَإِنَّ كُلًّا مِنْهُمْ ادَّعَاهُ  
 قَدْ ضَعُفَتْ بَيْنَهُمُ الْأَوْسَاطُ  
 وَاخْتَلَفُوا فِي الْخَلْقِ وَالْمَخْلُوقِ  
 هَذَا يَقُولُ بِالْحُدُوثِ وَالْقِدَمِ  
 وَذَلِكَ بِالِاخْتِيَارِ لِلْقَدِيرِ  
 وَذَلِكَ بِالْبُطُونِ وَالظُّهُورِ  
 وَذَلِكَ بِالِاتِّحَادِ وَالْحُلُولِ  
 فَعِنْدَهَا تَمَيُّزُ الْأَشْيَاءِ  
 مُسْتَقْبَلُ الظَّهْرِ بِذَلِكَ الْكِنِّ  
 وَعِنْدَهَا تَمَمُّ خَلْقِهِ  
 فَجَلَّ مَنْ أَنْشَأَهُ مِنْ نُطْقِهِ  
 تَنَوَّعَتْ أَجْزَاؤُهَا وَمَيَّزَتْ  
 وَكَلَّتْ خَلْقًا بَدِيعَ الصَّنِيعِ  
 يَدَاهُ فَوْقَ وَجْهَتَيْهِ وَالذَّقْنُ  
 مَنْفُضًا قَدْ لُفَّ فِي مَشِيمَةٍ  
 مُنْدَرَجًا فِي كَنِّهِ مَضْبُوطًا  
 مِنْ فَوْقِهِ الثَّقَلُ وَحَرُّ الْبَطْنِ  
 لَهُ مَعًا مُتَّصِلٌ مِنْ سُرَّتِهِ  
 بِأَنَّهُ أَرْشَدُ مِنْ سِوَاهُ  
 وَغَلَبَ التَّفْرِيطُ وَالْإِفْرَاطُ  
 بِالْخَبْطِ فِي الْمَجَازِ وَالتَّحْقِيقِ  
 وَذَا يَقُولُ بِالْوُجُودِ وَالْعَدَمِ  
 وَذَلِكَ بِالِإِجَابِ فِي التَّقْدِيرِ  
 وَذَلِكَ بِالتَّكْرِيرِ وَالتَّكْوِينِ  
 وَذَلِكَ بِالْبُزْوَغِ وَالْأَفُولِ  
 فِي جِسْمِهِ وَتَقْسِمِ الْأَعْضَاءِ  
 وَإِنْ يَكُنْ أُشْيَى فَنَحْوُ الْبَطْنِ  
 يَقْدِرُ الرَّازِقُ مَعَهُ رِزْقَهُ  
 قَاطِرَةً مِنْ ذَكَرٍ كَالنُّوْطِفَةِ  
 وَاتَّحَدَتْ أَجْنَاسُهَا وَلَزَزَتْ  
 ذَا حِكْمَةٍ فِي أَصْلِهِ وَالْفِرْعِ  
 فِي وَضْعِهِ بِالرُّكْبَتَيْنِ مُقْتَرَنَ  
 كَأَنَّهُ فِي صُرَّةٍ مَضْمُونَةٍ  
 مُنْدَمَجًا فِي لَفِّهِ مَقْمُوطًا  
 وَتَحْتَهُ الطُّلْمَةُ مِثْلُ الدَّجَنِ  
 بِسُرَّةِ الْأُمِّ لِحَذْبِ مَادَّتِهِ

ولا له دُونَ المَعَا غِذَاءٌ حَتَّى إِذَا اسْتَوْفَى هُنَالِكَ الْمَادَّةَ سَاقَتُهُ رِيحٌ قَبْلَ ذَا لَمْ تَهْجِرْ مُكَابِدَ آلامِ ذَاكَ الضَّيِّقِ حَتَّى إِذَا مَا صَارَ فَوْقَ الْأَرْضِ فَهُوَ بِمَا قَاسَاهُ حِينَ يَبْدُو ثُمَّ يَرَى مِنْ بَعْدِ أَلْوَانِ التَّعَبِ وَوَجَعَ الرَّفِّعِ لَهُ وَالْحَطِّ وَالْكُحْلِ وَالتَّذْهِينِ وَالتَّلْبِيخِ مُقَاسِيًا مَصَائِبَ الْأَوْجَاعِ حَتَّى إِذَا زَالَ الرِّضَاعُ وَالتَّعَبُ وَصَارَ فِي عَيْشٍ نَغِيصٍ مُؤَلِّمٍ حَتَّى إِذَا مَا حَصَلَ الْمَقْصُودُ بَلَى بِدَاءِ عِلَّةِ الزَّوْاجِ عَلَى الْخُصُوصِ الْمَرْأَةِ السَّلِيظَةِ وَبَعْدَ ذَلِكَ كَثْرَةُ الْعِيَالِ ثُمَّ بَلَا الْأَوْجَاعِ وَالْآلَامِ ثُمَّ مَقَاسَاةُ الشِّتَا وَقِرَّةُ وَبَعْدَ كُلِّ هَذِهِ الْآفَاتِ وَمِنْهُ فِي تَكْمِيلِهِ نَمَاءٌ وَحَانَ ثُمَّ أَجَلَ الْوِلَادَةِ مُصَوَّبًا بِالرَّأْسِ نَحْوَ الْمَخْرَجِ فِي خُرْجِهِ مِنْ مَسَلِكِ الطَّرِيقِ يُؤْذِيهِ أَذْنَى رَفْعَةٍ وَخَفَضِ كَحَالِ مَنْ يُسَلَخُ مِنْهُ الْجِلْدُ مِنَ الظَّمَاءِ وَالْعِيَاءِ وَالنَّصَبِ وَحَلِّهِ وَرَبْطِهِ وَالْقِمَطِ وَالْعَصْرِ وَالتَّمْدِيدِ وَالتَّمْرِخِ فِي حَالَةِ الْخُرُوجِ وَالرِّضَاعِ بَلَى يَتَعَذِّبُ الْفُؤَادَ بِالْآدَبِ مِنْ مَحَنَةِ الْأُسْتَاذِ وَالْمُعَلِّمِ مِنْ عِلْمٍ مَا كَانَ لَهُ يُرِيدُ وَهِيَ الَّتِي تُؤْذِنُ بِإِلْهَاجِ فَإِنَّهَا لِيَكْنِيهِ مُشْطِطَةٌ وَالْهَمُّ بِالْكَدِّ مِنَ الْأَشْغَالِ وَكَثْرَةُ الْآفَاتِ وَالْأَسْقَامِ وَالصَّيْفِ فِي وَقْدَتِهِ وَحَرِّهِ فِرَاقُهُ دُنْيَاهُ بِالْمَمَاتِ



وَهَوْبًا فِيهِ بِنَزَجٍ وَغُصَصَ  
 وَبَعْدَ ذَالِ الْقَبْرِ وَالْحِسَابِ  
 فَمَنْ يُقَاسَى مِثْلَ هَذِي الْأَشْيَا  
 كَانَ حَرِييًّا أَنْ يَكُونَ هَمُّهُ  
 فِي هَذِهِ الدُّنْيَا خِلَاصَ نَفْسِهِ  
 وَيَسْتَعِدَّ لِلِمِقَاءِ اللَّهِ  
 وَحَمَلَهَا عَلَى الطَّرِيقِ الْوَاضِحَةِ  
 وَرَفَضَ هَذِي الشَّهَوَاتِ الْمُوَبَّقَةَ  
 فَإِنَّ ذَا الزَّمَانِ كَالضَّبَابِ  
 وَأَنْ يَكُونَ الْمَلِكُ الْعَظِيمُ  
 بَرًّا رَحِيمًا عَادِلًا دَفِيقًا  
 مَشْمَرًا الْعِزِّ شَدِيدَ الْهِمَّةِ  
 مَعْتَمِدًا إِلَّا صِلَاحَ لِلرَّعِيَّةِ  
 مُثَابِرًا عَلَى الصَّلَاحِ عَادِفًا  
 لَكِنَّمَا الزَّمَانُ فِي بِلَائِهِ  
 حَتَّى كَأَنَّ الْحَقَّ صَارَ غَائِرًا  
 وَالشَّرَّ مُسَوَّلًا عَلَى الطَّبَاعِ  
 وَالْبُخْلَ وَالْحِرْصَ الرَّدِيَّ وَالْحَسَدَ  
 وَالظُّلْمَ وَالظَّالِمَ فِي اسْتِيلَاءِ  
 أَعْظَمَ مِمَّا قَدْ لَقِيَهِ مِنْ نَفْصِ  
 وَالْحَشْرُ وَالشَّوَابُ وَالْعِقَابُ  
 فِي مَوْتِهِ وَقَبْلَهُ فِي الْمَحِينَا  
 وَحِرْصُهُ وَجَهْدُهُ وَعَزْمُهُ  
 مِنْ حَالَةٍ تُوجِبُ سُوءَ مَكْسَبِهِ  
 بِزَجَرِهِ لِلنَّفْسِ وَالْإِكْرَاهِ  
 وَأَخَذَهَا بِكُلِّ حَالٍ صَالِحَةٍ  
 وَالسَّعَى فِي الْمَحَامِدِ الْمُؤَقَّتَةِ  
 مُكْدَرٍ بِهَذِهِ الْأَوْصَابِ  
 الْعَادِلِ الْمُؤَيَّدِ الْكَرِيمِ  
 شَهْمًا هُمَامًا عَالِمًا مِنْطِيقًا  
 كَأَشْفَ كُلِّ أَرْزَمَةٍ مُلِمَّةٍ  
 مُتَّصِفًا بِالْعَدْلِ فِي الْقَضِيَّةِ  
 عَلَى أَسَالِيْبِ الْأُمُورِ وَاقِفًا  
 قَدْ نَزَعَ الصَّلَاحَ فِي أَبْنَائِهِ  
 وَالْعَقْلَ فِي كُلِّ الْأُمُورِ حَائِرًا  
 وَالْخَيْرَ مَعْدُومًا مِنَ الْبِقَاعِ  
 مُنْطَبِعًا بِالذَّاتِ فِي كُلِّ أَحَدٍ  
 وَالْجَهْلَ وَالْجَاهِلَ فِي اغْتِيلَاءِ

وَأَصْبَحَ الْبَاطِلُ فِي الْأَحْكَامِ  
وَأَذْبَرَ الرُّشْدُ حَزِينًا بَاكِيًا  
وَالْعَدْلُ فِي غَشْيَتِهِ مَغْمُورًا  
وَأَضْحَتِ الدُّنْيَا بِهَذَا فَرِحَةً  
فَعِنْدَ مَا فَكَّرْتُ فِي الدُّنْيَا وَمَا  
ثُمَّ اعْتَبَرْتُ حَالَةَ الْإِنْسَانِ  
مِنْ أَنَّهُ أَفْضَلُ مَنْ سِوَاهُ  
لَأَنَّهُ قَدْ خُصَّ بِالِتَّكْرِيمِ  
وَأَنَّهُ خَزَانَةُ النُّشُودِ  
مَعَ وَصْفِهِ بِهَذِهِ الْمِزْيَةِ  
مُبَاشِرَالْهَمِّ الْمَكِيدِ وَالْكَدِ  
مِنْ عِلَّةٍ وَسَقَمٍ وَضَعْفٍ  
وَهُوَ إِذَا كَانَ لَهُ أَذْنَى حِجْبَى  
وَيَعْمَلُ الْحِيلَةَ فِي النِّجَاةِ  
ثُمَّ رَأَيْتُ إِنَّمَا يَشْغَلُهُ  
تَشَاغُلٌ بِلَذَّةٍ يَسِيرَةٍ  
مِنْ مَطْعَمٍ وَمَشْرَبٍ وَمَلْبَسٍ  
تَتَوَقَّعُ بِالْوَهْمِ إِلَيْهَا نَفْسُهُ  
وَفَارَقَتْهُ عَنْ قَرِيبٍ وَانْقَضَتْ

مُحَبَّبًا لِسَائِرِ الْأَنَامِ  
وَذُو الصَّلَاحِ لِلزَّمَانِ شَاكِيًا  
وَالْجَوْرُ فِي ذَهْوَتِهِ مَغْرُورًا  
مَسْرُورَةً بِمَا يَصِيرُ مَرِحَةً  
فِيهَا مِنَ الْهَوْلِ الَّذِي قَدْ عَظُمَا  
وَهُوَ الَّذِي قَدْ خُصَّ بِالْمَعَانِي  
بِمَا يَصِيرُ عِنْدَهُ انْتِهَاءُ  
مَعَ حَمَلِهِ لِسِرِّهِ الْعَظِيمِ  
مِنْ الْكِمَالَاتِ بِفَيْضِ الْجُودِ  
مُكَابِدِ الشُّرُورِ وَالْبَلِيَّةِ  
بِمَا يُقَاسَى مِنْ غُومٍ وَنَكَدٍ  
وَقِلَّةٍ وَعَدَمٍ وَكَلْفٍ  
أُخْرَى بِأَن يَقْصِدَ مِنْ ذَا مَخْرَجٍ  
مِنْ هَذِهِ الْآفَاتِ وَالْمَاهَاتِ  
عَنْ طَلَبِ الْخَيْرِ الَّذِي يَهْمُهُ  
وَضِيعَةٌ فِي نَفْسِهَا حَقِيرَةٌ  
وَمَسْمُوعٌ وَمَنْظَرٌ وَمَلْمَسٌ  
حَتَّى إِذَا صَحَّتْ تَرَى عَكْسَهُ  
وَأَوْدَعَتْهُ الْفِكْرَ فِيهَا وَمَضَتْ

وَبَدَّلَتْهُ مِنْ صَفَاهَا كَدْرًا      وَأَوْرَثَتْهُ غُصَصًا وَفِكْرًا  
فَكَانَ فِيهَا هُوَ فِيهِ مِثْلُهُ      إِذَا قَوَى الْهَمَّ وَضَاقَتْ سَبْلُهُ  
كَهَارِبٍ مُلْتَمِسِ الْمَخَارِجِ      خَيْفَةً فِيلٍ يَقْتَفِيهِ هَائِجِ  
فَلَمْ يَزَلْ يَرْكُضُ حَتَّى نَزَلَ      بِئْسَراً وَقَدْ كَادَ يَمُوتُ وَجَلَا  
رَأَى عَلَى شَفِيرِهَا غُصْنَيْنِ      فَالتَزَمَ الْغُصْنَيْنِ بِمَا لِيَدَيْنِ  
ثُمَّ رَأَى بِأَسْفَلِ الْغُصْنَيْنِ      لِأَسْوَرِ الْحَالَاتِ جَرْدَيْنِ  
وَالْجُرْذَانِ أَسْوَدَ وَأَبْيَضُ      كُلُّهُ لَأَصْلِ الْغُصْنَيْنِ يَقْرُضُ  
فَالْتَمَسَ الشَّبَابَ لِلْأَقْدَامِ      كَيْلَا تَهَيَّ الْيَدَانِ عَنْ لِزَامِ  
فَوَضَعَ الرَّجْلَيْنِ فِي الْبُئْرِ عَلَى      أَرْبَعَةٍ مِنَ الْأَفَاعِي لِلْبَلَا  
ثُمَّ رَأَى فِي أَسْفَلِ الْجِبِّ وَقَدْ      طَارَ حَذَاراً عَقْلُهُ ثُمَّ أَرْتَعَدَ  
مَنْتَدِباً لِأَخْذِهِ تَنْيِينَا      قَدْ حَدَدَ الْأَنْيَابَ وَالْقُرُونَا  
يَكَادُ أَنْ يَبْتَلِعَ الْجَامُوسَا      فَصَارَ مِنْهُ عَقْلُهُ مَمْسُوسَا  
وَرَفَعَ الرَّأْسَ فَأَلْفَى عَسَلَا      يَقْطُرُ مِنْ عَشِيٍّ لِنَحْلِ قَدْ عَلَا  
فَاشْتَفَلَ الْأَبْلَهَ بِالتَّطَاعِ      حَتَّى نَسِيَ مَا كَانَ مِنْ صُدَاعِ  
وَهَذِهِ حَالُ مُرِيدِ الدُّنْيَا      بِحَسَبِ مَا يُصْنِئُهُ فِي الْمَحْيَا  
تَشْغَلُهُ الْحَلَاوَةُ الْيَسِيرَةُ      عَنْ مِثْلِ هَذِي الْمِحْنَةِ الْكَبِيرَةِ  
فَالْغُصْنَانِ الْعَمَرُ الْغَرَارُ      وَالْجُرْذَانِ اللَّيْلُ وَالنَّهَارُ  
وَالْأَرْبَعُ الْحَيَّاتُ فَأَلْأَخْلَاطُ      يَهِيْجُهَا التَّفْرِيطُ وَالْإِفْرَاطُ  
وَذَلِكَ التَّيْنَيْنِ فَهُوَ الْأَجَلُ      مُحْتَمٌّ مُسَطَّرٌ لَا يَهْمَلُ

والعسلُ القاهرُ هذِي الشَّهْوَة فَهِيَ الَّتِي تَشْغَلُهُ بِإِلَّذَّةٍ  
فَلَوْ رَأَى شَخْصٌ مِنَ الْأَنَامِ لَكَانَ قَدْ طَارَ لِذَلِكَ عَقْلُهُ  
مِنْ خِيفَةِ التَّنْيِينِ وَالْحَيَاتِ وَمَنْ تَكُونُ هَذِهِ حَالَتُهُ  
لَكُنَّا الْغَفْلَةُ فِي الْأُمُورِ وَالْمَرْءُ فِي الدُّنْيَا أُسِيرُ الْوَهْمِ  
وَلَا يَزِلُ مَا حَيَّيْ فِي تَعَبٍ فَعِنْدَ مَا عَرَفْتُ هَذِي الْحَالَا  
وَلَمْ يَفْتُنْنِي الْعَيْشُ إِلَّا طَالِبَا حَتَّى تَوَغَّلْتُ بِإِلَادَةِ الْهِنْدِ  
ثُمَّ أَتَيْتُ بِصُنُوفِ الْكُتُبِ وَقَدْ تَقَضَّيْتُ بَابَ بَرْزَوِيهَا  
وَمِنْ هُنَا بَدَايَةُ الْأَبْوَابِ فَهَالِ بَابِ الْأَسَدِ الْبُضْرَغَامِ  
لَا نَهَا فِي الْعَيْشِ أَصْلُ اللَّهْوَةِ فِيهَا وَتِلْكَ لَذَّةٌ مُنَجَّدَةٌ  
صُورَةٌ هَذِي الْحَالِ فِي الْمَنَامِ وَدَامَ بَعْدَ الْإِنْتِبَاهِ ذَهْلُهُ  
وَوَهْمِهِ الْمُؤْذِنِ بِإِنْبِهَاتِ كَيْفَ تَطِيبُ بَعْدَهَا لَذَّتُهُ  
تَدْعُو إِلَى هَوَانِ ذِي الْأُمُورِ مُبَاشِرٌ لِلْهَيْمِ بَعْدَ الْهَيْمِ  
مِمَّا يُقَاسَى مِنْ صُنُوفِ النَّصَبِ قَطَعْتُ مِنْ مَطَامِعِي الْجِبَالَا  
لِلْعِلْمِ مَشْغُولًا بِهِ مُوَاطِبَا بِأَمْرٍ كَسَرَى وَبَلَّغْتُ قَصْدِي  
مِنْ حِكْمَةٍ وَشُرْعَةٍ وَأَدَبٍ بِكُلِّ أُمْثَالٍ أَتَى عَلَيْهَا  
فِي الْأَصْلِ مِنْ قَاعِدَةِ الْكِتَابِ وَالثَّوْرُ فِي سِيَاقَةِ الْكَلَامِ

THE PERSIAN METRICAL VERSION OF KALÍLA WA DIMNA. BY QĀNĪ'Ī<sup>1</sup>

The work was composed for a king called Kā'ūs. to whom a few laudatory verses are addressed at the end of each section. He is designated as the sovereign of Rūm. and the worthy successor of Kaikhusrau and Kaiqubād.

'Izz ud-Dīn Kaikā'ūs. who is here meant, succeeded as the eldest son to his father Kaikhusrau. at the time of the Moghul invasion of Asia Minor, A.H. 642, and carried on for about twenty years a fitful rule under the control of the Moghul sovereigns. and in a state of constant struggle with his brother Rukn ud-Dīn Kiliġ Arslān. with whom he had to divide the kingdom. Ousted at last by the latter he repaired to Constantinople, and was shortly after. A.H. 662. confined by the Emperor Michael Paleologus in the castle of Ænos. He was subsequently released by the Moghul Berekāi Khān. and obtained from him a principality in the Crimea. where he died A.H. 678. See Abulfaraj, *Historia Dynastiarum*. pp. 319-32 : *Abulfeda*, vol. v. p. 11 ; D'Ohsson. *Histoire des Mongols*, vol. iii. pp. 92. 479, and Hammer, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, pp. 171-81.

The author gives in the prologue. fol. 8*b*. a brief account of his career. He lived, he says, in Khorasan in joy and comfort, a matchless poet sought after by all, when the Moghuls overran the country, shedding blood by torrents, and drove the Khwārazm Shāh in wild flight to the sea of Māzandarān (A.H. 617). Having escaped to India. he took ship to 'Adan, and, after visiting Medina and the holy shrines of Mecca, and passing through Baghdād. he repaired to Rūm, where "in his distress his heart was rejoiced by the sight of the sovereign of the world. Kaiqubād" (A.H. 616-34). He became his panegyrist, lived, thanks to his bounty, in great opulence, and composed a poetical record of the dynasty, entitled Saljūk Nāmah. the bulk of which was not much less than a camel's load. He enjoyed also the favour of Kaiqubād's glorious successor, Kaikhusrau (A.H. 634-41).

The poet says in two other passages. fol. 95*a*, 108*a*. that he had during forty years celebrated the praises of three sovereigns of the house of Saljūk (Kaiqubād, Kaikhusrau. and Kaikā'ūs), that his poems filled thirty volumes, and amounted to about three hundred thousand distichs. If. therefore. the arrival of Qānī'ī at the court of Kaiqubād took place, as appears probable, in A.H. 618, the composition of the present work must be placed about A.H. 658.

<sup>1</sup> Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. ii. pp. 582 et seq.

The author was still living in Qūniyah A.H. 672 : for he is mentioned by Aflākī, the author of *Manāqib ul' Ārifīn*. Add. 25.025, fol. 142, who calls him Amīr Bahā ud-Dīn Qānī'i Malik ush-Shu'arā, as one of those who paid a last tribute to the saint Maulānā Jalāl ud-Dīn Rūmī. deceased in that year. He may be identical with a Qānī'i called like him Bahā ud-Dīn Aḥmad. and also entitled Malik ush-Shu'arā. who is mentioned in the *Gotha Catalogue*, p. 68. as the author of a *Qābūs Nāmah*. The latter, however, is designated as Kāzarūni. or native of Kāzarūn. while our author came from Khorasan.

The prologue of Qānī'i treats at considerable length of the virtues and accomplishments which befit a king, of each of which the author shows his royal master to be the true paragon. An easy transition to Nūshīrvān, the traditional pattern of a just and wise ruler, introduces. fol. 9b, the main subject of the work. At his court appears an Indian envoy bringing the tribute of his country. Questioned by Nūshīrvān about a wonderful herb said to grow in India and to give eternal life to those who eat it, he explains its true nature. The herb is but an emblem of the book of wisdom which the kings of India keep as a sacred heirloom in their treasury.<sup>1</sup> He entreats the king, however, not to betray to his master that he has disclosed his secret. Here follows, fol. 10b, a detailed account of Barzūyah's mission to India, and of the means by which he succeeded in obtaining a copy of the precious book.

The arrangement is very similar to that of the Persian version of Naṣr Ullah. But the author does not give any information as to the original which he had followed. He merely says that he was turning prose into verse.

#### QANĪ'I'S VERSION

(13a) آغاز کتاب کلیله و داستان برزویه طیب

با آغاز برزویه نیک مرد میان بزرگان چنین یاد کرد  
که چون او حکیم زمانه ندید نگنجد درین هیچ گفت و شنید  
و گر خواستی و اندران دم زدی تن مرده از گور باز آمدی

<sup>1</sup> A similar answer is recorded in the preface of Naṣr Ullah's Persian version, where it is put into the mouth of a Brahman in India. See *Notices et Extraits*, vol. x, p. 107.

که چون من بمردی رسیدم بجای پدر بود خشنود و مادر زمن برویم گشاد آن دری از بهشت سپردندم اول بآموزگار چو حاصل شد از علم چیزی تمام بر غبت چنان سوی او تاختم که وبی گهم کار تحصیل بود چو در خواندن علم بشتافتم بدان سان که هر کس که بیمار گشت چو در علم خود را ندیدم نظیر که گردولتی یابم از روزگار یکی حاصل هستی شایگان دوّم لذت از کام و آرام و ناز سیّم ذکر سایر که یکروزگار چهارم ثوابی بغایت تمام کسی را که دل هست دریای ژرف زیکسر طبیب گزین آن بود فزون دارد از مال گیتی ثواب چو در دل بود نیکوئی استوار

ندانستم این دست خود را زبای بدانم ستودند در انجمن که اندر دلم مهر ایشان سرشت فراوان گذشت اندران روزگار مرا خواندن علم طب بود کام که اسباب آن پاک بشناختم (136) دلم عاشق وی بتمجیل بود بانك زمان شهرتی یافتم زمن رنج دشوار او خوار گشت شد اندیشها در دلم جای گیر بخود برگزینم یکی زین چهار که آنرا محاسب نداند گران که هنگام شادی بماند دراز بماند بدان نام مرد آشکار که آن مونس گور باشد مدام بدانند که این هست علمی شرف که اندر دلش ترس یزدان بود که آن هست چون آتش و این چو آب و را خرمی بر دهد روزگار

ازان بس که هستی ب‌حاصل شود  
 بنیکوئیش نام مقبل شود  
 چو دهقان که تخم از پی دانه کرد  
 ورا کاه سود آمد اندر نورد  
 بهر جایگاهی که بیمار بود  
 مرا رنج بردن بروکار بود  
 چو جان خودم جان او بد عزیز  
 پاداش او نستمدم هیچ چیز  
 چو دیدم کم از خویش ان مال وجاه  
 بفرجام ایشان نکردم نگاه  
 مرا در دل آمدگزین بگذرم  
 بکوشم که چیزی بدست آورم  
 بدان آمدم دل که از بهر مال  
 شدم غرق در موج دریاء آرز  
 نکردم میان بد و نیک فرق  
 گر آن حرص ماندی مرا رهنمای  
 خرد ناگهان سایه گسترید  
 بدل گفتم ای دل بر اندیش ازین  
 مکن میل هستی تو در مال پال  
 مَرَو در پی این هوا وهوس  
 گراز چیز دنیا ببندی نظر  
 چو توترل هستی کنی استوار  
 تو بگریزی و در تو آویزد آن  
 چو از مهر هستی دلم درگذشت  
 ز دشواری آسانی آمد پدید  
 بنیکوئیش نام مقبل شود  
 ورا کاه سود آمد اندر نورد  
 مرا رنج بردن بروکار بود  
 پاداش او نستمدم هیچ چیز  
 بفرجام ایشان نکردم نگاه  
 بکوشم که چیزی بدست آورم  
 شود مرمرا زندگانی و بال  
 برین سر بر آورد حرص و نیاز  
 چنان کم خرد گشت در حرص غرق  
 کنون پای من رفته بودی ز جای  
 ز گرداب آن ظلمتم برکشید  
 ز گیتی ره رستکاری گزین  
 که باتو نیایند در زیر خال  
 ره رستکاری همین است و بس  
 ترا مار و گرژدم بود سیم و زر  
 شود بار هستی ترا خواستار  
 زمن بشنو و گیر از هستی گران  
 در روشنائی بمن بازگشت  
 طمع قفل ب‌دبی نیازی کلید



ز حرص و طمع چون دلم دور گشت  
 بدین گونه اندیشه بردل گذشت  
 که راهی مخوفست و منزل دراز  
 یکی توشه آخرت را بساز  
 نخواهم کزین گونه جوئی درنگ  
 بترسم که گیرد اجل کار تنگ  
 سزد کان برین کار گیرد شتاب  
 که بنیاد او هست برخال و آب  
 همان باد و آتش درو در نهان  
 چهار اردهای چنین در میان  
 وجودی بدین گونه گردد عدم  
 چتازی بجیزی که بادست و دم  
 بخویشان و پیوستگان هم مساز  
 که آن سور ماتم نیززد ترا  
 چو صد سال وصلت فتد اتفاق  
 و از بهر فرزند باشی درم  
 چو آن عطر باشی که باشی مقیم  
 تورنجی و دیگر کسی برخورد  
 کئی کرد بروی بمانی درم (14a)  
 چوزین گونه اندیشه بردل گذشت  
 تو بر آتش و دیگران بانسیم  
 بجاکئی که دروی روی ننگرد  
 بجستم کسی را که رنجور بود  
 دل از حرص و مال جهان دور گشت  
 زرنجش دل از خرمی دور بود  
 بکوشیدم و کردم او را درست  
 ز شد رای من اندر ان هیچ سست  
 پیاداش چیزی زکس نستدم  
 بدان نیک نام جهان آمدم  
 بجائی که من کرده بودم قرار  
 ندیدند رنجوری اندر دیار  
 همی مرده را زنده کردم بدم  
 همه بهر صحت نهادم قدم  
 چو در خیر بگذاشتم روزگار  
 در خیر بگشاد پروردگار

پسندیده خوب کاران شدم شناسنده شهریاران شدم  
 بدان ناسگالیده ییگاه وگاه رسیدی بمن بخشش پادشاه  
 من انرا ز علّت جدا دیدمی بهر حال رزق از خدا دیدمی  
 چنان هستی یافتم بی گران که بار زرم بر زمین بد گران  
 دلم شد ز دانستن آن زبون که مجموع آن مال چندست و چون  
 چو اندیشه کردم دران علم خویش دلم گشت یکباره از غصّه ریش  
 که هرگز نیامد علاجی چنان که آن بردهد صحت جاودان  
 چو بیداریم داد ازان استوار کزانست خشنودی روزگار  
 بگویم مرا نجم بود گفتنی مگر راه یابم سوی روشنی  
 بگشتم سوی عالمانرا همه کجا یافتم سرشُبان و رَمَه  
 بچستم زهریک چدارند رای بدانش نبد پای ایشان بجای  
 همی هر کسی دین خود استوار زدینی که بودش سخن بر قرار  
 سخن سرنجائی که باید نبرد مرا صافی هر یکی بود دُرد  
 که خود را ستودندی و دین خویش سخن راندندی زآیین خویش  
 زبانها پر از عیب دیگر کسان جهان گشته مر دار ان کر کسان  
 روشهای ایشان مرا خسته کرد ندیدم دران قوم درمان درد  
 نماندم بدان گونه غافل زکار که ان دزد نادان ناهوشیار  
 که غافل بد او و قضا درکین ورا گشت مهتاب جلّ متین  
 سر او ز غفلت نگون شد زبام نمودش قضا دست برد تمام

## داستان دزد و بازرگان و غیره

کنون بازگویم که آن ساده مرد  
 شنیدم که دزدی به هندستان  
 روان گشت در شهر با چند یار  
 چو یکسر ز کشتن ستوه آمدند  
 بدان مرد بازرگان مال دار  
 چو دزد آمد و قصد آن بام کرد  
 زن خویش را کرد بیدار زود  
 که از من پرس این که چندین درم  
 چو پرسیده باشی تو خاموش باش  
 زن این گفته بشنید ازان هوشمند  
 که این مال راجع چون کرده  
 پیاسخ بدو گفت مرد خرد  
 بدانست جان خرد مند من  
 فراوان هنر هست در گوهرم  
 ولیکن ز دزد یست این مالها  
 ز دانا فسونی بیا موختم  
 ازین یش چون شب جهان ستدی  
 فسونرا بگویم تو با کس مگوی  
 زن نادانی وساده طبعی چکرد  
 برون آمد او در شبی ناگهان  
 که در دست ایشان چه افتد شکار  
 سوی خان بازرگانی شدند  
 جهان دیده و پخته روزگار  
 ز خواب اندر آمد جهان دیده مرد  
 بدین گونه با او سخن بر فرود  
 بچه صنعت و پدشه کردی بهم  
 چو گشتم زبان من تود و گوش باش  
 در ان کرد آواز با او بلند  
 که از مال قارون فزون کرده  
 که دوران چو من مرد دیر آورد  
 که کمتر بود مثل و مانند من (14b)  
 کران مال وهستی بدست آورم  
 ندارم نهانی ز تو حالها  
 وزان مال قارون بیندو ختم  
 همه شب مرا کار دزدی بدی  
 که گفتن پشیمانی آرد بروی

چو من بر سر بامها رفتمی      سه شولم پیای فرو گفتمی  
 ببازیدی سوی مهاب چنل      بروزن درون رفتمی بی درنل  
 همه تقد و جنس سرا جستمی      بهم زرد کالا فرو بستمی  
 سه شولم دگر باز گفته شدی      سر من زروزن برون آمدی  
 برون بردی هرچه بودی تمام      بدندی مرا این فسون داد کام  
 بگفت این سخن مرد و خاموش گشت      بخاموشی، او دی برگذشت  
 شنید این سخن دزد ناکاردان      که شولم بود دزد را ریسمان  
 سه شولم بگفت و فرو کرد پای      نگون اندر آمد میان سرای  
 چو دزد اندر افتاد برجست مرد      بچوبش سرودست و پا خرد کرد  
 بدو گفت که ای سفلۀ سست رای      جهانرا نهادم همه زیر پای  
 ببازار گانی و زیرک سری      تو مالم بافسون و شولم بری  
 ازو دزد افتاده زنهار خواست      که من غافلم کاردانی تراست  
 ترا زیرکی صاحب مال کرد      مرا شولم تو بدین حال کرد  
 چو بردم بسر روزگاری درین      پس از شک بدیدم جمال یقین  
 بدل گفتم ار بعد ازین کاهلی      بورزم بود غایت جاهلی  
 چو آن نابکار رسیده خرد      که نیکی طمع دارد از کاربد  
 وگر باشم اندر تکاپوی آن      که بر من شود آشکارا نهان  
 شود عمر درجست وجو اسپری      بدیوانگی ماند این داوری  
 چو داس اجل خوشۀ جان درود      ندارد مرا این تک و پوی سود

چو خیرت درین ره بدین سان بود      بنیکی گرایم که آسان بود  
 گزینم ره خیر از آیینها      که خیرست پیرایه دینها  
 از آنها که هستند بس ارجمند      ندارد کسی خیر را ناپسند  
 ره خیر باشد ترا راه راست      که خیر ازهر آن دین که آید رواست  
 چو شد خیره در خاطر م جای گیر      دگر خوشتن را ندیدم حقیر  
 ازین رای مردم گرفتم نفور      شدم کلی ازهر چه بد بود دور  
 بدان رام گشتم که در انجمن      نرنجد همه عمر موری زمن  
 پی ناپسندی نداریم باز      که آرز آورد رنجهای دراز  
 زجان وزدل خود جدا گشت نیز      هوای زن و مهر فرزند و چیز  
 بدانرا بشستم زبان از دروغ      که از راستی یافت جانم فروغ  
 چو در نفس ناچیز شد حرص و آرز      ز آرز و زبتهان شدم بی نیاز  
 چو شد حرص کان فتنه انگیز بود      ز آن مراسبس (?) کار پرهیز بود  
 وز آن مهر دنیا بشستم جان      که تنگم نمود این سرای جهان  
 جدای گزیدم زنا بخردان      که نیکان همی بد شوند از بدان  
 نرفتم دگر جز براه خرد      که باشد تن بی خرد دام و دد  
 بدان گشته تائید ایزد پناه      بر آوردم از قمر این تیره چاه  
 چو ایزد درخیز ازین شان گشاد      مرایش خیره حلاوت نماند  
 جز از طاعت کردگار غفور      ز وسواس شیطان شدم پالودور (15a)  
 بجیزی گرائید جان از خرد      که مخلوق نتواند آنرا ستد

نه ز آتش بودیم من نه ز آب      نه از باد و تابیدن آفتاب  
 نه دندان ماران نه چنگک دادن      نه اندیشه و دانش بخردان  
 درستم شدست این که هر ناهمال      که ضایع کند در هوا عمر و مال  
 پی لذت این جهانی رود      بگفتار دانندگان ننگرد  
 بود کار وی در زمانه چنان      که بدکار آن مرد بازارگان  
 شنیدم که بازارگانی بکیش      بهم کرد جوهر ز اندازه یش  
 ورا بود در سفتن آن شغف      چنان اوستادش نیامد بکف  
 نشان یافت از اوستادی تمام      میان بزرگان برآورده نام  
 بدان سان که هر روز دینار صد      بدی مزد کردار ان پرخرد  
 مراورا بدید و بداد آن قرار      که هرروز چندین بود مزدکار  
 چو رفتند درخان بازارگان      فرو ریخت جوهرم اندر زمان  
 ازان مرد داننده لختی بسفت      کجا مغز او باخرد بود جفت  
 برابر نهاده یکی چنگک دید      زمان تا زمان اندران بنگرید  
 بدو در نگه کرد بازارگان      که تو چنگک دانی زدن بیگمان  
 جوان گفت دامن بغایت شگرف      دران علم هستم چو دریای ژرف  
 عجب داشت بازارگان آن سخن      بدو گفت بر دار و چیزی بزن  
 جوان حالی آن چنگک در برگرفت      چو بنواخت انرا ده اندر گرفت  
 بدان گونه بنواخت چنگک و زبان      که بیهوش شد مرد بازارگان  
 با آواز چنگش می آورد و جام      بدان روز بگذشت تا گاه شام

ز بر نامور چنگ بنهاد پیش  
 طلب کرد صد گانه دینار خویش  
 بدو گفت بازارگان  
 که ای مرد بیدار روشن روان  
 زمن مزد نا سفته جوهر مخواه  
 بدو گفت دانا که این نیست راه  
 تو م چنگ فرمودی و من زدم  
 فرو کرد وزر برکشید و بداد  
 پي مزد جوهر درم برفشاند  
 چو آوردم این داستان در ضمیر  
 شد اندیشه را در دلم جای گیر  
 عبادت بود کار من سال و ماه  
 چو اندیشه مرگ هر ساعتست  
 قضا هست مانند پیکان تیر  
 ز تیر قضا کوه کیفر برد  
 بران جوشن از درز در نگذرد  
 گه حزم از تو دارد همی تیر باز  
 گهی آرزو چون کمندی دراز  
 گه اندر خم آرد سر کام تو  
 ز گیتی بران باشد آرام تو  
 بکوش و زطاعت مکن هیچ کم  
 که ازدل برون آورد بار غم  
 اگر نیکوئی را همین بر بود  
 که جانت زدانش توانگر بود  
 بجز نیکوئی هیچ کاری مکن  
 که بر نیکوئی ختم گردد سخن  
 خردمند چون هوش باز آورد  
 بچشم خرد در جهان بنگرد  
 به بیند که آرام گاه بلاست  
 خردمند را چون دم اردها ست  
 کسی را درو نیست پروای امن  
 دم اردها کی بود جای امن

کم آزاری و مردمی برگزین که نبود ترا دستگیری جزین  
 اگر عاقلی سوی شهوت مپوی که شهوت پشیمانی آرد بروی  
 مزاج زن زشت دار و جهان طلاقش ده و بازره ناگهان (15b)  
 نگه کن که پیش از تو دور کبود جهانرا بد و نیک یکسان نبود  
 بگرد حسد تا توانی مگرد که آرد حسد مرد را روی زرد  
 حسد را مپوی ار شود مشک وعود که هر جای مبعوض باشد حسود  
 سخا ورز تا دشمنت کم بود که آن نفس را رکن اعظم بود  
 خرد ساز در کارها پیش رو کز آنت نکوئی رسد نوبنو  
 چو داری خرد یاورو غمکسار نداری پشیمانی ازهیچ کار  
 بهر کار آهستگی پیشه کن زفرجام آن اول اندیشه کن  
 چنان زی که از تو نترسد کسی که ترست نباشد ز مردم بسی  
 چو ایمن شوند از تو خلق جهان بمانی بدان ایمنی جاودان  
 خرد هست چیزی که چون بایدت اگر چند داری فزون بایدت  
 چو اندیشه دل بدانجا رسید که از کام و شهوت بیاید برید  
 بترسد دل مرد ناهوشمند جدائی ز لذت ندارد پسند  
 نیارد زدل نفس را بست پای که تیره روان باشد وسست رای  
 بترسد که از جهل گیرد گران در رزق بروی بیند جهان  
 اگر بیش دارد فزون بایدش بدان آرز یگروز بگزایدش  
 چو آن سگ که از آب بد بر کران گرفته بدن دان یکی استخوان



بآب اندرون عکس آنرا بدید  
 که بگشاد دندان که بستاند آن  
 بداد از پی نسیه نقدی بباد  
 که از دین بدارد پی آز دست  
 چنانست تشبیه چیز جهان  
 شود بازهم در زمان ناپدید  
 خرد را بود جاودان مال وزور  
 که چندانک خوردی فزون بایت  
 چو داری خرد ملک و مال جهان  
 که کامت بدان شهد شیرین شود  
 نهاد تو چون کرم ابریشم است  
 اگریش کوشی قوی تر شود  
 چو اندیشه دل بدینجا رسید  
 بدل گفتم از مهر دنیا و دین  
 چه باشی چو آن قاضی بد نهاد  
 چو دل دو نداری یکی دوست بس  
 هراکس که اوزین سخن گشت شاد  
 چو با آنک بگرایدت ناگزیر  
 همه عمر باشی ازان ناشکیب

بدان گونه حرصش سوی آن کشید  
 بآب اندر افتاد این ناگهان  
 خردمند را حرص غالب مباد  
 همه عمر درویش دنیا پرست  
 که برقی که پیدا شود ناگهان  
 دل از مهر دنیا ببايد برید  
 بدان سان که در چشمه آب شور  
 دیگر تشنگی زان یفزایدت  
 بکردار ان شهد مسموم دان  
 پشیمانش محنت جان شود  
 که کردار تو گردد تو محکم است  
 خلاصت بمردن میسر شود  
 جهان قفل دیدم ندیدم کلید  
 اگر هوشمندی یکی برگزین  
 که حکمش بدو قول یابد نفاذ  
 یکی کالبد را یکی پوست بس  
 همه عمر دل بر عبادت نهاد  
 اباهای عالم چو تیغ و چو تیر  
 نداری بخوردن بدل در نهیب

ز تلخی طاعت که از روزگار  
 گریزان نباشد دل مرد سنگ  
 اگر زانک گویند با هوشیار  
 بشمیر باید بریدن تنت  
 بآخر بیابی نجات ابد  
 بامید این آن ندارد رنج  
 عذابی ندارد دلی را به بیم  
 که صد ساله آن بود یکزمان  
 عبادت همه بخت ویاری دهد  
 اگر هیچ دارد خرد آدمی  
 بچندین بلاها که در پیش اوست  
 چو نطفه جدا شد ز پشت پدر  
 چو آمیخت با آب مادر بهم  
 نخستین که بر خود یجنبد زباد  
 بانکه زمان شیر گردد چوماست  
 پسر را سوی پشت مادر چو روی  
 همان روی دختر بسوی شکم  
 نهاده به یشانی و سردو دست  
 چنان آمده درم اطراف او  
 بهر جای شیرینی آورد بار  
 خنک انک دارد ازان بوی ورنگ  
 که صد سال هر روز پنجاه بار  
 همه بند از پای تا گردنت  
 تحمل کند و آن ندارد بکد  
 خوشا رنج کان بردهد کام و گنج  
 که اندر پی تست ناز و نعیم (16a)  
 زرنج و زسختی نیچند روان  
 ز آتش ترا رستکاری دهد  
 نگردد بگردد در خرمی  
 تن و زندگانی ندارند دوست  
 ز آفت جدائی ندارد دگر  
 خطر برگذر دارد اندر عدم  
 چو شیرش بود نیم بسته نهاد  
 ازان پس شود جمله اعضا ش راست  
 بتنگی درون کرد گشته چوکوی  
 نگردد ازین این سخن یش و کم  
 زنج بر سر زانو آورده پست  
 که رانها بود بر سرناف او

دران گرمی وثقل بار شکم  
 بران سان بتنگی برارد نفس  
 چو آید گه وضع حمل ازقضا  
 پیش سؤی بالا سرش سوی شیب  
 بروگشته نخرج دم اردها  
 گزند شکنجه نباشد چنان  
 بدانگه که ازتنگی آید برون  
 بدانسان بود بنیت او تنك  
 باندل هوائی بپیچد ز درد  
 گهی تشنه باشد گهی گرسنه  
 همان بند و کواره وجای تنگ  
 چودانست دست چپ ازدست راست  
 تنك و پؤ و رنجوری و درد و داغ  
 بلاهاست در بیش هر دم بسی  
 چو هنگام طفلی بآخر رسید  
 ز رنجوری سخت و پرهیز و درد  
 چو بالغ شود شهوت و هجر و وصل  
 غم مال و اندوه فرزندی و زن  
 همان محنت رنج و کسب و طلب  
 شده تنگی و تیرگی جفت هم  
 که درخانه عنکبوتان مگس  
 بصد رنج گردد ز مادر جدا  
 دل مادر ازیم جان پرنهیب  
 بصد رنج یابد ز تنگی رها  
 پیالایش مغز در استخوان  
 تن او ز کم رنج باشد زبون  
 که رنجور گردد ز باد خنك  
 تنش خسته گردد رخس لاجورد  
 تن آسانی او محال ازبنه  
 گهی خسته گه دست بسته چوسنگ  
 تن و جان او دام گاه بلاست  
 همه روشنست این چو شمع و چراغ  
 که آنرا نهایت نداند کسی  
 زهر تلخ و شوری ببايد چشید  
 ز دارو که ناکام بایدش خورد  
 گهی را ندامت بود فرع و اصل  
 یکایک گذازنده جان و تن  
 جهانش نیرزد بچندین تعب

چوزین بگذری چار خصم درشت که با قصد شان باد داری بمشت  
 چو خال و چو باد و چو آتش چو آب یکی را درنگ و یکیرا شتاب  
 هم از گشت دور فلك حادثات که آسان نیابند مردم نجات  
 همان مار و کر دم همان گرگ و شیر گزند دم اردهای دلیر  
 غم و رنج و درویشی و حرص و آرزو زمانی نشیب و زمانی فراز  
 همان هجرت از بوم و اوارگی چوپیری رسد ضعف و بیچارگی  
 غلو کردن دشمنان لثیم دل شیرنر زان پیچید زبیم  
 گرفتم که خود این همه درد نیست یکی را که خواهی بیابی دویست  
 ترا بخشد ایزد سراسر زمین نیززد بدان شربت آخرین  
 که هنگام مرگت بپاید چشید خنك آنك چشمش جهانرا ندید  
 فراق عزیزان و فرزندان و مال نیززد بزرگی، هفتاد سال (16b)  
 نباشد سرای جهان جای داد خنك آنك باقی بفانی نداد  
 کسی کان یجوید ندارد خرد که یکروز بگذارد و بگذرد  
 بزرگی نجوید دل هوشیار که چیزی نیززد بدین روزگار  
 که یکباره خیر از جهان گشت کم بسان وجودی که گردد عدم  
 بدوران نوشیروان کرخرد روانش همه عمر رامش برد  
 نیارد بکین و نگردد زداد همه ساله دل دارد ازداد شاد  
 همش رای و حمزست و هم هوس و سنگ بحکمش شتاب و بحلمش درنگ  
 درونش زهر دانی باخبر دلی با فروغ و تنی با هنر

ز شاهان بفرهنگ و داد اختیار  
 اگر بنگری در دیار عجم  
 نیابی کسی را یکی روز شاد  
 بزرگان دانا نکوهیده اند  
 نهانست داد آشکارا ستم  
 مُبدل شده نام مرد کریم  
 که این بخشد آن مال جمع آورد  
 یکی دوستی و عداوت هزار  
 همه روزه رنجبه دل نیکمرد  
 درون پرنفاق و زبان پردروغ  
 فزوده بصدق و صفا مکر و ریو  
 هر آنکس که از عالمی هست بیش  
 ندارد کسی قدر و همت بلند  
 اگر بنگری لذت این جهان  
 نخستین قدم خوردن و خفتنست  
 به بینی بگوئی سخن بشنوی  
 چو در نگذری جاودان از حواس  
 هر آنکس که گوئی چو او نیست نیز  
 قناعت زبون گشته و حرص جبیر  
 نیارد چو او گردش روزگار  
 یکی داد بینی و پانصد ستم  
 خنك آنك هرگز ز مادر نژاد  
 زبردستی جاهلان دیده اند  
 جفا گشته بیش و وفا گشته کم  
 خرد مند نام خسیس و لئیم  
 کسی رادی و مردمی ننگرد  
 طمع دار از ابنای این روزگار  
 سفیه و بدآیین زانده فرد  
 بدین مایه هرگز که گیرد فروغ  
 درون خالی از ترس کیهان خدیو  
 نداند اگر بنگری قدر خویش  
 که بشناسد اندازه چون و چند  
 ازین پنج درنگذرد جاودان  
 که بی آن را جای آشتنست  
 چه چیزست این تا بدین نگروی  
 که خواند ترا پاك و یزدان شناس  
 از و حق ذلیلست و باطل عزیز  
 ازین بد بترسد دل نره شیر

که گوید که داری دل هوشیار  
 بدن مردمانی بدین هوش و دین  
 بروتنک بود از نهیش جهان  
 چهی ژرف دید و بدو درفتاد  
 فزوده سرچه درختی بزرگ  
 ز آسیب جان دست درشاخ زد  
 کجا چاه برنامورتنگ بود  
 بنزیر پی مرد بُد چار مار  
 یکی اردها در بُن چاه دید  
 دو موش بزرگش دران زیر پای  
 یکی زان سیه بود و دیگر سفید  
 بریدند آن بیخ را بردوام  
 نکردند یکدم بریدن رها  
 که چون فارغ (sic) شود بی گمان  
 نشد حل ورا رمز آن مشکلات  
 ورا بیم دل بد بلای بزرگ  
 شتر بود مار و دم اردها  
 بدان شاخ بد خانهای مگس  
 عسل بود درخانها اند کی  
 چو نبود ترا ترس پروردگار  
 که بود اشتر مستش اندر کمین  
 گریزان شد از پیش او ناگهان  
 دلی پرز بیم و سری پر ز باد  
 در آویخت ازوی جوان سترگ  
 نگه کرد در چه بچشم خرد  
 چو انگور ازان چاه آونگ بود  
 ز سوراخ سر بر زده هر چهار  
 امید و دل از جان شیرین برید  
 به بیخ درخت اندرون کرده جا  
 دل مرد گشت از جهان نا امید  
 بریدن بدی کارشان صبح و شام  
 بترسید مرد از دم اردها  
 فتد در دم اردها ناگهان  
 که چون یابد از چاه بی بن نجات (17a)  
 زماران و آن اردهای سترگ  
 ازین هر سه هرگز که یابد رها  
 زهرنیمه ساخته پیش و پس  
 بازید دست از فتاده یکی

بانگشت کرد ان عسل در دهان      فراموش گشتش کزند جهان  
 چنان لذت آنش بر باد داد      که از حالت آن نیاورد یاد  
 دو موش از بریدن پرداختند      دُم اردها جای او ساختند  
 ترا چاه دنیا واشتر قضا ست      اجل بر مثل دم ان اردها ست  
 طبایع همان چار مار بزرگ      چه (?) ماران همه اردهای سترگ  
 شب و روز موش سیاه و سفید      اجل باد و عمر تو چون برگ بید  
 عسل نعمت و راحت این جهان      که شیرین بود درچشیدن دهان  
 بدانکه که از حلق تو بگذرد      غم و رنج و تیمار بار آورد  
 اگر هوشیاری براهی پیوی      که همواره دلتنگ آید بروی  
 چو آن شربت مرگ خواهی چشید      دل از مهر گیتی بیاید برید  
 چه داری پی ملک و مال جهان      که بگذاری و بگذری ناگهان  
 هوای جهانرا کم و کاس کن      برو توشه آخرت راست کن  
 چو بر کس نماند سرای سپنج      نیرزد غم و کرم و تیمار و رنج

In conclusion I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to Syed Jafar Husain, M.A., LL.B., D.Lit., a former student of this School, who kindly copied the extract from an-Naqqash, and to Mr. S. Topalian, lecturer in Turkish, who was good enough to transcribe the passage from Qānī'i.

## A CHINESE TREATISE ON ARCHITECTURE

By W. PERCEVAL YETTS

THE Chinese have held to the architectural standards of the past no less tenaciously than to other traditions of their ancient civilization. Buildings standing at the present day testify to this fact, and innumerable written records indicate a continuity of architectural practice lasting more than 2,000 years. The probability is that foreign importation has affected Chinese architecture least of all the arts. Buddhism introduced certain Indian forms: the cenotaph or reliquary, the pyramidal monastery, and perhaps the curved roof later. Numerous decorative motives from many parts of Eurasia have been turned to good account by Chinese interpreters. But the borrowings from abroad have done little more than to modify superficially, here and there, native methods of construction.

Written evidence shows that the erection of palaces and public buildings has always been a care of the State. Unfortunately, extant remains of governmental codes regulating architecture are much scantier than those concerned with other departments of the administration. Moreover, the art of building has not called forth scholarly treatises to the same extent as art expressed in portable objects which appeal to collectors, for instance: paintings, bronzes, and jades. And technical methods have been an oral tradition handed down through generations of practising craftsmen who are the real architects of China. Thus the literature of architecture is small; in fact, so small that the book which is the subject of this article is the sole surviving work of importance.

About A.D. 1070 the Emperor of the Northern Sung dynasty, reigning at K'ai-fêng, ordered the Inspector of the Board of Works to compile a treatise on architectural methods based on ancient tradition and information preserved in the official archives. The resultant work was finished in 1091, and it bore the title of *Ying tsao fa shih* 營造法式, that is, *Method of Architecture*. Six years later, Li Chieh 李誠, an Assistant 丞 of the Board, received the imperial command to revise the book. In 1100 the amended version under the same title was finished and presented to the throne. In 1103 it was printed, and copies were distributed among the Government offices in the capital.<sup>1</sup> The likelihood is that the blocks and many copies

<sup>1</sup> For sake of brevity, Li Chieh's treatise will be indicated thus: *YTF*S



were destroyed during the troubles of the ensuing years. In 1126, when K'ai-fêng was taken and pillaged by the Nü-chên Tartars, all the official buildings and their contents were destroyed. The reigning family fled to the south, and eventually established the court at Hang-chou. The Emperor Kao-tsung (1127-62) built a library, and offered rewards for contributions of books. An "old copy" of *YTFS* came into the hands of the officials at Su-chou, and from it in 1145 they had blocks cut and a new edition printed. Manuscript copies of this 1145 edition are all that are known to survive at the present day of the *YTFS*, except one folio and a half, presumed to be relics of the first edition, as will be described later.

In 1919, a manuscript copy, kept in the Chiang-nan Library at Nanking, was examined by Mr. Chu Ch'i-ch'ien 朱啟鈞, who had been Minister of the Interior under the presidency of Yüan Shih-k'ai, and is now Director-General of the Chung-hsin Mining Company. After consulting Mr. Ch'i Yao-lin 齊耀琳, the Civil Governor of the province, Mr. Chu decided to publish it, and accordingly an edition was printed by photo-lithography. This was smaller in size than the manuscript; but afterwards, in 1920, a photo-lithographed facsimile of the manuscript was published by the Commercial Press at Shanghai. Not long before that, the Curator of Peking Metropolitan Library had found the two fragments which are presumed to have come from the first (1103) edition of *YTFS*. Recognizing the imperfections of the manuscript reproduced by photo-lithography, Mr. Chu conceived the project of reconstructing the first edition in the form indicated by the fragments. The work was entrusted to Mr. T'ao Hsiang 陶湘. It was published during 1925 in eight magnificent volumes which are triumphs of book-production.

The photo-lithographed edition, *YTFS* (1920), is the subject of an admirable review<sup>1</sup> by M. P. Demiéville, which is the most scholarly contribution yet made by a Western writer to the study of Chinese architecture.<sup>2</sup> M. Demiéville gives a summary of the text of *YTFS* as well as bibliographical data. The present article deals mainly with the history of the 1925 edition as set forth at the end of the last volume in an appendix and in an account written by Mr. T'ao Hsiang.

<sup>1</sup> *BEFEO*, xxv (1925), pp. 213-64. A much shorter review by Professor Naitō Torajirō 内藤虎次郎 appeared in *Shina-gaku* 支那學, i (1921), pp. 797-9. With the help of Professor Itō Chūta 伊藤忠太 the writer had in 1905 copied the MS. copy of *YTFS* in the *Ssü k'u* set at Moukden (*v. inf.*, pp. 480, 485, 488-9).

<sup>2</sup> An article by the present writer on literature relating to Chinese architecture appeared in the *Burlington Magazine* of March last.

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FIG. 1.—Title-page, written by Mr. Lo Chên-yü, of *YTES* (1925).  
(Size of whole page is  $13\frac{2}{3} \times 9\frac{2}{3}$  inches.)

It is a complicated narrative, which includes the bibliographical vicissitudes of *YTFS* from its earliest beginnings, and it fills twenty-four and a half folios. Too long for literal translation here, I give it in outline.

Note should be made that this 1925 edition opens with title-page (Fig. 1) and foreword written by Mr. Lo Chên-yü 羅振玉, and a preface by Mr. Chu Ch'î-ch'ien.

The appendix comprises the following:—

1. Biography of the author (*v. inf.*).
2. A photo-lithographed reproduction of the front page of the first folio of chapter eight of a *YTFS* believed to have been the first (1103) edition.<sup>1</sup>
3. A photo-lithographed reproduction of a traced facsimile of the colophon-page of *YTFS* (1145).<sup>2</sup> A copy of this page appears as the first colophon to *YTFS* (1920). The edition is here stated to have been based on "an old copy of the *shao-shêng YTFS*", which probably means the 1103 printed edition. The fact that the 1103 edition had been compiled during the *shao-shêng* period (1094–8) doubtless led to its being known as the "*shao-shêng YTFS*" to distinguish it from the *yüan-yü* 元祐 (1091) compilation (*v. inf.*, p. 482). The 1145 edition was published under the supervision of Wang Huan, Prefect of P'ing-chiang Fu (Sn-chou).
4. Twenty-two colophons containing bibliographical matter. An account of these follows later (pp. 478–82), where the colophons are labelled A to V.

BIOGRAPHY OF THE MASTER LI WHO HELD THE DECORATION OF THE  
RED-GOLD FISH-CASE<sup>3</sup> 賜紫金魚袋李公墓誌銘.

Li Chieh (*T. Ming-chung* 明仲) was a native of Kuan-ch'êng 管城縣 near the Sung capital of K'ai-fêng. The year of his birth is

<sup>1</sup> It is reproduced here as Fig. 3. Alongside it for comparison the corresponding page of *YTFS* (1925) is reproduced in Fig. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See Fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> This biography, by the Sung writer Ch'êng Chü 程俱, is preserved in his collected works, entitled 北山小集, of which a manuscript copy, formerly belonging to the Yao 姚 family, is now in the Peking Metropolitan Library. Ch'êng Chü (*T. 致道*) was a native of K'ai-hua 開化, and he held the doctor's degree. From time to time he occupied various official posts at the capital. One of them 祕書少監 was that of Assistant Inspector in the Department of Seals and Records. He was a contemporary of Li Chieh, though younger than he. Presumably he knew him personally, and may have served under him. Accordingly this biography is likely to be trustworthy. A short account of Ch'êng Chu appears in 中國人名大辭典, p. 1186.

unknown. In 1085 he exercised the subordinate function of 郊社齋郎, an official concerned with the sacrificial ceremonies to Heaven and Earth. He was transferred from that to a post in the prefecture of Ts'ao-chou 曹州 in Shantung. In 1092 with the rank of 承奉郎 he became an archivist in the Board of Works 將作監主簿. Four years later he was promoted to the rank of 承事郎 and the post of Assistant 丞 at the Board of Works. About 1099 he supervised the building of the palace of the Emperor's brother, and when it was finished he received promotion to 宣義郎. Between 1097 and 1100 he wrote the treatise *YTFS*, but not till 1102 was he appointed an Assistant Inspector of the Board of Works with the rank of 宣德郎. At the end of 1103, in response to his petition for a post outside the capital, so that he might be near his father, he was appointed to duties connected with the transport of tribute, 京西轉運判官; but next year he was recalled to his former functions as Assistant Inspector of the Board of Works, where he remained for five years. When the building of the National Academy 辟雍 was finished, he was promoted to the post of Inspector.<sup>1</sup>

Before Li Chieh reached his highest rank of 中散大夫 (fifth grade of the first class) he had received sixteen steps in promotion, and of these nine were given in recognition of his work in supervising the construction of public buildings. The buildings which chiefly brought him distinction were:—

The offices of the administrative department 尚書省.

The apartments 棣華宅 of 龍德宮.

The 朱雀 Gate.

The hall 九成殿 of the 景龍 Gate.

The administrative offices 廨 of the metropolitan prefecture.

The ancestral temple 太廟 of the reigning dynasty.

A Buddhist temple built at the command of the Empress Dowager.

In 1108 Li Chieh retired on account of his father's death. During the latter's illness the Emperor granted him leave of absence, and showed a signal mark of favour by allowing the imperial physician to attend the sick man. The Emperor moreover contributed a sum of 1,000,000 cash for the funeral expenses. This Li Chieh accepted, but expended on Buddhist temples, since he was able himself to pay the cost of the funeral.

In 1110, while Li Chieh held the post of magistrate of Kuo Chou

<sup>1</sup> Thus M. Demiéville's surmise that Li Chieh never attained the post of Inspector (*loc. cit.*, p. 228) lacks support.

轉州 in Honan the Emperor decided to recall him to the capital

He died, however, in the second month of that year, before the Emperor's summons reached him.

Li Chieh's character is described as generous and magnanimous. He was learned and skilled in many of the fine arts. His library contained several myriads of books, of which thousands were manuscript copies done with his own hand. He was noted as a calligraphist in all manner of script, and also as an artist. Indeed, the Emperor once asked him to paint a Picture of Five Horses. In addition to *YTFs* he was author of the following works:—

續山海經 in ten chapters.

續同姓各錄 in two chapters.

琵琶錄 in three chapters.

馬經 in three chapters.

六博經 in three chapters.

古篆說文 in ten chapters.

The twenty-two colophons are as follows:—

A. Extracts from 宋史.

"*Memoir concerning Officials* 職官志. The establishment of the Board of Works 將作監 included one Inspector 監 and one Assistant Inspector 少監. The Inspector supervised affairs connected with the construction of buildings, ramparts, bridges, shipping, and vehicles. The Assistant Inspector aided him in this work. . . . An imperial decree in 1092 caused to be distributed the *Ying tsao fa shih* which had been compiled by the Board of Works."

"*Memoir concerning Bibliography* 藝文志 (Category of ceremonial usages in the historical section 史部儀注類): 250 volumes 冊 of a *Ying tsao fa shih*, compiled during the 元祐 period (1086-94) are mentioned, but the number of chapters is not specified. (Category of arts and crafts in the philosophical section 子部藝術類): A *New Book on Wood [Construction]* 新集木書 in one chapter by Li Chieh 李誠 is mentioned."

B. 續談助 by 晁載之.

This book<sup>1</sup> contains passages of *YTFs* which is here stated to have been finished in the first month of 1103. The author's name is given as Li Chêng<sup>2</sup> 李誠, and his official status as Assistant Inspector of

the Board of Works (*v. A*) with the rank 通直郎 (fourth class of the sixth grade). Note is made that, though the author puts the number of chapters at thirty-six, the *YTFS* has actually only thirty-four.

C. 郡齋讀書誌 by 晁公武.

This book dates from the middle of the twelfth century. It states that "Li Chieh received the imperial command to revise a *Ying tsao fa shih* which the Board of Works had in the 熙寧 period (1068-77) been ordered by the Emperor to compile. He considered the book imperfect; so he searched the classical canons and dynastic annals, and also made inquiry among craftsmen and artisans in order to render it complete. His amended version was authorized to be distributed in the Government offices of the capital. The saying was current that the *Treatise on Wood [Construction]* 木經 by Yü Hao 喻皓 excelled most highly in detail, but this book [by Li Chieh] surpasses it".

D. 書錄解題 by 陳振孫.

A classified and annotated catalogue of books belonging to the 陳 family. It dates from the Sung period. The passage quoted here describes *YTFS* in thirty-four chapters, and a general summary 看詳 by Li Ch'êng, an Assistant Inspector of the Board of Works, who received the imperial command in 1097 to carry out a revision of the earlier work (*v. C*). His new version was finished in 1100, and the printing of it was authorized in 1103.

E. 研北雜誌 by 陸友仁.

Written in the first half of the fourteenth century. The passage quoted gives a list of seven works by Li Ch'êng, and among them the *YTFS* in thirty-four chapters. Except for a small discrepancy in the title 續同姓錄, these are the same as those specified in the Biography (*v. sup.*, p. 478).

F. 稗編 by 唐順之.

A collection of extracts from books of all periods and on various subjects. The author lived in the sixteenth century.

A section of the general summary of *YTFS* is here quoted. It is entitled *Counting Rooms by the Number of Pillars* 屋檣數. This section is absent from the extant text of *YTFS* (*v. inf.*, p. 484).

G. 讀書敏求記 by 錢曾.

The passage here quoted is the afterword written by the author Ch'ien Ts'êng to the manuscript copy of *YTFS* acquired by him in

1649. From this copy was copied the manuscript reproduced by photolithography in 1919-20 (v. J and pp. 484-5). A facsimile of the original afterword appears as the second colophon to *YTFS* (1920). Ch'ien Ts'eng mentions the destruction of the family library in 1650, when a printed copy of *YTFS* (? 1145) perished.

#### H. 四庫全書總目.

This is the great catalogue of the imperial library under the late Manchu dynasty. Eighteen years were spent in compiling it, and it was finished in 1790. At the time when the catalogue was being compiled, rare books were submitted from all parts of the empire, and certain were copied in their entirety and the copies added to the imperial collection (*v. inf.*, p. 488). One of these was a MS. copy of *YTFS* (1145), lent from the library 天一閣 of the Fan 范 family at Ning-po. It lacked the thirty-first chapter; therefore, when the copy was made for the imperial library, the great encyclopædia<sup>1</sup> 永樂大典 was drawn upon for the missing chapter, which consists mainly of illustrations.

#### I. 四庫全書簡明目錄.

This abridged version of the foregoing catalogue (H) contains a brief notice of *YTFS*.

#### J. 張蓉鏡跋.

This colophon, dated 1821, appears third in the last volume of *YTFS* (1920). The writer, Chang Yung-ching, at the age of 20, copied a manuscript *YTFS* as a memorial to his grandfather, who for twenty years had sought in vain to get a copy. The manuscript had been preserved by the Ch'ien 錢 family in their library 述古堂 at Ch'ang-shu 常熟 in Kiangsu. In 1820 the writer's kinsman Yüeh-hsiao 月霄 (Chang Chin-wu. *v.* K) bought the Ch'ien manuscript from a bookseller named T'ao 陶 at the Sign of the Five Willows<sup>2</sup> 五柳居 in Su-chou. The copying of the illustrations was done by the artist Wang Chün-mou 王君某, one of the best pupils of the painter Pi Chung-k'ai 畢仲愷.

<sup>1</sup> For notes on this vast collection *v.* *Mayers, China Rev.*, vi (1877-8), pp. 215-18; *BEFEO*, ix (1909), pp. 828-9; Arousseau, *BEFEO*, xii (1912), No. 9, pp. 79-87. Originally there were more than 10,000 volumes of manuscript. The printing of it was attempted towards the end of the Ming period, but was soon abandoned. Some volumes had been lost before the burning by the Boxers in 1900. Several hundred volumes are now known to have survived the fire. Professor Hu Shih informs me that the rumours of a second manuscript copy are false.

<sup>2</sup> Reminiscent of his famous namesake T'ao Yuan-ming, near whose house stood five willow-trees. Hence the sobriquet 五柳先生 assumed by the poet.

## K. 張金吾跋.

This is the eighth colophon to *YTFS* (1920). It is dated 1827. The writer is the kinsman of Yung-ching mentioned in J.

## L. 孫原湘跋.

This colophon, dated 1820, is the fifth to *YTFS* (1920).

## M. 黃丕烈跋.

This colophon, dated 1821, is the sixth to *YTFS* (1920).

## N. 陳鑾跋.

This colophon, dated 1830, is the seventh to *YTFS* (1920).

## O. 聞肇道入跋.

This colophon, dated 1826, is the eleventh to *YTFS* (1920).

## P. 褚逢椿跋.

This colophon, dated 1828, is the fourth to *YTFS* (1920).

## Q. 邵淵耀跋.

This colophon, dated 1828, is the ninth to *YTFS* (1920).

## R. 錢泳跋.

This colophon, not dated, is the thirteenth to *YTFS* (1920).

## S. 鐵琴銅劍樓書目 by 瞿鏞.

This is the catalogue of the Ch'ü 瞿 family library at Ch'ang-shu 常熟 (Kiangsu). It was compiled about the middle of the last century by Ch'ü Yung, but not published till many years later.<sup>1</sup>

Note is made that the manuscript copy of *YTFS* in this library was ultimately derived from *YTFS* (1145), but through several successive copies. It contains the colophon-page (Fig. 2). Internal evidence indicates that neither of the MSS. described in J was used in the making of it.

## T. 藏書志 by 丁丙.

The full title of this library catalogue, dated 1901, is 善本書室藏書志. The entry here quoted refers to a *YTFS* in thirty-six chapters, which was acquired from the library of one 李伯雨, and is, in fact, the same MS. that appears in *YTFS* (1919-20): *c.* J. K. and p. 485 below.

U. Preface by 齊耀琳 to the photo-lithographed 1920 edition, entitled 石印營造法式.

Dated 1919, it appears as the second preface to *YTFS* (1920). The writer, Mr. Chi Yao-lin, was Civil Governor of Kiangsu the year

<sup>1</sup> *c.* Pelliot, *BEFEO*, ix (1909), pp. 212, 468, 513, and Aourousseau, *BEFEO*, xii (1912), No. 9, p. 64.



that Mr. Chu Chi-ch'ien came to Nanking as chief of the Peace Delegation from North China. Together they visited the public library for which some ten years previously the Ting collection (v. T) had been bought by the viceroy Tuan-fang 端方 (v. *inf.* p. 485). They saw there Chang Yung-ching's transcript (v. J), and the decision was made to publish it.

#### V. Preface by 朱啟鈞.

This is a copy of the first preface, undated, to *YTFS* (1920).

After the appendix comes an account 識語, nine pages long, by Mr. T'ao Hsiang, who signs it in the intercalary fourth month (22nd May to 20th June) of 1925. The writer is a native of Wu-chin 武進 (formerly 常州) in Kiangsu. He outlines the bibliographical history of *YTFS* derived from criteria assembled in the foregoing appendix, and to this he adds information concerning the production of the 1925 edition. In the following abridged translation the various items of the appendix are indicated by the letters of the alphabet used above to label them:—

The *YTFS* in thirty-six chapters by Li Chieh, an Assistant Inspector<sup>1</sup> of the Board of Works under the Sung, is a revised version of an earlier work compiled during the *hsi-ning* period (1068–77), and finished in 1091 (v. A, B, C, and D). The second version was undertaken in 1097, and it was finished in 1100. Authorization was given in 1103 for it to be cut and published. This is the *ch'ung-ning* (1102–6) edition. In 1145 Wang Huan 王暉, an official of P'ing-chiang Fu, obtained an "old copy of the *shao-ch'eng* period" (v. p. 476 and Fig. 2), and had it recut. This is the *shao-hsing* (1131–62) edition. B and Chuang Chi-yü 莊季裕 in his 雞肋編, dated 1106 and 1133 respectively, each refers to a copy of *YTFS*. The fact that these writers copied a number of passages from *YTFS* is evidence that the work was highly valued at the time. D mentions Li Chieh's<sup>2</sup> revised version of *YTFS* in thirty-four chapters, and one chapter containing the general summary, but omits to notice the table of contents. C puts the number of chapters at thirty-four without either table of contents or general summary. T'ao Tsung-i 陶宗儀 in his *Shuo fu* 說郛 refers to a *Method* with general summary and various sections, but he

<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, the author had not yet attained the post of Assistant Inspector when he wrote the treatise, since his promotion did not occur till 1102. See his Biography, p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> Actually D writes "Ch'eng" instead of "Chieh", as also do B and E. On this error, v. *inf.*, p. 488.

平江府今得

紹聖營造法式舊本并目錄看詳共一十四冊

紹興十五年五月十一日校勘重刊

左文林郎平江府觀察推官陳綱校勘

寶文閣直學士右通奉大夫知平江軍府事提舉

勸農使開國子食邑五百戶王暎重刊

宋紹興刻本題名

FIG. 2.--Traced facsimile of the colophon-page of *YTFS* (1145), reproduced by photolithography in *YTFS* (1925).

calls it a *Treatise on Wood [Construction]* 木經 by Li Chieh.<sup>1</sup> F describes an edition of which the table of sections in the general summary has a section on *Counting Rooms by the Number of Pillars* 屋檣數 which is missing from the extant book. Is it possible that the copy he saw was the first (1103) edition?

The *YTFS* in the library of the Ch'ien family (v. J) had twenty-eight chapters, six of illustrations, one of general summary, and one of table of contents—thirty-six chapters in all. It opened with Li Chieh's memorial of presentation, his preface and the imperial rescript which authorized the printing of the work. It ended with the colophon-page giving particulars of the 1145 edition (Fig. 2). There were twenty columns on each folio, and twenty-two characters to each column. In this copy the characters 桓 and 構 (names respectively of the two emperors who reigned from 1126 to 1162) were tabooed, an indication that it was derived from the 1145 edition.

The colophon by Ch'ien Ts'êng (v. G) states that the *YTFS* in the Ch'ien family library was the copy which his senior relative Ch'ien Ch'ien-i 錢謙益 obtained from a member of the Chao 趙 family, and sold to him in the spring of 1649. Ch'ien Ch'ien-i possessed a printed copy, which had come from an old family of Liang-ch'i 梁谿, but it perished in the fire which destroyed his library in 1650. The aforesaid copy was handed down from generation to generation. According to L the catalogue of the library 述古堂 (i.e. of Ch'ien Ts'êng) states that Chao Yüan-tu 趙元度 acquired an incomplete copy of *YTFS* lacking more than ten chapters. For over twenty years he wore himself out seeking to borrow a copy. Finally, at a cost of 50,000 cash, he made the book complete with illustrations, plans, and designs.

In 1821, Mr. Chang Yung-ching in the colophon (v. J) to his manuscript copy says: "Copies of *YTFS* which have survived the downfall of the Sung dynasty and have been handed down are exceedingly rare. The Ch'ien family library 述古堂 contained a copy of a Sung edition of the book, which I tried to get but failed. In the year 1820 my kinsman Yüeh-hsiao 月霄 (Chang Chin-wu; v. K) acquired a manuscript copy

<sup>1</sup> Doubt exists whether Li Chieh ever wrote a book entitled *Mu ching*. M. Demiéville discusses this subject fully. *loc. cit.*, pp 220-2. The title, *New Book on Wood [Construction]*, of the only work attributed to Li Chieh in the *Sung History* (v. A), presupposes an earlier treatise of the kind. Perhaps it was the *Mu ching* of the famous architect, Yü Hao (v. C). M. Demiéville identifies all the alleged extracts from a *Mu ching* of Li Chieh, as quoted in *Shuo fu*, with passages in *YTFS*. Perhaps these extracts were in fact derived from the *New Book on Wood [Construction]* which Li Chieh may have drawn upon when writing *YTFS*.

of this Ch'ien copy from a bookseller named T'ao at the Sign of the Five Willows in Su-chou (v. J). I borrowed it and copied the text, while Wang Chün-mou, pupil of Pi Chung-k'ai, copied the illustrations, plans, and designs."

Between 1907 and 1908 when Tuan-fang (H. T'ao-chai 陶齋), viceroy of Liang Chiang, founded the library [at Nanking], he acquired for it the library 嘉惠堂 which had belonged to the Ting family of Ch'ien-t'ang 錢唐 (Hang-chou). Among the Ting books was the transcript of *YTFS* made by Chang Yung-ching (v. T).

In 1919, Mr. Chu Ch'i-ch'ien (H. Kuei-hsin 桂辛), a native of 紫江 (formerly 開州) in Kueichou, came south and saw this book (v. U). He had it reproduced in a smaller size [by photo-lithography]. This was so favourably received that the Commercial Press of Shanghai followed it up with a facsimile reproduction of the original MS. According to evidence afforded by colophons L and M, we know that the Ting MS. was the one which Chang Yung-ching transcribed from the copy in the possession of Chang Chin-wu. It contains numerous errors of transcription.

The library 密韻樓 belonging to Mr. Chiang Ju-tsao 蔣汝藻, a native of Wu-hsing 吳興 (formerly 湖州) in Chehkiang, contains a manuscript *YTFS* of which the text and illustrations are well executed and complete. By comparing the Ting MS. with it, dozens of errors in the former may be corrected. But it was not the MS. from which Chang Yung-ching's copy was made.

The library 鐵琴銅劍樓 of the Ch'ü family at Ch'ang-shu (v. S) has an old copy which also is based on *YTFS* (1145).

The *YTFS* contained in the collection of the Ch'ien-lung *Four Libraries* was transcribed from the copy which belonged to the T'ien-i Ko of the Fan family in Chehkiang. This copy lacked the thirty-first chapter, and the defect was made good from the *Yung-lo ta tien* (v. H).

According to 文淵閣書目 the imperial library under the Ming contained five sets of *YTFS*, but the catalogue omits bibliographical particulars. The catalogue of the imperial library under the Manchu dynasty, entitled 內閣書目, mentions two incomplete sets of *YTFS*, one with two and the other with five volumes. It notes that the book was compiled by Li Chieh at imperial command during the *ch'ung-ning* period, but that of its thirty-four chapters twelve were missing. Towards the close of the late dynasty the imperial library was moved from the Palace to the National Academy 國子監南學 [in the north of Peking]. During the first years of the

宋崇寧刻本殘葉

營造法式卷第八

通直郎管修蓋章弟益等撰纂修蓋章諸軍營使等臣李誠奉

聖旨編修

小木作制度三

平基

闌八藻井

小闌八藻井

拒馬义子

义子

鉤闌

重臺鉤闌  
單鉤闌

裸籠子

井亭子

牌

平基

其名有三一曰平機二曰平據三曰平基俗謂之平起其以方椽施素版者謂之平間

造殿內平基之制於背版之上四邊用程程內用貼貼內

FIG. 3.—Front page of the first folio of chapter eight of a YTS believed to have been the first (1103) edition. Reproduced by photo-lithography in YTS (1925).

## 營造法式卷第八

通直郎管修蓋皇弟第專提舉修蓋班直諸軍營房等臣李誠奉

聖旨編修

## 小木作制度三

平棊

闕八藻井

小闕八藻井

拒馬叉子

叉子

鉤闌

重臺鉤闌  
單鉤闌

棵籠子

井亭子

牌

平棊

其名有三一曰平機二曰平檯三曰平棊俗謂之平起其以方椽施素版者謂之平闇

造殿內平棊之制於背版之上四邊用程程內用貼貼內

FIG. 4.—The page represented in Fig. 3 as re-cut for YTF'S (1925).

Republic it was moved from there and housed in a part of the Wu Gate of the Palace 午門樓. Thence it was taken to the Metropolitan Library 京師圖書館 which now is installed in the former National Academy. In the course of these moves the seven volumes of the two incomplete sets were lost owing to carelessness.

The Curator of the Metropolitan Library, Mr. Fu Tsêng-hsiang 傅增湘 (*H. Yüan-shu* 沅叔) of Chiang-an 江安, was sorting out a pile of waste papers when he came upon two fragments of *YTFS*. One was the front page of the first folio of the eighth chapter (*v. Fig. 3*)<sup>1</sup>; the other was a complete fifth folio from the same chapter. They were printed from wood-blocks during the Sung period. Each folio had twenty-two columns with twenty-two characters in each, and double columns of small characters. Probably they are to be identified as coming from the 1103 edition.

Mr. Chu Ch'í-ch'ien considered unsatisfactory the Ting MS. which he had previously reproduced, so he requested me to consult all existing copies of *YTFS*, and, after comparing the texts in detail, to print a new edition.

In my opinion, the *Ssü k'u ch'üan shu* copies of *YTFS* seem to be the most reliable, for they were made from the Fan library copy which had been transcribed about the middle of the Ming period from a Sung wood-block edition, and therefore is earlier than the Ch'ien copy<sup>2</sup> preserved in the 述古 library (*v. G*). Moreover, they have the advantage of corrections and additions carried out by the editors of the *Ssü k'u* who compared the Fan copy with the *Yung-lo ta tien* (*v. H*).

Now, the *Ssü k'u ch'üan shu* copies<sup>3</sup> were distributed for preservation in the following seven repositories:—

Wên yüan Ko 文源閣 [at the Summer Palace of Yüan ming  
Yüan near Peking].

<sup>1</sup> Note by Mr. T'ao Hsiang: "Here we find the author's name clearly written 'Chieh', which is proof enough that the version 'Ch'êng' is erroneous." Cf. B, D, and E. r. Pelliot, *BEFEO*, ix (1909), pp. 244-5.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Naitō notes the superiority of the illustrations in the copy belonging to the *Ssü k'u* set at Moukden in 1905 as compared with those in *YTFS* (1920); *v. sup.*, p. 474.

<sup>3</sup> When the great catalogue of the imperial library under the late Manchu dynasty (*v. H*) was in preparation, certain books among those sent to the capital by collectors throughout the empire were temporarily retained for investigation. These were divided into two categories: (1) Works sufficiently rare for complete copies to be made and added to the imperial library. One of these was the Fan copy of *YTFS*. Bibliographical particulars of books in this category were entered in the catalogue. (2) Works not copied, but of which bibliographical particulars were entered in the catalogue. *r. Pelliot, BEFEO*, vi (1906), pp. 415-16, and ix (1909), pp. 211-12.

|              |     |                                   |
|--------------|-----|-----------------------------------|
| Wên tsung Ko | 文宗閣 | [at Golden Island, Chinkiang].    |
| Wên hui Ko   | 文匯閣 | [at Yang-chou 揚州].                |
| Wên lan Ko   | 文瀾閣 | [at the Western Lake, Hang-chou]. |
| Wên yüan Ko  | 文淵閣 | [in the Palace at Peking].        |
| Wên shuo Ko  | 文溯閣 | [in the Palace at Moukden].       |
| Wên chin Ko  | 文津閣 | [in the Palace at Jehol].         |

The first three sets have suffered destruction from the ravages and burnings of war.<sup>1</sup> Also, half of the Hang-chou set was destroyed.<sup>2</sup> The Peking Palace set is still there; the Moukden set is stored in the Hall of Assured Peace 保和殿 [in the Peking Palace]; and the Jehol set is in the Metropolitan Library.

These three are all that are now preserved intact. I have compared the texts of *YTF*S contained in all three, and also the extracts quoted by B. Chuang Chi-yü, T'ao Tsung-i and F. The old manuscript copy in the library of Mr. Chiang Ju-tsao has been examined besides.

After carefully comparing all these texts, the shortcomings of the Ting MS. have been made good; missing characters have been restored and errors of transcription corrected. Possibly some mistakes remain; but there is little probability that any passage is omitted. Several parts of the text are hard to understand; yet, when all texts agree as to the reading, I did not venture to alter them.

The *format* of this edition and the style of characters cut for it are made to imitate those of *YTF*S (1103) as represented by the two fragments recently discovered. The illustrations are based on those of *YTF*S (1145), and such that cannot be followed as to detail without difficulty have been redrawn twice the original size and afterwards reduced by photography to the scale of the originals.

One source of perplexity is the lack of originals wherewith to compare these much-copied illustrations. Decorative designs of stone carvings and the smaller wooden objects may likely have undergone minor modifications from time to time in accordance with current fashion. On the other hand, strict precision must have been maintained in plans for large wooden structures, because upon them depend all measurements and proportions, and even slight deviations from the originals would have resulted in loss of architectural integrity.

<sup>1</sup> The Yuan ming Yuan was destroyed by the Allied Army in 1860. The sets at Golden Island and Yang-chou were burnt by the T'ai-p'ing Rebels a few years earlier.

<sup>2</sup> Also by the T'ai-p'ing Rebels. Professor Hu Shih informs me that the loss has been repaired owing to the generosity of Mr. Ting Ping 丁丙 (r. T) and to the recent efforts of Mr. Chang Tsung-hsiang 張宗祥, formerly Commissioner of Education in Chehkiang.



To solve these problems we have had recourse to existing buildings and living architects. The present Palace at Peking, though actually built in the *yung-lo* period (1403-24), was designed in conformity with Sung standards which were an architectural heritage handed down for 800 years. Technical terms have varied with the times, yet continuity of form may be traced by reference to the *Institutes of Government Administration* 會典 and the archives of the Board of Works 工部. Plans from the latter source have to some extent been lost, therefore we have asked the old master-builder Ho Hsin-k'eng 賀新麤 and others, who for many years have been in charge of imperial and public works in Peking, to draw detailed illustrations on modern lines in accordance with data provided in the thirtieth and thirty-first chapters of *YTFS*, and to add to them modern terms. These additional illustrations<sup>1</sup> thus provide material for comparison with the originals, and the student is enabled to recognize differences, similarities, and correlations, and to obtain models for imitation as well as evidence concerning the evolution of nomenclature.

Chapters 33 and 34 contain coloured illustrations. Former editions of *YTFS* had the colours only indicated with labels giving the names and shades, and they had notes to show which was the front and which the back. Such methods of presentment gave but imperfect notions of the true colouration, so we have employed the services of the Kuo 郭 family of Ting-hsing 定興 which for five generations has been engaged in artistic colour-printing.<sup>2</sup> As many as four to ten printings have been necessary for some of the illustrations<sup>3</sup>

The production of this book—textual criticism, redrawing of illustrations, making of modern designs for comparison, and colour-printing—has taken seven years, and the text has been revised ten times. The cutting of the blocks was started in 1919 and finished in 1925.

Though the foregoing account by Mr. T'ao Hsiang is as lucid

<sup>1</sup> They appear in two supplements: one of twenty-six folios at the end of chapter 30, and the other of twenty-four folios at the end of chapter 31. The new technical terms and explanatory notes are printed there in red ink.

<sup>2</sup> This craft has much advanced in recent years. Formerly foreign paper was used for lithographs done in China, but here in *YTFS* (1925) coloured prints for the first time have been made on Chinese paper. The paper comes from the province of Fuhkien.

<sup>3</sup> Several are reproduced in colour on Plate I of my article in the *Burlington Magazine* of March, 1927.

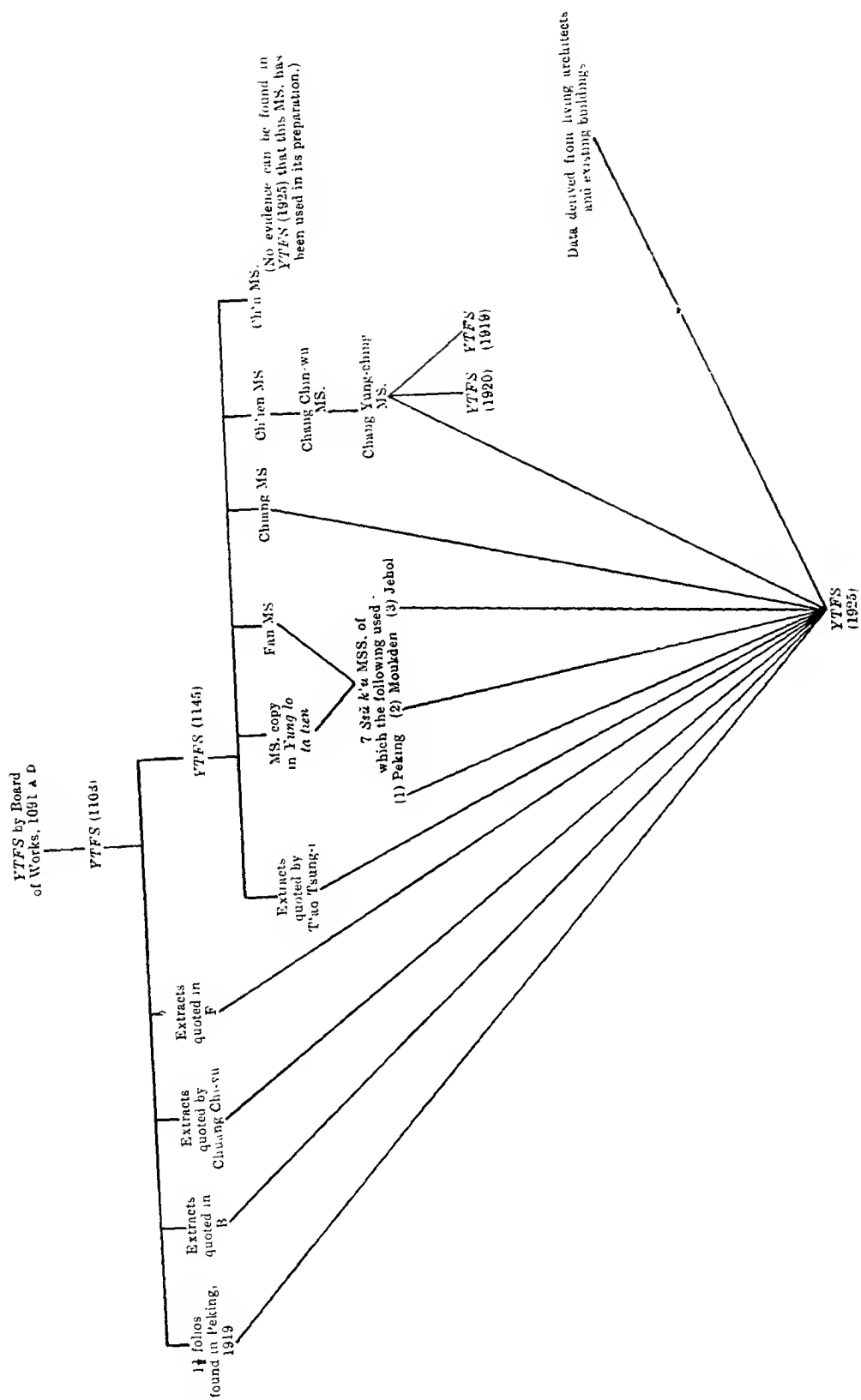


Fig. 5.—Plan to show the sources of YTF's (1925).

as may be, the sources from which the magnificent last edition of this architectural classic has been compiled are too many and varied to be kept in mind easily. In order to show them at a glance I have drawn out a plan (Fig. 5).

I gratefully acknowledge indebtedness to Professor Hu Shih 胡適 both for his good offices in aiding me to obtain a copy of *YTFS* (1925) and for invaluable help generously given in the writing of this study.

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REMARKS ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF SOME  
JĀTAKA PICTURES

By JARL CHARPENTIER

WHILE busying himself with reviewing, for this *Bulletin*,<sup>1</sup> vols. iii-v of Professor von Le Coq's great work *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien* the present writer had an opportunity of making a somewhat closer acquaintance also with Professor Grünwedel's very important book *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan* (1912). Various passages of this work, and most specially pp. 65-75, contain interesting descriptions and pictures of *Jātakas* (or *Avadānas*) found in the different caves in Eastern Turkeṣtān visited by Herren Grünwedel and von Le Coq. Most of these pictures have already been identified by the learned author with passages in Buddhist literary works; and the identifications are, of course, in an overwhelming number of cases, quite correct ones, though sometimes perhaps in need of some improvement. However, a certain number of pictures are left unidentified, and as the present writer ventures to think that he has succeeded in a few of these cases in hitting upon a hitherto overlooked identification this may be the excuse for now giving publicity to these very modest remarks.

For it should be understood from the very beginning that this is in no wise an outcome of a prolonged and systematic research into Buddhist lore, for which the present writer cannot pretend to possess the adequate capacity. He has mainly consulted a few works, such as Finot's edition of the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā*, Chavannes' admirable *Cinq cents contes et apologues extraits du Tripitaka Chinois* (1911), etc., in order, if possible, to unearth from them some passages explaining a few of Professor Grünwedel's pictures. Some use has also been made of Professor Foucher's interesting letter from Ajanta in the *J.A.* 1921, i, p. 201 sq.<sup>2</sup> But although the following remarks are of a very scattered and scanty nature it is to be hoped that they may prove of some little use to students interested in this field of research.

The set of pictures chiefly interesting us here is the one running

<sup>1</sup> Cf. vol. iii, p. 814 sq.; vol. iv, p. 348 sq.

<sup>2</sup> With this paper cf. also the short notices by Mlle Lalou in the *J.A.* 1925, ii, p. 333 sq.

from No. 125 to No. 164 of the *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*. Of these the following ones seem to have been correctly identified already by Professor Grünwedel:—

125. This is the story of *Rūpavatī* in *Divyāvadāna*, p. 471, who cut off her own breasts in order to satisfy a starving woman<sup>1</sup>; cf. also *Rāṣṭrapālāpariprecchā*, p. 25 (No. 30):—

*kanakābhapaṇasukumāraṃ tyakta stanadrayaṃ hṛdayakāntam |*  
*strī prekṣya me kṣudhatṛṣāraṃ sārūpyavatīti vanitā yalābhūt .*

126. According to Grünwedel this is the well-known story of Kṣāntivādin (*Jātaka*, iii, p. 39 sq.; *Jātakamālā*, 28, etc.), whose hands and feet were cut off by a cruel king. But this seems rather uncertain as in this picture only the hands have been cut off, and the tormentor of the Bodhisattva seems to be leaving him: cf. possibly *Rāṣṭrapālāpariprecchā*, p. 24 (No. 27):—

*cakrāṅkitaṃ kamalatulyaṃ pāṇiyugaṃ paradattam anapekṣam |*  
*nrpa Āśuketu yaḍa āsīd bodhim abhīpsamāna jagadārthe .*

or even *ibid.*, p. 23 (No. 17):—

*mṛdutūlapicūpamasūkṣmau komalapadmapatrasukumārau |*  
*tyaktau karau sacaraṇau me pūrvaṃ nrpena Dhṛtimatā ca .*<sup>2</sup>

127. This, as well as 131, seems to be the famous story of King Śibi sacrificing his eyes to a blind Brahmin, cf. *Jātakamālā*, 2, etc. In the *Rāṣṭrapālāpariprecchā*, p. 24 (No. 22) the name of the king is given as *Utpalanetra*<sup>3</sup>; in the Chinese version of "the Wise and the Fool" he is called "Pleasing-eyes".<sup>4</sup>

128. Professor Grünwedel (p. 345) tentatively identified the Bodhisattva who has set fire to his hands in order to show the way to a caravan with Āśuketu (cf. above under No. 126). But it seems more probable that we should turn to the following verse in the *Rāṣṭrapālāpariprecchā*, p. 24 (No. 21):—

*magi tyaktam angulī udārā sūtrahitārtham eva caratā me |*  
*jālārcitā vimalaśuddhā Kāñcānavarna pārthiva yadāsīt*

129. This is the *Vessantarajātaka*, cf. picture No. 317 (p. 141). In the *Rāṣṭrapālāpariprecchā*, p. 22 (No. 10), the hero of the tale is

<sup>1</sup> Cf. picture No. 254 in Grünwedel.

<sup>2</sup> But this later one seems to be less fitting our picture, and for the same reason as the *Kṣāntivādinjātaka*.

<sup>3</sup> In Chavannes, *Cinq cents contes*, i, p. 104 sq. Kunāla, the son of Aśoka, whose wicked stepmother had his eyes put out (cf. *Divyāvadāna*, p. 382 sq.), has, curiously enough, been turned into a Bodhisattva.

<sup>4</sup> Takakusu, *JRAS* 1901, p. 470.

called *Sudaṃṣṭra* (cf. *Lalitavistara*, p. 194, 10; Chavannes, loc. cit., iii, p. 362 and note); in Chavannes, loc. cit., i, p. 56. he is called *Sarvādāna*.

130. Śibi and the dove, cf. picture No. 251 (Grünwedel, p. 114).

131. Cf. 127 above.

132. This is the *Mahākapijātaka* in *Jātakamālā*, xxvii. etc. (cf. also Chavannes, loc. cit., i, p. 216 sq.).

134. Cf. No. 160 below.

136. This is said by Grünwedel, p. 68, to be the *Śarabhajātaka* (*Jātaka*, vol. iv, p. 267 sq.; *Jātakamālā*, xxv), which is probably correct. But it seems curious that two persons should be seen riding on the animal here while, according to the texts, it only saved the king who had been pursuing it. Whether the animal depicted here, which is somewhat like a very misshapen hippopotamus, is really meant for a *śarabha* also seems doubtful: at Ajanṭā the *śarabha* is simply a species of antelope.<sup>1</sup>

138. Professor Grünwedel (p. 70) identifies this picture with the story of *Sain töröltu* in the Mongolian Dsanglun,<sup>2</sup> the young boy who, in order to support his starving parents, had his own flesh cut off in portions. This story does not, so far, appear to have been found in any Indian version. But it is found in the Chinese *Tsa Pao Tsang King*, where, in the summary given by Chavannes it runs as follows<sup>3</sup>:

“Un roi avait six fils: il est tué, avec cinq de ses fils, par son ministre *Lo-heou-k'ieou*. Le sixième fils . . . s'enfuit avec sa femme et son jeune garçon . . . il s'égare en chemin et souffre de la faim: il veut tuer sa femme, mais son jeune garçon se devoue pour la sauver: on coupe donc chaque jour à celui-ci une certaine quantité de chair qui permet aux trois voyageurs de ne pas mourir de faim.” etc.—the story, like all the other ones of the same type, is rather disgusting.

The picture intends to give the situation described above: the prince, with raised sword, is going to kill his wife, but the young boy, sitting astride on the shoulder of his mother, with a deprecating gesture prevents this and offers his own life in ransom for hers.

142. *Vyāghrījātaka*.<sup>4</sup> cf. *Jātakamālā*, i; Chavannes, loc. cit., i, p. 15: *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā*, p. 22. etc.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J.A.* 1921, i, p. 210 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. I. J. Schmidt, *Dsanglun*, i, p. xxv sq.

<sup>3</sup> Chavannes, loc. cit., iii, p. 2. according to Chavannes the title of this Chinese work would translate a Sanskrit original *Samyuktaratnapitakasūtra*.

<sup>4</sup> There are other pictures belonging to this *Jātaka* in Professor Grünwedel's book; cf. pp. 76, 116, and pl. 446, 447. In some of the pictures the animals seem to be jackals rather than tigers.

150. On p. 345 Professor Grünwedel seems to identify this with the story abbreviated in the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā*, p. 24 (No. 25) :—

*hītvā svam asthi ca śarīrād vyadhikṛśasya majja mayā dattam |  
na ca satva tyakta mama jātu āsi nrpo yadā kusuma nāma ||*

Although the identification does not belong to those which strike one as being immediately obvious it is probably correct.

151. Professor Grünwedel (p. 71 sq.) thinks this picture to be a variation of the *Vyāghrījātaka* (142). This may be correct but the tale must be a separate one and is, so far, unknown to us.

155. Professor Grünwedel (p. 74) points to *Dsanglun*, ii, p. 215 sq. This is quite correct, and the text is otherwise found in Chavannes, loc. cit., i, p. 11, in the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā*, p. 26 (No. 42) :—

*bodhicariṃ caramāṇahu pūrvam matsya babhūva yadā jalacārī |  
tyakta mayāśraya satvahūtāya bhakṣitapṛāṇisahasraśatebhiḥ |*

and in other works.<sup>1</sup> Our picture, however, comes nearest to the tale as told in the *Dsanglun* where we read the following : “ Während zu der Zeit fünf Holzarbeiter am Ufer dieses Gewässers herumgingen um Holz zu suchen, entdeckten sie den grossen Fisch, welcher in menschlicher Sprache sie folgendermassen anredete : ‘ Wenn euch hungert, so schneidet von meinem Fleisch ab, so viel ihr wollt und esset ! . . . Sagt auch allen Hungernden im Lande, dass sie nach Belieben von meinem Fleische nehmen sollen.’ Hierauf schnitten die Fünf von dem Fleische ab und riefen die Einwohner des Landes herbei, so dass die Nachricht von Einem zum Andern kam und endlich alle Bewohner des *Dschambudwips* sich versammelten, von dem Fleisch abschnitten und assen,” etc. The picture shows us two woodcutters—instead of five—one cutting pieces out of the fish with his axe, the other with his knife.

157. To the literature quoted by Professor Grünwedel (p. 74) should be added *Jātaka*, 12 ; *Mahāvastu*, i, p. 359 ; Chavannes, loc. cit., i, p. 68 sq. ; ii, p. 35 sq., etc. The scene is found also at Ajañṭā, cf. *J.A.* 1921, i, p. 208.

160. Cf. 134 above. The story is found in *Dsanglun*, ii, p. 29 sq.

To these identifications by Professor Grünwedel can now be laid a short series of others which are given below. As has been pointed out above I have not been able to make any systematic investigations, and the results achieved here can thus not be looked upon as final.

<sup>1</sup> For references cf. M. Finot's edition of the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā*, p. viii.

135. In this picture we see three young men, of whom one is dressed in a sort of flapped coat of rather common occurrence in the Turfan pictures,<sup>1</sup> surrounded by a very bulky serpent or dragon with heads at each end of its body and with widely opened jaws : in the lower part of the picture is seen an elephant on the back of which stands a lion springing upwards in order to attack the dragon. On p. 60 of his work Professor Grünwedel mentions a duplicate of this picture where, however, elephant and lion are missing : and on p. 115 the same scene occurs with the lion but without the elephant.

This is what may well be called the *Siṃhakuñjarāvadāna*. It occurs amongst the pictures at Ajantā where the elephant is likewise missing.<sup>2</sup> Literary documents relating to it are found in Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, No. 102, and in Chavannes, loc. cit., i, p. 253 sq. : iii, p. 70. From the last passage I borrow a few lines which will form an exact commentary to our picture : " Autrefois de nombreux marchands s'étaient vus entourés par un serpent monstrueux qui ne leur laissait aucun moyen d'échapper. Pour les délivrer, un lion monte sur un éléphant blanc et attaque le serpent dont il brise le crâne : mais le lion et l'éléphant meurent tous deux pour avoir été atteints par l'haleine empoisonnée du serpent . . . Le lion, c'est le Buddha : l'éléphant blanc c'est Çāriputra." <sup>3</sup>

137. A bear sitting on a tree holds a man on his lap while a tiger waits at the bottom of the tree.

This is the story of the noble animal which, without listening to any temptations saves the man from the tiger while the mean and ungrateful human being tries to throw his benefactor, during his sleep, from the tree. The story is found in many variations in Buddhist literature, where the chief actors are invariably the Buddha and Devadatta.

139. A man dressed only in a *dhotī* is standing on an elevated plot of ground on the bank of a pond from which emerges a *nāgarāja* in a suppliant attitude.

The former figure is taken by Professor Grünwedel to be a Bodhisattva to whom he, undoubtedly, bears a great likeness. Now, it seems that we must identify this picture with a scene out

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Professor Grünwedel's index s.v. *Klappenrock* and Professor von Le Coq's *Bilderatlas*, p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *J.A.* 1921, i, p. 219.

<sup>3</sup> Travellers surrounded by a great serpent occur also in the tales of Sindbad, cf. Burton, *Arabian Nights*, vi, p. 29. But there no lion or elephant comes to their rescue.



of the *Śaṅkhaṭṭajātaka* (*Jātaka*, No. 524), which is also depicted at Ajanṭā and is thus described by M. Foucher<sup>1</sup>: “Burgess a vu à tort un ‘Buddha’ devant lequel se prosterne un roi: elle<sup>2</sup> montre, en fait, un ascète ordinaire recevant les hommages d’un roi des Nāgas.” This scene, however, belongs to the previous story of Śaṅkhaṭṭa when, according to the *atthakathā* of the *Jātaka*, the Bodhisattva was a prince of Magadha who turned ascetic and received the homage of the then *nāgarāja* Śaṅkhaṭṭa. Consequently, Professor Grünwedel was quite right in looking upon the figure standing beside the pond as being a Bodhisattva.

140. In this picture we see a square pond or tank in the middle of which stands the nude figure of a girl weeping while above, in the air, a winged boy, a sort of angel or genius, is carrying another young man in his arms.

Professor Grünwedel’s reference to the story of *Kalmāṣapāda*<sup>3</sup> is not quite intelligible. We have here a scene from the *Vidhura-paṇḍitajātaka* (*Jātaka*, No. 545) where a young genius, after having won the wise Vidhura at a game of dice, carries him away in order to please his own daughter, a beautiful *nāgī*. This *jātaka* also occurs at Ajanṭā,<sup>4</sup> and a similar story about *Pi-t’ou-hi* (= *Vidhura*) is told in Chavannes, loc. cit., iii, p. 100, although it does not quite tally with the *jātaka*.

143. A man is seen merged to the waist in a round pit from which issues a high, pointed flame. On both sides of the pit are seen two gods who take hold of his arms and try to raise him up. A variation of this picture on p. 114 (pl. 253) assures us that the man in the pit is in reality the Bodhisattva.

Professor Grünwedel thinks of either the story of Viñitāvin in *Mahāvastu*, iii, p. 42 sq., or the *Śreṣṭhijātaka* (*Jātakamālā*, iv), but neither is the case. This is the scene described in the *Dsaṅgḥun*, ii, p. 11 sq. The Bodhisattva was at that time the prince *Damgama*,<sup>5</sup> son of king *T’sangpa-hla*, and Indra, in order to try him, arrived at the palace in the form of a brahmin saying that he wished to proclaim a holy doctrine. But when the prince wants to hear it he is told that, before he can do so, he must have a fire-pit made of ten yards’

<sup>1</sup> J.A. 1921, i, p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> Viz. “la scène”.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Watanabe, *Journal of the Pali Text Society*, 1909, p. 236 sq.

<sup>4</sup> J.A. 1921, i, p. 208.

<sup>5</sup> This name, according to Takakusu, *J.R.A.S.* 1901, p. 454, is from the Chinese *Tan-ma-kan*, a corruption of Sanskrit *Dharmakāma*.

depth and filled with burning coals and sacrifice himself by springing into it. The Bodhisattva willingly complies with this and has all preparations made. After hearing the *śloka*s recited he is just on the verge of jumping into the pit when on either side Indra and Brahmā take hold of his arms and try to dissuade him. This is exactly the scene of our picture.

144. A giant demon holds a young boy before his mouth in order to eat him. There is another picture of the same event on p. 114 (pl. 248) but more complete : in front of the demon are seen a king and a queen loudly wailing.

Professor Grünwedel (p. 345) takes this to be the story of *Sutasoma* (*Jātaka*, No. 537, *Jātakamālā*, xxxi. etc.) which is also found at Ajaṇṭā,<sup>1</sup> and this at first seems probable. But some doubts seem possible as the prey of the demon is apparently here a small child which does not tally with the *jātaka* where Sutasoma is a grown-up young prince. There is a story of a man-eating ogre converted by Buddha in Chavannes, loc. cit., iii, p. 96 sq., but this does not fit our picture as the child captured by the demon must undoubtedly be a Bodhisattva.

145-8. All these pictures are extremely puzzling as there is very little real difference between them. In all of them it is apparently told how at one time or other the Bodhisattva sacrifices his own blood and flesh for the welfare of some other beings, but the difficulty is to find out precisely what is represented in the different pictures.

In 145 the Bodhisattva is seen sitting on a throne raising his left arm, while a servant is cutting open his left side with a knife, the impression being that he is going to tear out his heart. In 146 the Bodhisattva is again seen sitting on his throne : a small servant is cutting open his right leg while the Bodhisattva himself is holding a bowl into which blood is meant to flow. Behind the servant another small person is seen waiting—probably for the blood in the bowl. In 147 the Bodhisattva clad only in a *dhōṭī* is seen standing in front of a tree ; a small man (possibly a demon) is sitting beside him holding a bowl and pointing at his *dhōṭī* with some pointed instrument. In 148 the Bodhisattva is sitting on a throne (like that in 146) ; behind him is a servant probably cutting flesh out of his back, and beside the throne is a large cooking-pot.

Professor Grünwedel thinks 145 to be the story told in the *Dsanglun*, ii, p. 15, where the Bodhisattva in shape of the wise *Utpala* had his

<sup>1</sup> *J.A.* 1921, i, p. 213 sq.

skin made into parchment, one of his bones into a stylus and his blood into ink in order to take down a *subhāṣita*. But this, for apparent reasons, is impossible : unfortunately, the present writer is just as little able to identify the picture, but the solution should apparently be found in a story where, for some reason or other, the Bodhisattva sacrifices his own heart.

In 146 we should, according to the same authority, see the *Maitrībala-jātaka* (*Jātakamālā*, viii).<sup>1</sup> in which the Bodhisattva, as king *Maitrībala*, has his veins opened in order to satisfy the craving for blood of five ogres (*yakṣa*). That there are here only two persons instead of five is an objection of no consequence : but it is more important that these persons do not seem at all like demons. It seems much more probable that we ought to connect the picture with this verse in the *Rāṣṭrapālāpariprechā*, p. 24 (No. 24) :—

*vyādhyāturaṃ ca naraṃ īkṣya svam rudhiraṃ pradattam api me  
'bhūt |*

*nirvyādhitāḥ sa ca kṛto me prāgbhava Sarvadarśi yad abhūvam .*

But there seems also to exist another otherwise unknown <sup>2</sup> story of how the Bodhisattva once gave away his one leg, cf. *ibid.*, p. 24 (No. 29) :—

*mṛdu komalaṃ vimalagauram ūru tac chitve dṛṣṭamuditāyā<sup>3</sup> |  
dattam svamāṃsa rudhiraṃ me Jñānavatī yadāsi nṛpaputrī*

In this legend the Bodhisattva was a woman ; but might there not as well have existed a parallel version where he performed the same act of sacrifice as a man ? Our picture might just as well be meant to depict that event.

In 147 Professor Grünwedel suggests that we might find the story of how the Bodhisattva had his whole body perforated and a thousand burning wicks put into the holes.<sup>4</sup> This seems probable enough, although the picture in itself does not give us much information.

As for 148 nothing definite can, unfortunately, be said about it. But the story should be that the Bodhisattva has his own flesh cut out and cooked in order to perform a good deed.

149. In this picture the Bodhisattva is seen kneeling beneath

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Dsanglun*, ii, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Not quite though, as according to Finot, *loc. cit.*, p. viii, it occurs also in the *Samādhirāja*, ch. xxxi.

<sup>3</sup> Read *hrsta*°.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Dsanglun*, ii, p. 5 sq.

a tree, while on the other side a huge man with beard and top-knot approaches with a raised sword in his right hand.

Professor Grünwedel (p. 71) takes this to be a scene from the *Sutasomajātaka*.<sup>1</sup> for what reason is not apparent as there is in this story nothing that especially reminds us of that tale. The story, I venture to believe, is found in Chavannes, loc. cit., i. p. 17 sq., and runs as follows: The Bodhisattva was once a mighty king, called *P'ien-yue*, renowned for his boundless liberality. A wicked ascetic from a foreign country presented himself before the king and asked for his head as he wanted it for a certain object.<sup>2</sup> The king tried to turn him off with an offer of vast wealth, but all in vain. Then we may quote the text itself: "Le roi ne s'était jamais jusqu'alors refusé à aucun des désirs qui lui avaient été exprimés; il descendit donc de la salle, enroula ses cheveux à un arbre et dit: 'Je vous fais don de ma tête'. L'ascète tira son épée et s'avança en marchant rapidement." The king, however, was saved by the intervention of a *vanadevātā*.

The italicized sentences seem to me to describe exactly the scene found in our picture.

153. A man sitting under a tree is seen flaying a small animal while another animal of the same species is seen at some distance. There is a duplicate of this picture described on p. 60, but there the animal is said to be an elephant.

There can be little doubt that this is the story told in the *Dsanglun*, ii. p. 101 sq. A king of Benares sees in his dreams a golden deer and sends his hunters to fetch its skin, threatening them with death and destruction if they fail to bring it. Finally, one of them sees a *Kunta*-deer (the Bodhisattva) which offers itself to be flayed alive in order to save the hunters and their families. The one difficulty is to account for the presence of the second animal in our picture as there is nothing about it in the text.

156. A bear is seen sitting in the entrance of a cave. In front of him is a tree, and on its other side a man is seen bending a bow and taking aim at the bear while in the front part of the picture another man is pointing it out to the bowman.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Jātaka*, v. p. 456 sq.; *Jātakamālā*, xxxi, etc.; and Kern, *Verslagen en Mededeelingen du Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen, afd Letterkunde*, 3de Reeks, v, p. 8 sq.

<sup>2</sup> In the well-known *Vetāla*-tales the wicked Yogin wants the head of King Vikramāditya in order to perform a magic rite.

The story is found in an abbreviated form in the *Rāṣṭrapālāpari-  
prechā*, p. 25 (No. 37) :—

*ṛkṣapatir abhūva śailadurge himahata sapta dināni rakṣito me |  
puruṣa vadhaku tena me prayukto na ca pratighāta kṛtaśca me  
tadāsmiṃ ||*

The same scene is found depicted at Ajaṇṭā<sup>1</sup> and has been identified by Mlle Lalou<sup>2</sup> from Tibetan and other sources. Already M. Finot, in his edition of the *Rāṣṭrapālāpari-prechā*, p. viii, had pointed to its existence in the *Karmaśataka*.<sup>3</sup> The story runs thus: A bear (the Bodhisattva) rescued a man from a snow storm and fed him in his cave for seven days. The man promised not to betray the site of the animal's lair, but, in spite of this, he led hunters to the spot, who killed the bear with their arrows. When the ungrateful wretch was going to carry away his part of the flesh his hands detached themselves from his arms.

159. The Bodhisattva is seen lying in a coffin on the lid of which two men kneel apparently occupying themselves with closing it.

Professor Grünwedel (p. 74) thinks this to be either the *Mūga-pakkhajātaka* (*Jātaka*, vi, p. i sq.) or the story of the Saint Kṛśa Vatsa and the cruel king Daṇḍaki.<sup>4</sup> The latter suggestion is impossible, but the former one might be taken into consideration though there are great difficulties. The story about an old man being buried alive in Chavannes, loc. cit., iii, p. 13, is too vague, nor does it identify the hero with the Bodhisattva though this would be rather an obvious conclusion.

163. A king on his throne surmounted by the royal sunshade. An old emaciated brahmin escorts a Bodhisattva whose hands are tied behind his back towards the throne.

This is the story told in Chavannes, loc. cit., i, p. 41 sq.; ii, p. 59 sq. The Bodhisattva was a king world-famed for his mildness and liberality. As he did not want to fight his enemy conquered his kingdom, and he himself had to resort to the wilderness. There he met an old and poor brahmin who was on his way to ask him for alms. As the Bodhisattva had nothing to give him he exhorted him to put chains on his hands and take him to his enemy who had

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *J.A.* 1921, i, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *J.A.* 1925, ii, p. 335 sq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Feer, *J.A.* 1901, i, p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> On this story cf. Charpentier, *VOJ.* xxviii, p. 227 sq.

offered a substantial reward for his capture. This is precisely the scene of our picture.

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This finishes my very modest list of identifications. There is a number of other ones still to be done, but I must leave that to scholars who are far better conversant with Buddhist lore.

There is one circumstance of some interest which, in this connexion, I should like to point out. We have drawn, Professor Grünwedel and myself, upon different sources for the identification of the pictures. Most of them are found in Indian sources, though the Chinese tales translated by Chavannes have also yielded a good deal of helpful material and will perhaps, on a more careful perusal, yield still more.

But there is one source that seems to me to stand in a peculiar connexion to our pictures and that is the collection of tales occurring in Chinese, Tibetan, and Mongolian versions, and perhaps best known under the name of *Dsanglun*, "der Weise und der Tor." I should like to emphasize that the picture 138 was identified by Professor Grünwedel with the help of a story in the Mongolian *Dsanglun* (not found in the Tibetan version), and that the pictures 143, 153, 155, and 160 all exactly tally with the situations described in the coinciding stories of that work. This remarkable coincidence can scarcely be wholly fortuitous. It proves, in the opinion of the present writer, that the painters of our pictures worked upon texts which were, at least partly, identical with the original underlying the *Dsanglun*.

The history of the *Dsanglun* has been written by Professor Takakusu.<sup>1</sup> According to him the Tibetan (and Mongolian) text is a translation, for obvious reasons dating from after A.D. 632, of the Chinese original, the *Hien-yü-king*, "Tales of the Wise Man and the Fool," which itself exists in two different versions. The original Chinese work was compiled in A.D. 445 from various Indian sources and scarcely presupposes a single Sanskrit original. It is of special interest, in this connexion, to learn that the materials upon which the Chinese translators worked were collected in Central Asia and chiefly at Khotan. For, if that is so we need not feel very much astonished that these Central Asian pictures should tally well with texts originating from that same neighbourhood. Perhaps there once existed, in "Tocharian" or some other Central Asian language, another "*Dsanglun*" which to the artists of these pictures was one of the chief sources of their inspiration.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JRAS.* 1901, p. 447 sq., and M. Sylvain Lévi, *J.A.* 1925, ii, p. 311 sq.



# A BURUSHASKI TEXT FROM HUNZA

By D. L. R. LORIMER

## INTRODUCTION

1. Burushaski, the language of Hunza and Nagir, has not up to the present received any undue measure of attention.

The list of authorities in the *Linguistic Survey of India* is a short one containing only nine items. Of these only three are of serious importance :—

Dr. G. W. Leitner, *The Languages and Races of Dardistan*, Lahore, 1877.

Col. J. Biddulph, *JRAS.*, vol. xvi, pt. i (1884), "The Boorishki Language," being a corrected reprint of the Grammar and Vocabulary of the language, published in his *Tribes of the Hindu Kush*, Calcutta, 1880.

Dr. G. W. Leitner *The Hunza and Nagyr Handbook*, pt. i, Calcutta, 1889.

The Skeleton Grammar in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. viii, pt. ii, Calcutta, 1919, is "based", says Sir George Grierson, "on the Grammars of Colonel Biddulph and Dr. Leitner. It has been carefully revised at Hunza by the Political Munshi, Munshi Ghulam Murtaza, to whom I am indebted for many important corrections."

The Munshi's version of the *Prodigal Son* is dated 1899. I do not know of any original work on the language that has been published since that date.

To those, therefore, who are interested in Burushaski, a short text recently collected may not be without value.

2. When I was in Gilgit as Political Agent for nearly four years, in 1920-4, I devoted most of my spare time to studying and collecting material in Shina and Khowar (Šīna, Khowar), but during the last year or so I was able to give some attention to Burushaski.

I have now worked over my Burushaski texts, which are of considerable bulk, and have roughly extracted the Vocabulary, and am at present occupied in working out the Grammar in detail. This will be a lengthy business as the subject is more complicated than might perhaps be gathered from the existing printed works.

In the present state of affairs fully to annotate a text would involve



practically writing out the whole grammar, but I think it may be possible to offer some notes on a less elaborate scale, which may be of interest to students as throwing a little more light both on the grammar and on the vocabulary of the language.

The task is not without its risks as there is constant danger either of repeating unnecessarily what is already familiar, or of making brief statements which unsupported by sufficient explanation may appear arbitrary or may even be unintelligible. Also, further penetration into the language which elucidates some points keeps presenting new mysteries and problems to view, and not infrequently throws doubt on previous solutions.

3. Before proceeding to the text, it may be advisable to offer a few remarks on some well-known features of Burushaski.

First there is the grouping of the nouns into classes, corresponding in effect to our genders. These are as follows, with the symbols which I use in referring to them :—

- i. Nouns denoting *human beings*
  - (a) of the male sex . . . . . m.h.
  - (b) of the female sex . . . . . f.h.
- ii. Nouns denoting *all animals* of either sex and certain inanimate objects . . . . . x.
- iii. Nouns denoting all the remaining inanimate objects . . . . . y.

Hitherto it has been the custom to denominate the x. class as "masculine" or "neuter-masculine"; and the y. class as "feminine" or "neuter-feminine", but this seems to me both incorrect and misleading, as the one thing which these classes do *not* distinguish, but definitely confound, is sex. (I understand the L.S.I. to say that animals are apportioned between x. and y., according as they are male or female. This is not correct; all animals, male and female, are x.)

On the other hand, after an exhaustive examination of all the nouns available (over 1,800) I have been unable to discover any single general principle governing the differentiation between the x. and y. categories, and hence I am unable to propose any descriptive title for them. One may say that x. includes animals and fruit, and that y. includes liquids and trees, but without proceeding further and still more complicating the question I do not myself see how to devise single terms to distinguish even these few classes of things. For the present, therefore, I prefer to use the non-committal labels x. and y.

The division of nouns into these classes is a radical thing in

Burushaski affecting not only the plural forms of the nouns but also to a considerable extent the inflectional endings of the verbs and sometimes the body of the verb itself.

It may be mentioned here incidentally, that the plural endings of nouns are much more numerous than those previously recorded, and that they are absolutely differentiated as between x. and y. In general x. and h. share plural terminations.

4. Another well-known feature of Burushaski is the series of pronominal prefixes and infixes generally employed agglutinatively with nouns and verbs.

These have been given in slightly differing forms. My opinion is that there is one original set of forms and that modifications are, in the majority of cases, due to the presence of an initial vowel in the word to which they are attached. The matter is, however, obscured and complicated by a tendency for i and ε. and u and o to interchange with each other.

What I believe to be the simple forms of these pronominal prefixes are :—

|            |       | <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Pl.</i> |
|------------|-------|--------------|------------|
| 1st person | . .   | <b>a</b>     | <b>mi</b>  |
| 2nd        | „ . . | <b>gu</b>    | <b>ma</b>  |
| 3rd        | „ . . | <b>i</b>     | <b>u</b>   |
| 3rd f.h.   | . .   | <b>mu</b>    |            |

I cannot here give the forms resulting from the meeting of these with all the vowels, but it appears to me that the following are those which result when the initial vowel in question is **Δ** or **a** :—

|            |       | <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Pl.</i>    |
|------------|-------|--------------|---------------|
| 1st person | . .   | <b>a</b>     | <b>me, mε</b> |
| 2nd        | „ . . | <b>go</b>    | <b>ma</b>     |
| 3rd        | „ . . | <b>e, ε</b>  | <b>o</b>      |
| 3rd f.h.   | . .   | <b>mo</b>    |               |

The vowels may be longer or shorter.

These vowels are of special importance because, as it seems to me, causative verbs are often formed from simple verbs by merely prefixing an **Δ**- or **a**-.

It is unfortunate that this particular series is peculiarly liable to embarrassment by any casual vacillation between i and e, and u and o ; but generally speaking the simple series given above and this series stand consistently opposed to each other.

It is useful to note that when any of these pronominal forms are

used as infixes, which occurs in the case of some verbs with separable initial **d**-, a vowel is inserted between the **d** and **a** following consonant, and the **g** of **gu**- is in that case changed to **k**.

so **d** + **gu** + **uma** (**ama** ?) → **duko'ma** *thou camest*

**d** + **mu** + **umo** (**amo** ?) → **dumo'mo** *she came*

**d** + **i** + **imi** → **di'mi** *he came*

Here the medial **o**'s are, frankly, a difficulty. A straightforward example is :

**disilji** he, or it, will become wet

**həra'ltə dɛ'silji** the rain will wet him (it)

**həra'ltə duko'silji** the rain will wet thee

These verbal forms I would refer to infinitives :

**d̃-silas** to become wet

**d\*-asilas** to make wet

Other similar cases could be quoted.

There is also a similar parallel series of verbs where the causatives or transitives appear to have **-as**- instead of the simple **-a**-.

**\*-wəras** to become tired

**\*-aspəras** to tire v.t.

Individual adverse instances and other difficulties are not lacking, but I would propose it as a hypothesis that where we have

**go, ko** for **gu, ku**

**e, ɛ** „ **i**

**me, mɛ** „ **mi**

whether with nouns or verbs, the prefix has, as a general rule, come up against an inherent **a** or **a**.

5. I have just referred to the change of **gu** to **ku**, when preceded by a vowel. This instance of a media changing to a tenuis is part of a more general phenomenon of which I am not at present prepared to formulate the exact rules (compare also **as** + **wəras** yielding **aspəras** above).

The negative prefix **a**- induces the change media → tenuis e.g. :

**di'mi**, *he came* **ati'mi**, *he did not come*

The **n** plus vowel of the p.pc. commonly has the same effect :

**ganas**, *to take* **nukan**, *having taken*

**bərenas**, *to look at* **nupəran**, *having looked at*

So also the causative **-as** :

**ga'rtsas**, *to run* **\*-askərtsas**, *to make run*

6. The text given below was dictated to me by Jemadar Imam Yar Beg, brother of the present Wazir of Hunza and son of a former

distinguished Wazir, Humayun Beg, a member of the Hunza aristocracy. It may be accepted as the most approved form of the language as spoken in Hunza. That the forms of speech employed in Hunza and Nagir constitute distinct dialects, I am not at present prepared to assert or deny. The Hunza is and the Nagiris lay stress on the difference between their respective forms of speech, but then it is generally asserted that the lingo of each little village or community differs, and the only correct speech is always that of one's informant. The former proposition is doubtless true enough, but whether the difference in the forms of speech even of two such politically distinct communities as Hunza and Nagir is sufficiently great to justify their being called separate dialects is a question that requires further investigation.

The titles of Biddulph's book, *Boorishki (Nager dialect) spoken in Hunza, Nager, and Yassin*, is curiously confused, but seems to imply that he worked on Nagiri material. Leitner, I think, worked with Nagiris. I myself worked only with Hunza men, but I have material obtained from a Nagiri by my wife, which I hope later to collate with my own. My impression is that the differences are superficial.

The form of the language, however, spoken in Yasin under the name of Wəṛəikwaṛ, or Wəṛəikwaṛ, is markedly different and is certainly to be ranked as a distinct dialect. So much I can say from the recollection of a little material, which I was able to collect on the spot, but which I have not yet worked up.

The L.S.I. gives a Wəṛəikwaṛ version of the Prodigal Son under the name of Khan Sahib Abdul Hakim Khan, 1898, but this redoubtable investigator must have been somewhat out of his depth in this particular language, or have failed to make himself clear in recording it, as a casual examination discovers one or two misdivisions of vernacular words and misassignments of English meanings. The text, which is likely sound enough, was probably written out for him in Arabic script by a local friend. But I cannot enter at length into the matter here.

7. As regards the name of the language, my Hunza informants called it Burushaski (Borushaski) and repudiated Biddulph's name "Boorishki". This, however, may well be a Nagirism: Biddulph could scarcely have invented it. Leitner's Khajōna (not. xajōna) is a name only applied to it by foreigners, as is correctly stated in the L.S.I.

In the Yasin word Wəṛəikwaṛ, the -waṛ is a Khovar suffix

meaning "language"; Khowa'r being itself "the language of the Kho". Wə'rək is obviously connected with Wərsəgum, the name of the district. Is the Wərs- a form of the Buruš- of Burušaski?

8. The number of people in Hunza and Nagir who speak Burushaski as their primary language is probably about 20,000. That of those in Yasin whose primary language is Wə'rəkwa'r is probably about 6,000.

The text which follows has the merit of presenting purely indigenous matter.

### Munulom Da'do

Pfaqir Ali sənəs hin hiranə əλa əčam.

Inə i'en bam, i'ik Dərbe'so bilum. Šišpərə tere hurutām bam. Han guntšanolo huyə's Hanuman Mu'n yakalate uyərčər tsu'mi. Huyə's ru'qulo fat no gučami. Gučaiyasər eyenomtse qau manimi: 5 "Dərbe'so! Dərbe'so!" nusen. Ditalimi. Dital bəre'imi ke hin but pa'ki'za dasi'nan əškitsər dumobo.

Inə senomo: "Mi bab'a gor qau əčai" esumo. Sənəsər inə dāsin mutsi nultan i'sə Hanuman Mu'n ya'rər ni'mi. Ni'sər i'sə çişə han hiqan sika manimi. Ulo niči ke hin yenışə salatəje hiran hurutām 10 bai; but mariq mariq talo guşinants sitariq nuka horučām ba'n. Dərbe'so ni'n salām etimi. Inə hire salame juwa'b dumərimi. Dumərin yuguşantser o'simi: "Dərbe'su.ər han həri'pan sitarete 'eyərin." U'e talowə sitariq nuka but uyam učəreka həri'pan 'eyəruman.

15 Munulom Da'du.ə Dərbe'su.ər ə'simi: "Le.i e'i, u'q ar akumanom gir'at. Je u'qə da'do ba. Ja e'ik Munulom Da'do bila. Ku ja aiyuguşants ba'n. Ki'n hin ja o's bo. Kısərə e'pi mutsuya ba. Gute ja ha bila. Gir'at," 'ə'simi. Terumanər Dərbe'so giratimi. Niki'rat hurutasər Munulom Da'du.ə yu'smər senimi: "Ja Dərbe'su.ər giri.ə 20 bi'stse diram pfitimutsik e'r o'ti."

Yu'se e'r di'ām pfitimots e'r o'tomo. Şu'sər Munulom Da'du.ə hin eyenmər hukəm etimi: "Dərbe'so i'mo dişər nitsun fat nə ju."

eyene i'sə Hanuman Montsom di'usin huyə's o'pačər ru'qər ditsuman. Ditsun fat nə ni'mo.

25 Inə Dərbe'su.ə huyə's nuyen həra'yer di'mi. Di'n du'q sus imanimi. Hu'sər walasər huyeltərču.ə doγ'ərusuman:<sup>1</sup> "bə gumanoma?"

Inə Munulom Da'du.ə ha'lər nitsun yuguşants sita'r no'yer egiratome da diram pfitimots giri.ə bi'stse e'sirome əλa or etimi. Uyo'n

<sup>1</sup> The stress accent is to be placed on the vowel following the symbol γ.

haira'n umanuman. Yərum čaɣa ke bilum Šišpər Bərulo Munulum  
 30 Da'do bai nusen. Ki'ne Munulum Da'do Kısəre e'pi mutsu'am, se.iba'n.  
 Kısəre 'e'pi.ε Kısərər ε'sumo : "U'ŋe Bu'buli Gas mutsu'ča ke ja'r ke  
 hiran a'r ditso. Šišpər Bərulo ɣeniše salataŋe hiran bai, se.iba'n.  
 I'ne a'r ditsu ke ja ke u'ŋe gər nala ε'čen."

esasər Kısər ni'či ke hin ɣeniše salataŋe hi'ranε hi'skatε nurut  
 35 pfilaman gi'saçai. I'ne hir Kısəre ε'šatε pfal ne i'mo ha'lər ditsimi.  
 Kısəre e'pi yate tεšatε hurutum bəm. Kısəre ɣeniše salataŋe hi'r  
 ditsas ni'itsin čiše xa sokečam nusen xanəmu'el muya'lmuyə gali bi'm,  
 se.iba'n. Beruman guntšintsum Kısəre e'pimur mil'ənts num'o, warts  
 numotan, Munulum Da'du.ε ka gər etimi. I'mo ke gər etimi, se.iba'n.  
 40 Dərum xa Šišpər Bərulo HANUMAN Muntsum la'o mai.i bila. Mu'to  
 xa doyelja'n.

## TRANSLATION OF ABOVE TEXT

## Munulum Da'do

I shall tell the story of a man called Faqir 'Ali. He had a son, his name was Dərbešo. He was staying at the Šišpər grazing ground.

One day he took the goats off to graze in the direction of HANUMAN Murn. Leaving the goats in the pasture he laid himself down. When he had lain down and was gone to sleep a call came : "Dərbešo ! Dərbešo !" He woke up. Waking up when he looked (he saw that) a very beautiful maiden had (has) come up to his head.

She said to him : "My father is calling you."

When she said this he followed after the girl and came up to the foot of the HANUMAN Murn.

On his approaching it a door opened in the mountain. When he went (goes) in a man with a golden moustache was sitting there, (and) seven very beautiful women were sitting there with "sita'rs".

Dərbešo entering salamed. The man responded to his salam. Having done so he said to his daughters : "Play a tune for Dərbešo on the sita'r." The seven (women) taking their sita'rs (singing) with very sweet voices played a tune. Munulum Da'do said to Dərbešo : "O my son, dance without fearing. I am your grandfather. My name is Munulum Da'do. These are my daughters. This one is my wife. I married Kısər's grandmother. This is my house. Dance !" he said to him.

Upon this Dərbešo danced. When, having danced, he sat down, Munulum Da'do said to his wife : "Make some 'diram' bread with

ibex fat for my Dərbəšo." His wife made "diram" bread for him. When he (D.) had eaten it, Murnolum Da'do commanded one of his daughters (saying) "Take Dərbəšo away to his own place and leave him there and come back". One of his daughters took him out of the HANUMAN Murn and brought him to the pasture ground to the goats. Having brought him (there) she left him and departed.

The (man) Dərbəšo taking the goats came to the camping place. Coming there he became for a short time unconscious. When he came to his senses the herdsmen asked him: "What became of you?"

He told them the story of their taking him to the house of (that) Murnolum Da'do, of (M. D.'s) making his daughters play the sitar, of his being made to dance and then of his being made to eat "diram" bread made with ibex fat.

All were astonished.

There was also an old-time story that Murnolum Da'do is in the Šis̄pər nullah. This Murnolum Da'do had married Kısər's grandmother, they say.

Kısər's grandmother said to Kısər: "When you marry Bu'buli Gās bring a husband for me too. In the Šis̄pər Bər they say there is a man with a golden moustache. You fetch him for me and we shall celebrate my marriage and your marriage at the same time."

On her saying this to him when Kısər proceeded (there), a man with a golden moustache was sitting at a loom weaving a piece of pattoo. Kısər's grandmother was sitting up on the roof. When she saw Kısər bringing the man with the golden moustache, saying "I'll get down the ladder" she fell down and her ribs were broken, they say.

After some days when he had given his grandmother medicine and made her well, Kısər married her to Murnolum Da'do.

He also effected his own marriage, they say.

Up to the present day a halloo comes from HANUMAN Murn in the Šis̄pər Bər. People still hear it.

#### NOTES ON THE ABOVE TEXT

line

- |               |   |                                                                                                                                    |
|---------------|---|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Pfaqir Ali | { | These Muhammadan names are probably comparatively recent importations into what has all the appearance of being a very old legend. |
| 2. Dərbəšo    |   |                                                                                                                                    |

1. **senas** This is the form of the Infin. *to say, to call*, and of the

line

Noun Agent, *sayer*. Here, however, it is equivalent to the English *by name, called*.

cf. note under **εsumo**, l. 7.

**hin** *one*. This form is used only with words denoting human beings. With almost all other nouns, whether of the x. or of the y. class, the form used is **han**. There is a third form **hik** used only with a few y. nouns denoting TIME or OCCASION or MEASURE, e.g.

**hik hεši** one time

and in the phrase **hik kε**, once, one time, once again (here the **kε** is perhaps independent).

The form **hik** is not in general use with all y. nouns as stated by Biddulph and Leitner. In some cases its use appears to be optional. I have :—

**han hisa** *one month*, but also

**hik hisa**

In my texts **han** is the normal form with y. nouns as **han guntsanulo** (l. 3).

**hiranε**, **hir-an-ε** the noun *plus* the suffix of individualness *plus* the genitive suffix: *man-one-of*.

The case endings always follow the **-an-**.

**čaya εčam** *I shall tell (the story). of,*

**čaya, čaya** *story, narrative, statement.*

**čaya εtas** *to make any sort of verbal communication.*

**εčam** 1st sg. future of **εtas** *to do, make, etc.*

pres. base **εč-** perhaps from

**εt-** *plus š.*

**εtas** is used as a general-service verb in combination with nouns and adjectives.

2. **i nε i en bam** *of him a son-of-his was, i.e. he had a son.*

**i en** the noun *\*i* with the 3rd sg. m.h. and x. prefix *i-*, *plus* the suffix of individualness **-an**, **-en**,

*i plus i plus an his-son-one.*

**i ik** *his name, i plus ik* → **i ik** or **i k**

cf. l. 16: *my name, a plus ik* → **e ik**

or **ai ik**

**bilum** the y. form of the 3rd sing. past of the verb *to be*. In Nagiri **dilum** and in Wərcikwar **dolum**.

**Šispar** a tributary valley, I believe, of the Hassanabad



line

Valley which debouches into the main Hunza-Nagir Valley on the north side 5 or 6 miles down-stream from Baltit, the capital of Hunza.

**teɾɛ, teɾ** *jungle, uncultivated ground* with sufficient vegetation on it to afford grazing. Many of the mountain sides are practically devoid of vegetation.

Cf. **ruŋ**, l. 4, note. **teɾɛ** is the genitive form, but this form occasionally occurs as a general oblique, as here, where it seems to have a locative force.

**huru-tam bam** possibly, for the past participle **huru-tum** *seated, sitting*, which is at any rate more usual. The phrase is equivalent to the imperfect, which, if it exists, would be **huru-šimi**.

The conceptions to "sit down" and to "be seated" are apt not to be differentiated. Cf. Mn.P. **niš-asta bu'd** and **šīna be-tus**, *he had sat down, he was sitting*.

**huru-tas**, like these other verbs, covers the ground of *to sit down, to sit, to dwell, to abide, to live, to stay*, etc.

The participle in **-um** in intransitive verbs usually denotes state, not action. In transitive verbs it is usually passive, but sometimes active.

3. **han guntšanulo** (*on*) *one day*. **guntš -an-ulo**. **-ulo** is in general a Locative suffix *in*.

**ulo** used as an independent adverb means *in, into, inside*.

**huyɛ's** a general term, plural, for *goats, goats and sheep, small cattle*. A single animal is **huyɛ'san**. Various ages and sexes, etc., of sheep and of goats are denoted by a number of separate words.

**HANUMAN Mu'n** Proper name of a mountain.

**hanuman** means *alone, by itself*: **hinuman** when used of human beings. It is apparently a derivative of **han** *one*. **-um** is an adjectival suffix, and **-an** the suffix of individualness.

**yakalate** \***-yakal** + **ate** *in the direction of*

**ayakal** *in my direction*

**guyakal** *in thy direction*

the prefix **i-** for the 3rd pers. is not usually distinguished with a word beginning with **y**. The suffix **-ate** means *on, upon, also with, by means of*.

line

**uyərčər**, from **\*-yərAs** *to make graze*, **u-yərč-ər** *them-make-graze-to*. The present base of the verb (here **\*-yərč-**) *plus* the dative suffix **-ər** is very commonly used to denote *in order to, for the purpose of*.

‡ **ruṇpulo**. **ruṇ** has the same general meaning as **teṛ**, line 2. It may be a foreign synonym, as it is used also in Šīṇa. The genitive of each : **ruṇɛ**, **teṛɛ** is used as an adjective, meaning *wild* as opposed to *domesticated*.

**fat no**. **fat etAs** *to let go, leave, set loose, abandon*, etc. **fat** is also used in Šīṇa.

**etAs** is really the form of a pronoun-prefix verb **\*-atAs** when its direct object is in the 3rd person singular, m.h., x., or y. This verb has two forms of past participle active :

**n\*-atAn** and **n\*-A**

So we get :

**n + i + atAn** and **n + i + A** → **netAn** and **nɛ**  
*having made, or done it.*

**n + mu + atAn** and **n + mu + A** → **numo'tan** and **numo**  
*having made her*, v. l. 38.

**n + u + atAn** and **n + u + A** → **no'tan** and **no**  
*having made them.*

**gučami** 3rd sing. preterite m.h., x., and y. of **gučaiyAs**, present base **gučāč-** *to lie down, to lie down to sleep*, (of a woman) *to be brought to bed, to be delivered*. **-ami** replaces the usual **-imi** as the 3rd sing. preterite ending when the verbal base ends in **-a** or **-ai**. Verbs with a base in **-u** (and a few others optionally, e.g. **ɣula's**) have **-u'mi**. Cf. in this line **tsu'mi** from **tsu'yAs**.

**gučaiyAsər**. Infinitive plus dative suffix **-ər**, *on his lying down, when he had lain down*. A very common idiom used to denote the sequence of acts done by different persons. "On A's doing something, B then did so and so." See the examples ll. 7, 8, 19, 21, 26, and 34.

**e'yenomtɛ**. Past participle in **-om** *plus* **tɛ** *on his going asleep, or being asleep*.

The verb is **\*-ayenAs** *to go to sleep*

**i + ayenom** → **e'yenom** *he being asleep*

**mu + ayenom** → **mo'yenom** *she being asleep*

line

**-tsɛ** is a suffix in common use with nouns and noun-equivalents in a variety of senses, perhaps most frequently that of *motion into contact with, upon, on*.  
**qau manimi** a loud cry, call, shout, hail, became.

The use of **mana's** corresponds to that of those verbs which in certain other languages combine the functions of the English *to be*, and *to become*, e.g. Hind. **ho'na**, Pers. **šudān**, Pa. **šwul**, Šina **bo'iki**, Khowa'r **bi'k**. It provides amongst other things the intransitive equivalent of **ɛtas** in compound verbal expressions, e.g.

**qau ɛtimi** he raised a shout, he called

**qau manimi** a shout occurred (i.e. was raised, heard, etc.)

5. **nusen** *having said, saying*, past participle of **senas** *to say*; here equivalent to marks of quotation dependent on **qau manimi**. In Šina **thɛ**, the ppc. of **tho'iki** *to do, say*, is similarly used. In Khowa'r, I think, **re**, *having said*, is also so used.

**di'talimi** *he awoke*. Infinitive **d\*-talas**. This is an example of an intransitive pronoun-prefix verb with a movable initial **d-**, of which there are a number.

The agglutinative pronoun corresponding to the subject of the verb is inserted between the **d-** and the body of the verb and is preceded when necessary by an epenthetic vowel. So :

**da'talam** I awoke

**dukutaluma** thou awokest

**di'talimi** he awoke

**domutalumo** she awoke, etc.

Transitive **d-** verbs (frequently causatives) have as a rule an **\*-a** or **\*-as** preceding the body of the verb. The inserted pronoun corresponds to the direct object of the verb. So :

**d\*-ast(s)alas** to make awake, awaken (trs.)

**dɛ:st(s)alam** I awakened him

**doko:st(s)alam** I awakened thee

**atast(s)al** (**a + dast(s)al**) don't thou awaken me

(The **(s)** following the **t** is of no grammatical significance.)

**d\*-manas** to come into being, be born

d\*-**asmanas** to give birth to, create  
 i'nemutsum tha a hundred sons were born of  
 muyu' dumanuman her  
 a'ltu muyu' do'smano bo'm she had given birth to twinsons.

There are, however, a few verbs in d\*-**-a-** which do not appear to be transitive or to be regarded as transitive, e.g.

d\*-**ayasas** to laugh  
 duko'γašuma thou wilt laugh  
 de'γaši he will laugh

Similarly

d\*-**ašqaltas** to arrive

The presence of an **-a-** (or **-a-**) appears to me to be postulated by the **o** and **ε** in place of **u** and **i** in the pronominal infixes, as already stated in the introduction § 4.

di-tal *he having awakened* (intrs.) ppc. of d\*-**talas**. There are three principal kinds of participles in Burushaski:

i. Present participle, consisting of the present base + **ume**, e.g. **εcume** *doing*.

ii. The participle in **-um** formed of the past base + **-um** (**-m** where the base ends in a vowel).

iii. The participle active, occurring in several forms.

No. i denotes continuing action contemporaneous with another action. It is not very common.

No. ii provides the passive participles of transitive verbs, but it seems also to be used at times with an active sense.

In the case of intransitive verbs it occurs most often with case suffixes in phrases of which the nearest English rendering would be of the form: *on this* + pres. pc., e.g. "on this happening". "on his going away".

**guke faš manu'mər ju'čam**, on this (grain) being finished, i.e. when this is finished, I shall come back.

Generally speaking this participle indicates, I think, a state or condition, which has been induced by, or has resulted from, some preceding action.

No. iii records an action as preceding, or leading up to another action. It is equivalent to English "having come", "having said", etc., but is also used where English would less accurately employ the present participle, e.g. "saying this, he went away", "sitting down

he fell asleep". This ppc. seems only to be used when the subject of the ppc. and of the following verb is the same.

My present object, however, is not to discuss at length the use of these participles but merely to describe the forms in which the 3rd of them appears.

These are :

- (a) **n** (+ vowel) + past base + **-i'n**, or **-n**.
- (b) **n** (+ vowel) + past base, or past base less a final **n**.
- (c) past base + **i'n**, or **-n** (occasionally **-ni'n**).
- (d) the simple past base.

The past base is seen in the infinitive of the verb when the termination **-as** or **-a's** is removed.

When the verb is one that takes a pronoun-prefix this is placed after the initial **n**- when that is present.

Examples :

- (a) **etas** to do, **n-et-an** having done (**-an** for **i'n** is unusual).

See also note on line 4 above **fat no**.

**\*-tsuyas** to take away

|                  |                             |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>natsun</b>    | having taken me away        |
| <b>nitsun</b>    | having taken him, it, away  |
| <b>nama'tsun</b> | having taken you (pl.) away |

**\*-etsas** (**\*-yetsas**, **\*-itsas**) to see

|                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| <b>nai.etsin</b>  | having seen me      |
| <b>ni'itsin</b>   | having seen him, it |
| <b>noku'itsin</b> | having seen thee    |

**o'sas** to set down, place

|                               |               |
|-------------------------------|---------------|
| <b>no'sin</b> and <b>no's</b> | having placed |
|-------------------------------|---------------|

Verbs with past base ending in **-a** (**-ai**) have **-an**, **-en**  
**huljaiyas** to mount (a horse)

|               |                        |
|---------------|------------------------|
| <b>nuljen</b> | having mounted, riding |
|---------------|------------------------|

**\*-a.uljaiyas** to cause to mount

|                 |                   |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| <b>ne'uljan</b> | making him mount  |
| <b>no'ljan</b>  | making them mount |

**dayai.as** to hide intransitive

|                                  |                          |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| <b>not'ayan</b> , <b>notayan</b> | having hidden (oneself), |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------|

secretly, etc.

- (b) **giratas** to dance

|                 |               |
|-----------------|---------------|
| <b>niki'rat</b> | having danced |
|-----------------|---------------|

**horu'tas** *to sit (down)*

**nur'ut** having sat (down), sitting

**gutsəras** *to proceed*

**noku'tsər** having proceeded, proceeding

**\*-wəlas** *to fall*

**niwəl** he having fallen

**nəmu'el** (l. 37) she having fallen

= **numu'wəl**

With loss of final -n

**senas** *to say*

**nusen** and **nuse** having said

**ganas** *to take* (v. articles)

**nukan** and **nuka** (l. 13) having taken

**mana's** *to become*

**numan** and **numa** having become

(c) Many verbs with initial **d-** which seems to be a bar to the **n-** prefix.

**du'sas** *to go out*

**du'sin** having gone out

**di'usas** *to take* (him. it) *out*

**di.usi'n** having taken (*him, it*) out

**du'nas** *to seize*

**du'nin** having seized

**ditsas** *to bring* (him. it x.)

**ditsun** having brought (him. it x.)

**dutsas** *to bring* (them h. and x.)

**dutsun** having brought (them h. and x.)

**d\*-əyəlas** *to hear*

**də'yəlin** and he having heard

**də'yəl**

**di.eyas** *to stand up*

**di.ən** having stood up, standing up

**niyas** *to go*

**na'n** I having gone

**nuko'n** thou having gone

**ni'n** he having gone

**ju'yas** *to come*, past base **d\*-** or **d\*-ə-**?

**da'n** I having come

**di'n** he having come

line

In the two last verbs one may also have *-ni'n*, e.g.  
*na'ni'n, ni'ni'n, di'ni'n.*

(d) we have *di'tal* in the text.

*duso'kas* to dismount, descend

*duso'k* having dismounted, descended. etc.

*d\*-ayelas* to hear

*de'yel* he having heard

*dumo'yal* she having heard

*d\*-aşqaltas* to arrive

*do'sqalt* they having arrived

*bəre'mi kε*, when he looks (he sees that . . .) reproduces the  
 Shina idiom *čakai to* . . . in grammar and meaning.

6. *ε'skitsər* *ε'ski + tse + ər*

*\*-aşki* bed-head, pillow

7. *ba'ba* father. This word is only used in Royal Families. The  
 corresponding word for mother is *zizi*.

These terms are in use in Shina and, I think, also in  
 Khowar

*go'r to thee.* *gu + ər* equivalent to *u'ər*.

*εsumo* she said to him.

Third Sing. f.h. pret. of *\*-asas* pres. base *\*-aş-* to say, to tell.

The pronoun prefix refers to the indirect object. Cf.

l. 12 *o'simi* he said to them

ll. 15, 18 *ε'simi* he said to him

l. 31 *εsumo* she said to him

l. 34 *ε'sasər* on (her) saying (this) to him

The impv. is *\*-aso*, the ppc. act. is *n\*-asun*.

Pres. *go'sa ba* I say to thee.

The alternative verb *senas* to say, say to, also to call  
 (v.n. 1), takes no pronoun prefix :

Pres. base *se.i-*, *sey-* gives *se.iba'n* they say (ll. 30, 32, 38)

Past base *sen-* gives *senumo* she said (l. 7)

*senimi* he said (l. 14)

Ppc. act. *nusen* having said (ll. 5, 30)

8. *mutsi noltan*, ppc. of *\*-tsi taiyas* pres. base *tač-* *təč-* to follow  
 after (someone).

*taiyas* (*thaiyas*?) used alone, means to pull on, draw  
 on (socks, boots, etc.). There is an alternative form

*\*-ltaiyas* and causative *\*-altaiyas*

line

The ppc. of *\*-ltaiyas* and also of *taiyas* in both its meanings is *nultan*.

There are one or two other pronoun-prefix verbs with this quasi initial *-lt-* and it occurs in a number of nouns.

*ya'rər* *ya're* + *ər* *to below*.

*ya're* *below*, but also *in front of*, *in the presence of*, is perhaps itself an oblique form of *ya'r* which also occurs.

*çiṣe* *çiṣ* *mountain* is also the ordinary word for mountain in Shina. This is the genitive form, but is probably the general oblique: *a door opened in the mountain*.

*han hiṇan* *a door*. One may say: *hiṇan*, or *han hiṇ*, or *han hiṇan*.

9. *u'lo niči ke* a stock grammatical form: *when he goes in*, *on his going in*.

This 3rd pers. sing. in *-i* is neither the ordinary form of the present *ničai* nor of the future *ničimi*.

*salataṇe* *salat* *moustache*. The suffix *-aṇe* is not very common, but is used as here meaning "with", "possessing", and also regularly in a few stock idioms. E.g.

*i'kəreṇe samba etimi* *he thought to himself*

10. *maṛiṇ*, or *maṛiṇ* *good*, *fine*, *superior*; here probably "fine", i.e. *beautiful*. The reduplication has here probably a distributive force—each of the seven was beautiful.

*nuka* ppc. act. of *ḡanas* *to take* (y. objects).

*huru'čam ba'n* *are sitting*. *huru'čam* is the counterpart of *huru'tum*. There are two forms of the past base of the verb *to sit*:

| Infinitive             | Pres. base.                       | Impv.              | Ppc. Act.       | Ppc. Static.    |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>huru'tas</i>        | <i>huru's-</i>                    | <i>huru't</i>      | <i>n'u'rut</i>  | <i>huru'tum</i> |
|                        |                                   | <i>huru</i>        |                 |                 |
| ( <i>huru'čaiyas</i> ) | pl. <i>huru'ča'in</i>             | <i>n'u'ru'ča'n</i> | <i>huru'čam</i> |                 |
|                        | 3rd pl. pret. <i>huru'čaman</i>   |                    |                 |                 |
|                        | 3rd pl. perf. <i>huru'ča ba'n</i> |                    |                 |                 |

11. *du'mərimi* here appears to mean *he granted*, *accorded*, but *du'məras* normally means *to demand*, *ask for*.

There is another verb *duma'γas* or *dumaγas* meaning *to come to terms*, *be reconciled*, and (with *\*-tsi*) *to suit*, *fit*.

Perhaps the *du'mərimi* is a mistake for *dumaγimi*. In English "to accord" (to be in harmony) and "to



line

accord " (to grant) we have a parallel to two very different ideas being covered by one word.

12. o'simi v.n. *esumo*, l. 7.

sita'retε, sita'r + *Δtε* on the sitar, or with the sitar. v.n. *yakalatε*, l. 4.

13. 'ε'γərin *play ye it!* i + *Δγərin* from \**Δγəras* to play (music, or an instrument).

uěəreka u + čəre + ka. \*čər voice, sound, noise. This use of a plural prefix with a noun in the singular is not uncommon.

ka is a postposition taking the oblique form of the noun. Its usual meaning is *along with, in company with*. It is also used adverbially. The text seems to mean that they sang with sweet voices and accompanied themselves with sitars.

15. *Munolum*, Mu'n + *olum* of the *Mun*. -*olum* is *olo* in + *um*, an adjectival or ablative suffix. It can mean *from inside*, or be used as an adjectival ending denoting *pertaining to*.

Da'do grandfather, also generally *old man*, is also used in *Shina*.

le.i! an exclamation used in addressing or calling the attention of men.

ar aku'manum gir'at *thou, not being afraid, dance!*

ar a + gu + manum

a is the negative particle used with verbs. *gumanum* is the 2nd sing. form of the -um participle of \**manas*. It is sometimes used in imprecations apparently with the force of the optative, but here it is probably simply participial and essentially adjectival.

ar, ar occurs in *Shina*: ar bo'iki to be startled, to start, to shy (of a horse).

e.i my son. a + i. Cf. n. i'en, l. 2.

16. ja e'ik of me my name. a + i'k. Cf. i'ik, l. 2.

The possessive genitive is usually expressed in addition to the prefix.

ku or ku'ε these (of human beings only), pl. of ki'nε or ki'n.

The x. forms are sg. *guse* pl. *gutε*

The y. forms are sg. *gute* pl. *guke*

line

There are also the following less common forms for x. and y.

x. sg. ko's pl. ko'ts

y. „ ko't „ ko'k

The corresponding remoter demonstrative : **Y** *that, those*

h. sg. i'nε or i'n pl. u'ε, or u

x. „ i'sε „ i'tsε

y. „ i'tε „ i'kε

and the subsidiary forms are

x. sg. ε's, ε'sε pl. ε'ts

y. „ ε't, ε'tε „ ε'k, ε'kε

All the above are used both as adjectives and pronouns.

17. **aiyu'gušants** *my daughters* a + **yugušants**

**\*yugušants** is the pl. of **\*-Δ.i**

**o's** *my wife* a + **u's** from **\*-u's**.

Cf. **yu'smur**, l. 22, and **yu'sε**, l. 24.

**Kisəre** **Kisər**, the hero of the "Kesar Saga". of which I have a version in Burushaski.

**e'pi** *his grandmother* i + **Δpi**.

**\*-Δpi** *grandfather or grandmother*.

**mutsuya ba** *I have married her*, perf. of **\*-tsuyas** *to carry off, to marry*.

18. **ε'simi** v.n. **εsumo**, l. 7.

**te'romanər** from **te'rum**, **te'roman**, *so much, so many*.

**te'romanər** "at so much", i.e. *at this point, upon this, thereupon*, indicates the immediate sequence of an action. Shina offers a parallel expression with a similar meaning in **Δča'kər**, **ai.a'kər**, **Δča'kəmaja**, **ai.a'kəmaja**. The **-ər** suffix in Shina is locative, corresponding to Burushaski **-ulo**, **maja** means *middle, between*; in the latter sense it is equivalent to Burushaski **hərəŋj**.

The resemblance to Hindustani **itnemē** *meanwhile* is close, but the meaning is different.

**niki-rat** **horutəsər** *when D., having danced, sat down* M.D. said "..."

Note again the unvoicing of the **g** of **giratas** when preceded by a vowel; the use of the ppc. act. when the subject is the same as that of the following verb and the use of the infin. plus. **-ər** when the subject of the following verb (**sənimi**) is different.

line

19. **yu'smur** *to his wife* **i** + **u's** + **mu** + **ər**.

**-mu-** (for **-mo**?) appears in the oblique forms of f.h. nouns and pronouns in the singular. The dative ending is always **-mur**, which is apparently hostile to my theory that **u** + **Δ**, **ə** → **o**, unless there is an effective difference between **u** and **u**.

20. **bi'stse** the somewhat illusive suffix **-tse** again. Cf. l. 4 **e'yenumtse**. It here seems to mean "made with", but perhaps the idea is "on a foundation or background of fat".

**diram pfiti** cake of thick bread made of *diram*, wheat which has been damped, covered up, and allowed to sprout, after which it is dried and ground.

**pfitimutsik pfiti** + **x**. pl. suffix **-muts** + **ik**. **-ik** is a sort of general plural suffix seldom used except with nouns which are plural but have not a specifically plural form, **sis-ik** *people*, **mən-ik** *who?* (pl.). The sense seems to be "a quantity of", "a number of".

**e'r** *for him*. **i** + **ər**. v. Introduction § 4.

The prefixal pronouns are used independently in the dative, i.e. plus **-ər**, and with a few postpositions:—

**\*-Δka** *with*

**\*-tsi** *various meanings*

**\*-tsimo** *from*

**o'ti** *make them* impv. sing. of **u** + **\*-Δtas**

21. **yu'se** *his wife*. The extended nominative ("agential") **yu's** + **ε**, used when the noun is the subject of a past base tense, and sometimes of a present base tense, of a transitive verb. The form is based on the ordinary nominative, and not on the oblique base of the noun as is shown by the f.h. sg. nouns, these forms not having the oblique **-mu-**, **yu'se** not **yu'smu-ε**. Cf. **e'yene**, l. 23.

**e'r . . . e'r** one of these **e'r**'s is redundant. This vain repetition is common. Cf. ll. 31-2, **ja'r . . . a'r**.

**o'tumo** *she made them* **u** + **Δtumo** from **\*-Δtas**.

**ʃu'Asər** *when he had eaten*. Infin. + **ər**.

The word "to eat" appears in three forms according to the nature of the object eaten. When the latter is

line

x. sg. the vb. is *ši'as* pres. base *ši'č-*x. pl. the vb. is *šu'as* „ „ *šu'č-*y. sg. or pl. is *še'as* „ „ *še'č-*22. *hin e'yenmör* to-one-his-daughter-one. i.e. *to one of his daughters**i + a.i + an + mü + är**nitsun* *having taken him away* ppc. of *\*-tsuyas*.*ju* impv. of *ju'yas* *to come*, frequently used for *come back*, *return*.23. *e'yene* *his daughter* extended nom. *i + a.i + an + ε*.*huyε's o'pacär* *to beside, to the presence of*, i.e. *to the goats*.*u + apači + är*

*\*-apači* is regularly used with the appropriate pronoun prefix to denote "in the presence of" and "in the possession of" a living being. With the suffix *-är* it indicates approach to persons. The preceding noun or pronoun is not inflected except in one form.

*ja apači* *in my possession**ditsuman* 3rd pl. pret. should be 3rd sg. f.h. *ditsumo*.

The verb "to bring" appears, like *ši'as*, in three forms according to the nature of the object brought :

Object h. or x. sg. *ditsas* pres. base *diš-*„ h. or x. pl. *dutsas* „ „ *duš-*„ y. sg. or pl. *duyuyas* „ „ *duyuč-*

24. *ditson* *having brought him* ppc. of *ditsas*. The *u* is probably to be accounted for by the fact that there is an *o* or *u* hanging about the word : The impv. being *ditso*—*ditso.in*. Similarly there is *\*-asas* *to say to*, impv. *\*-aso*—*\*-asu.in*, ppc. *n\*-asun*.

*ni-mo* *she went*, 3rd sing. f.h. pret. of *niyas*. The *-u-* of the suffix *-umo* as of the pc. suffix *-um*, disappears after *i*.

25. *nuyen* *having taken them*, ppc. of *\*-yanas* *to take* (plural object which must be h. or x.).

So : *niyen* *taking him, it**nomuyen* *taking her*

These participles are commonly used where we should say *with it, them, or her*. Cf. Hindustani *le'kar* (*a'ya*).

*ganas* pres. base *gai(y)-* is the parallel verb *to take* used when the object taken is y. sg. or plur. The ppc. is *nukan* or *nuka* (invariable).

line

Of **\*-YANAS** there is a causative form **\*-AYANAS** to *cause someone to take up, or carry* (h. or x. object). It also seems to come to mean *to load upon*. It is rather a difficult verb.

Its ppc. is **NE·IYEN** *making him take*  
**NUMO·YEN** *making her take*  
**NO·YEN** *making them take*  
 etc.

**həra·γ.** a temporary camping place used when cattle are taken to the remoter pasture grounds. Rough pens and shelters are put up.

The word in the form of **hərai** occurs in what amount to locality names in Shin territory indicating customary summer camping grounds in the higher reaches of the side valleys.

The **γ** in Burushaski is an illusive sound which I failed to diagnose or master. It seemed to me as a rule more like to faint **γ** than anything else. But I have occasionally seemed to hear something of an **l** or an **r**. My informants wanted me to take it as **y** which I could not conscientiously do. Biddulph in some cases has **w**, e.g.:

**bowom** *mare* for my **baγom**

**du·ŋ** *a short space of time*, also in common use in Shina.

**sus** *unconscious*, presumably Persian **sust**, also used in Shina with the same meaning.

26. **hu·śər walaśər** *on coming to his senses*. **walaś** *to fall*. One may say also

**hu·śər juyas** *to come to one's senses*

**huyəltərco** pl. of **huyəlterts** *herdsman*.

**doγərusuman** *they asked*. Infin. **doγ'ARUSAS** or **duγARUSAS** *to question someone, inquire*, is commonly used as a simple verb, but sometimes it takes a pronoun infix relating to the person questioned:

Infin. **d\*-AγARUSAS** **dē·γurusumo** *she asked him*.

**duko·γurasasər daiya ba** *I have come to ask thee*, but also **i·nē dasinmutsum doγarusumi** *he inquired of the girl*.

**bē gumanuma?** *what didst thou become?* i.e. *what happened to thee?* *What became of thee?* *what has happened to thee?*

line

There are three forms of the verb *to become*.

mana's            \*-manas            \*-amanas

There does not appear to be any radical distinction between the first and second, but perhaps the second is more generally used when the object is human. Ct. l. 34.

haira'n umanuman    *they were amazed*

The meaning of 1 and 2 is *to be, to become*. The third means *to be able, to be capable of*. It is used absolutely or governing a verb in a form identical with that of the 3rd sing. optative. This form is probably, however, a kind of verbal noun :

hanjil dutsuṣ gomaima    *wilt thou be able to fetch*  
(dutsas) charcoal ?

e'maimi    *he will be able (to do something)*

The corresponding forms of \*-manas are, of course, gumaimi and imaimi.

The verb "to be", "to become" is similarly used both in Shina and Khowar with the meaning "to be able".

26. i-ne Munulom Da'du.ε . . . εtimi. This sentence is full of grammatical problems or, to put it more bluntly, it appears to defy and rise superior to grammar. Theoretically it should all be dependent on čaγa or εtimi *he told them the story of, he told them how, he told them about*.

Da'du.ε is probably gen. and i-ne probably qualifies it. A subject has then to be supplied for nitson, but I do not see how nitson can be grammatically connected with čaγa εtimi or anything else.

"(her or their) having carried him off to the house of that Munulom Da'do . . . he told them about it."

27. no-γar must be taken as a causative. \*-Aγaras means normally simply *to play* (music, or an instrument) but yu'guśants must be the accusative ; otherwise, if it were the subject of no-γar it should be the extended nominative yu'guśantse, and sitar being singular the participle would be ne-γar not no-γar.

Hence : "(M.D.) having made his daughters play the sitar—he told them about it."

line

**e'giratume** appears to be the genitive of the passive participle of the causative of **giratas** *to dance* "of him (Derbæso) being made to dance". Note here :—

28. **e'sirume** similarly "of him being made to eat". **\*-asiras** is equivalent to Engl. *to feed*. If it is causative, as seems probable, the meaning would be "to make someone eat something". The causatives of transitive verbs in Burushaski are, I think, causative active, and not, as in Shina, causative passive.

Cf. the Shina

**reset tiki khai.əro'iki** = *to cause bread to be eaten by (to) him*.

The use of these two ppc.s as dependent genitives is surprising.

27. **ha'lər** **ha + ale + ər** *house-at-to*. This is the form always used for *to the house*.

28. **da** *then, again, and more, further, in addition*.

**uyo'n** strictly "they all" is generalized so as to be used even with a singular noun in the sense of *all of, the whole of*: **šapik uyo'n** *all the bread, the whole of the bread*: but with *we* and *you* (pl.) the appropriate prefix has to be used :—

(mi) **miyo'n** *we all, all of us*

(ma) **maiyo'n** *you all, all of you*

29. **yərom** either ablative "from former times" or adjectival "pertaining to former times". *There is also a report from former times, or, There is also an old-time story*.

**bərolo** **bər** *a side valley, or gorge in the mountains, a "nullah"*.

30. **M. Da'do . . . mutsu'am** *M.D. had married her*. The extended nominative **Da'du.ə** would be more correct.

31. **urje** extended nominative with a present tense.

**Bu'buli Gas** **gas** *princess*. According to the Burushaski version of the Kesar Saga Bubuli Gas was a princess of Baltit in Hunza whom Kiser married at one stage of his career.

**mutsu'ča ke** *when thou marriest her*. **ke** may mean *when* as well as *if*.

**ja'r . . . a'r**. Cf. **er . . . e'r**, l. 21.

line

33. *i'ne a'r ditsu ke* . . . a clause containing the imperative with *ke* followed by one containing a verb in the future tense, constituting together something of the nature of a conditional sentence, is common in Burushaski, as also in Shina. The construction is about equivalent to Engl.: "you bring it and I'll give you sixpence." So here:

*You bring him to me, and we'll celebrate our marriages together.*

*gər* marriage is also used in Shina.

*nala* together, simultaneously, is also used in Shina.

34. *hi'sk* means loom and also comb.

*nurut* having sat, sitting, pc. of *hurutas*. The loss of initial *h* is general in similar cases. So:

*huljaiyas* to mount *nuljen* having-mounted

35. *pfilaman pfilam + an* a piece of homespun. "pattoo."

*gi'sačai* the present base of all verbs in *-ayas*, *-aiyas* is of this form. E.g.:

*bišaiyas* to throw, etc. *bišačai* he throws. The *-a-* tends to become *-æ-*.

*ε'šate* on his neck \**-aš + ate*. One would rather expect *i'mo ε'šate* on his own neck.

*pfal etas* to throw. Shina has *pfal tho'ki*.

36. *yate te'sate* upon the roof. *te'si* is the roof viewed from outside, the external roof. So also in Shina.

- 36-37. *Kisere ditsas ni'itsin* having seen him, Kiser, bring him. Note the extended nominative with the infinitive.

37. *čişe xa* down by the ladder, down the ladder. *xa* adv. down.

I am uncertain of the correct spelling of this word for "ladder", "bier", and of that for "mountain" (v. l. 8). They raise the difficult question of "advanced" and "retracted" sounds, i.e. of sounds made with the tongue in a relatively advanced or retracted position.

Like Shina, Burushaski possesses a double series of advanced and retracted sounds and also of aspirates and non-aspirates (see my articles on the Phonetics of the Gilgit Dialect of Shina, *JRAS.*, January, April, 1924, and Dr. Grahame Bailey's and my note on the Sounds of Shina in the *BSOS.*, Vol. III, Part IV, 1925).



But I do not think that such a degree of retraction is practised in Burushaski as is sometimes found in Shina. Both these words occur in Shina, and Dr. Grahame Bailey in his *Grammar of the Shina Language*, gives the forms in that language as :

chīś      *mountain*

chīc(h)    *ladder*

My Shina informants represented the words as :

čhīś      *mountain*

čīc      *ladder*

All I can vouch for myself is that there were retracted sounds in both words, amounting in the word čhīś to what might be reckoned "cerebral" according to the stricter application of that word. Of aspiration I could not judge.

It is probable that the Burushaski forms correspond essentially to the Shina ones, though the retraction and aspiration may be less pronounced.

sokεcām nusen *saying to herself* "I will descend". nusen is used to indicate thought or intention. In Shina, the, *saying*, is similarly used.

Sokas is one of the few verbs which appear with and without a prefixed d- :—

so'kas    dusukas    *to descend, dismount*

su'yas    dusu'yas    *to bring*

\*-aras    d\*-aras    *to send*

Whether the d- has any special force might be made a subject of investigation.

xanəmu'el so recorded for : xa n-umu'-wal *down she having fallen*, from the verb \*-walas.

muya'lmuyo *her ribs*, pl. of \*-ya'lmun. x. nouns ending in -n usually form the plural by substituting -yo.

gali birn plup. of galas v.i. *to break, be broken*

yalas v.t. *to break* (something)

is the corresponding transitive verb.

There are one or two pairs of verbs similarly differentiated in form, but for a different purpose, the g- form being used when the object is of the y. class, and the y- form when the object is of the x. class :—

line

e.g. **gaŋas** and **yaŋas** *to take***čap gaŋ** *take meat* (y.)**tubaq yaŋ** *taking the gun* (x.)

38. **beruman guntsiŋtsum** *after some days*, abl. pl. of **gunts**. The ablative with the sense of *after* is also found in Shina :

Sh. **kača:k dε:ziŋo** *after some days***milents** pl. of **mili** *medicine***numo** cf. no. l. 4. Abbreviated ppc. of **\*-atās** with f.h. sing. object, "having medicined her."

39. **numo'tan** the corresponding full form of ppc. of **\*-atās**.

**wa'rts** *in good order, right, repaired, well*.**wa'rts, warts** is also used in Shina (and Khowar ?)The opposite of **wa'rts** is in Burushaski.**apa'rts, aparts** *in wrong way, inside out, perverse*. In Shina (and Khowar ?) **nawa'rts**.

**Da'du.ε ka** *he married her with* (i.e. *to*) *M. Dardo*. Here, as in many cases, **εtas** regards only the noun with which it is used in composition, and does not adapt itself to the direct object of the verbal compound. So here :

**gər εtimi** *he married her to . . .*, not, **gər mo'timi**.

40. **dərum xa xa** *up to dərum xa up to now*, equivalent to **mu'to xa**, l. 40.

In Shina **dərum** is used with the sense *yet, still*.Sh. **dərum . . . nε** *not yet***dərum bo'siŋ** *up to now, still*.**do'yełja'n** *they hear* 3rd pl. pres. of **d\*-ayēlas d + u + ayēłja'n**.

**d\*-ayēlas** is remarkable as being a transitive verb which has a pronominal infix that agrees with the subject and not the direct or indirect object.

## CORRIGENDUM

24. **ditson**

The h. and x. verb is **d<sup>+</sup>-tsas** taking the full range of pronominal infixes, e.g., **duku'tsas**, *to bring thee*, **dumu'tsas**, *to bring her*.



## NOTES ON DARDIC

By R. L. TURNER

### I

#### INTERVOCALIC DENTALS IN SHINA AND KALASHA

1. In drawing attention to some of the archaic features of Khowar (*Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, p.71), Dr. Morgenstierne says: "The preservation of *t* as *r* . . . is a very archaic feature, with parallels only, to some extent, in Shina, some Kohistani dialects and Romany."

2. The comparison with Romani is just, particularly if the Syrian dialect is considered, in which also *-t-* appears as *r*, while in the European and Armenian dialects it has become *l*. The comparison with Shina and the Kohistani dialects is very doubtful. This language, like the closely related Kashmiri, presents the usual Indo-Aryan treatment of intervocalic *-t-*, namely its disappearance. This is clear from the following examples<sup>1</sup> :—

3. Guresi dialect *alāu* m. bonfire, *lei* f. torchwood (*ālātām*) ; *kon̄yi* comb (*kānkataḥ*) ; *gōu* he went (*gataḥ*) ; *dī* daughter (*duhitā* or *dhītā*) ; *pēi* falls (*pātati*), *bāus* I-was (*bhūtāḥ*) ; *mā* mother (*mātā*) ; *bēu* willow (*vetasāḥ*) ; Kohistani dialect *śyō* white (*śvetāḥ*) ; *squ*, Koh. *sēu* bridge (*sētuh*) ; *haī* attack (*hātih*) ; *to* then (*tātaḥ*) ; *zā* brother (*bhrātā*) ; *šēi* sheds (*śātāyati*) ; *śal* fever (*śītalāḥ*) ; *cūr* 4 (cf. *caturāḥ*) ; *condāi* 14 (*cāturdaśa*) ; 3rd sing. future in *-ēi* (*-ati*).

4. The case of *-ṛt-* is ambiguous. The consonant of this group in Indo-Aryan, has, according to dialect, either the dental or the cerebral development, becoming *a/it* or *a/iṭ*. But in Shina *-ṭ-* disappears equally with *-t-* (Turner : *Beiträge zur Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte Indiens*, p. 41) ; and since the group *rt* appears to be cerebralized in Shina (e.g. *kāṭēi*, spins, beside Sinh. *kaṭī*, but generally *katt-* or *kāt-*), it is possible that *-ṛt-* had a similar development. In this case words like *māu* dead (*mṛtāḥ*), *gi* ghee (*ghṛtām*) may have had the evolution : *mṛtā* > *mudā*-, etc. This would agree with the regular cerebralization of the group *r* + dental in the language of the Shahbazgarhi Inscription of Aśoka.

5. *-d-* : *pā* foot (*pādaḥ*) ; *payōn* foot of bed (*pādāntaḥ*) ; *mī* f. fat (*mēdaḥ*) ; *roēi* weeps (*rōdati*) ; but cf. Rom. *rovel* < *rāvati*) ; *ūar*

<sup>1</sup> The Shina words quoted are taken from Dr. Grahame Bailey's *Shina Grammar* and Lt.-Col. Lorimer's articles in *JRAS.* and *Bulletin S.O.S.*

belly (*udāram*); *khāi* eats (*khādati*); *ayō* of this kind (cf. *tādīśah*); *vāi* water (? *udakām*); *ūyānū* hungry (*udanyūh*); *çōi* (*trāyodaśa*, cf. Shahbazgarhi *todaśa*: the origin of *-r-* in Pali *terasa*, etc., is doubtful).

With possible Middle Indian *-ḍ-*: *hīū* heart (*hīdayam*); *bāi* (*dvādaśa*; but cf. Shahbazgarhi *badaya* with a dental opposed to Kalsi *dwādaśa* with a cerebral).

6. The fate of the aspirates is the same: *-th-*:—*gāē* song (*gāthā*); *maīl* buttermilk (*mathitām*); *pumūō* first (*prathamāh*); *šārgū* dung (*-gūtha-*?).

With possible M.I. *-ṭh-*:—*kāyēi* boils, tr. (*kvathate*; cf. Pali *kaṭhito*).

*-dh-*:—*gum* wheat (*godhūmah*); *mōru* sweet (*madhuraḥ*); Koh. *mo* wine (*mādhu*).

7. The only one of these intervocalic dentals which presents certain apparent exceptions is *-t-*.

The past participle is formed in various ways. Of these forms like *gōu* (*gatāh*), *māū* (*mṛtāh*), *būū* (*bhūtāh*), show the regular development of *-t-*. Others ending in *-tu*, *-tu*, *-du*, *-ku* go back to Middle Indian consonant groups derived from *ṣṭ*, *kt*, *tt*, *pt*; *gdh*, *ddh*, *bḍh*; *kn*, *kv*, *ṣk* (either directly or by analogical extension), and are paralleled in the north-western languages of India proper—Sindhi, Lahnda, and Panjabi.

8. A third important class, however, ends in *-lu* or *-īlu*. These sometimes exist side by side with other forms: e.g. *būlūs* and *būūs*. There can be little doubt that they are extensions of the past participle in *-ta-* with the Middle Indian suffix *-illa-*, and are strictly comparable with similar past participle forms in Marathi, Gujarati, Bihari, Oriya, and Bengali, in which there is no doubt as to the fate of *-t-* (cf. Bloch, *La Langue marathe*, p. 256). There is therefore no question of the survival of *-t-* as *-l-* in these forms.

9. There is, however, one word in which *l* certainly, and a few others in which it possibly, corresponds to Sanskrit *-t-*:—*śal* 100 = Skt. *śatām*; *gal* f. wound, appears to belong to Skt. *ghātīḥ*; *jīl* m. life, *lel* m. blood, and *lel* visible, may be participial forms from *jīvītā-*, *lōhita-*, and *lokita-* respectively of the type of *maīl* (*mathitām*) already discussed with M.I. suffix *-illa-*. *çalō* m., lighted torch, may be connected with Skt. *kṣātīḥ*; *unīlī* (in *unīlī mā* wet-nurse), which it is at first tempting to derive directly from Skt. *unnetī-*, appears to be an adjective (used also in the masculine: *unīlū mālu* foster-father), and therefore is

suspect of containing the adjectival suffix *-illa-*, and to be a derivative of the verb *unīēi* rears (*unnayati*: cf. *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, ed. Rapson, Senart and Boyer, *passim*, where *kulāja unīdaya* seems to be used in the sense of "adopted son" <sup>1</sup>).

10. It is impossible to see any difference of condition which in these words might lead to a different development of *-t-*: cf. e.g. *gōu* = *gatah* beside *śal* = *śatām*. If, therefore, in any of these words *-l-* is descended from *-t-*, the word in which it occurs must have been borrowed from another dialect, in which that change was regular. The word in which *-l-* most certainly represents *-t-*, *śal*, is one particularly susceptible of borrowing (cf., e.g., the remark of Leitner in his *Languages and Races of Dardistan*, vol. i, p. 8: "It is difficult for these races to realize anything above a hundred and sometimes above twenty." Further, a number of West Pahari dialects, which normally retain initial *ś-*, have a word for "100" beginning with the dental *s-*, evidently borrowed from the Plains).

11. But from what language are the Shina words with *l* < *-t-* borrowed? One would be tempted to see in *śal* the effect of Pashto *sal* on a native \**śau*, were it not that the influence of Pashto on Shina is otherwise negligible.

12. May we suppose that in the neighbouring Khowar (which, we see, now has *r* for *-t-*) the evolution was from *-t-* through *-d-* to *-l-*, and then to *-r-*? Against that we find original *-l-* still preserved unchanged (e.g. *kapāl* head, cf. *kapālam*, and *pažāl* shepherd < *paśupālah*).

13. We have seen above that of the Romani dialects one represents *-t-* by *r* as in Khowar, the others by *l*. Is there a Hindu Kush dialect which also keeps *-t-* as *l*? I think it is to be found in Kalasha, the south-west neighbour of Khowar. Unfortunately our knowledge of the language is very small, being confined to the words and specimens given in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, viii, 2, and in the monographs of Leitner, on which they are based. Nevertheless, there seem to be a number of words in which *l* or *u* corresponds to Skt. *-t-*. I suggest that either the *l* was in process of becoming *u* and had perhaps so become in certain conditions, or was a velar *l*, which the observer heard as *u*. The most cogent proof of this is that in at least three words original *-l-* is represented by *u* or *o*. There can be no doubt as to the identity of *kao* year, with Garvi *kālā* years, Maiya *kāla*, Shina *kāl*: Skt. *kālāh*. Similarly *ango* finger (*aṅgūliḥ*), *teue* oil (*tailām*).

<sup>1</sup> Suggested to me by Mr. P. S. Noble of St. John's College, Cambridge.

14. For *-t-*, we have the 3rd sing. present or future (Skt. *-ati*): *dali* gives (cf. Pali *deti*), *jagal* sees. *tiel* beats, *sapral* finds (*\*sāmpatati* ? cf. Skt. *sāmpatati*). Only *dali* ends in *-i*, which can scarcely be derived from Skt. *-i* of *-ati*; a similar sporadic *-i* appears in the 3rd plural, and, as we shall see, regularly in the 2nd plural of the past tense (with this perhaps may be compared the *-i* endings of Syrian and Asiatic Romani, and of the 3rd plural of the Sindhi present). The majority of the forms end in *-u*: *šiu* there is (*šéte*), *oneu* brings (*ānayati*), *iū* comes (*ēti*), *pareu* goes (*pāraiti*), *piu* drinks (*pībati*), *kāreu* does (*kārāyati*), *cišteu* stands (*tīṣṭhati*), *niseu* sits (*nīṣṭdati* ?); cf. also *žū* eats, *sangāu* hears (cf. Armenian Romani *sənkħ-* id. ?), *āsōv* is (*āsate* ?).

15. There is some reason (notably the preservation of the augment, which is discussed below) for supposing that the past tense of Kalasha rests not upon the past participle, but on the old imperfect or aorist. If that is so, the 3rd singular which is given in every case except one—*sangyes* he heard—as ending in *-o* or *-u*, must rest either upon the middle endings of Sanskrit *-ata*, which is not likely, or have acquired its ending from the present. This last is not improbable, for the complete disappearance of the final *-t* would leave the 3rd person undifferentiated from the 1st and 2nd persons. On the other hand, the 2nd plural, which in every case is given as ending in *-li*, seems to represent Skt. *-ta* (with an additional vowel element), and thus provides a contrast to the treatment of *-th-*, which in the 2nd plur. present disappears. Thus :—

| Present                              | Past                                                  |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ona</i> < <i>ānayatha</i>         | <i>onīli</i> < <i>ānayata</i>                         |
| <i>para</i> < <i>pāretha</i>         | <i>parāli</i> < <i>*parāyata</i> , cf. <i>pāraita</i> |
| <i>pīa</i> < <i>pībatha</i>          | <i>awīli</i> < <i>āpibata</i>                         |
| <i>kāra</i> < <i>kārāyatha</i>       | <i>ārīli</i> < <i>ākārayata</i>                       |
| <i>cišta</i> < <i>tīṣṭhatha</i>      | <i>aciṣṭīli</i> < <i>ātiṣṭhata</i>                    |
| <i>žūa</i>                           | <i>āsīli</i> < <i>*āsata</i>                          |
| <i>eov</i> , cf. <i>īthā</i>         | <i>āli</i> < <i>*āyata</i> , cf. <i>āita</i>          |
| <i>niseov</i> , cf. <i>nīṣṭdatha</i> | <i>nīsāli</i> < <i>nyāsadata</i>                      |

In this case the *-li* preceding the palatal vowel *-i* (whatever its origin) is preserved unchanged as in the case of *dali*, and two other words (of unknown etymology) *kāli* cheeks, *pralik* light.

16. The past participles quoted in L.S.I. (ib., p. 73) are from forms with M.I. *-tt-* (*keṛdūta*: cf. Panj. *dittā*) or *-nn-* (*luina*, *awōjena* ?). *Saprek* is difficult; is it an infinitive? But *thāulo* (if we allow

a different development of initial *sth-* from medial *-sth-* —cf. *hāst* hand < *hāstah*, *broeṣṭona* from the top < *bārhiṣṭha-* —as in European Romani in which *-sth-* remains, but *sth-* becomes *th-*) would represent *sthāpitā-*. In the Vocabulary (*L.S.I.*, viii, 2, p. 128) appears *gālah*, gone, which may be Skt. *gatāh*.

17. Even more striking is the declension of *chū* daughter, although, if correctly observed by Leitner, the relation of its initial with that of Khowar *žūr* < Skt. *duhitā* (cf. Morgenstierne, op. cit., p. 71) is not clear. The singular is *chū* (< *\*chuu*, *\*chul-* ?); the plural *chūlai*. Finally we have *harilek* green, and perhaps *harila* brass: Skt. *haritā-*.

18. The fate of *-d-* is less clear. Perhaps it was lost.<sup>1</sup> There are several forms quoted of the verb *nisik*, to sit, (if this despite its dental *s* is to be referred to *nīṣṭati* or *nīṣadati*: see below) without any trace of *l* or *u*. Similarly *prah* I gave (see § 28) may be Skt. *prādadām* or *prādām*. In *héra* heart (*hṛdayam*) *r* represents *ḍ*, cerebralized from *d*. This seems to be the regular development of M.I. *-d-*: e.g. *mrakro* monkey (*markṭakah*), *saprel* (cf. Pkt. *saṃpaḍai*). Cf. also what was said above of the cerebralization of the group *ṛ* + dental in Shina.

19. The only example of *-th-* is the termination *-atha* of the 2nd plural, where as shown above it disappears. But *-th-*, especially in a termination (Turner, *JR.I.S.*, 1927), may have a different fate from *-t-*. Such an assumption would explain the ending of the 2nd plural in *-a*, which is given in all the forms except *eov* and *niseov*. Perhaps this is the development of Armenian Romani in *mihil* buttermilk (*mathitām*: though this may be a case of dissimilation), and of European Romani in the termination of the 2nd plural *-en* < *-athana*.

20. The only instance of *-dh-* is *mahora* sweet (*madhuraḥ*). The balance of evidence is in favour of a similar loss in Romani<sup>1</sup>: and we know that this sound was one of the first to lose its occlusion, appearing even in the Rigveda in certain words and terminations as *-h-*.

21. This explanation leaves on one side the two exceptional forms of the 2nd plural: *eov* you go, *niseov* you sit.

22. The hardest word to explain is *bīši* 20. Khowar *bīšir* obviously goes back to a form *\*vīśatiḥ* (cf. Skt. *viśatiḥ*), but Shina *bī*, and the majority of the other Indo-Aryan forms go back to an earlier *\*vīśat*: cf. Pali *vīsam* formed after *tīsam*. In that case *-i* would not belong to the original word.

<sup>1</sup> As also in Khowar, according to a communication from Dr. Morgenstierne.



23. The evidence that *-t-* became *-l-* in Kalasha is thus seen to be fairly strong: and we may imagine that Kalasha, now restricted to a very small area and separated from the Shins by Khowar, may at one time have had a wider extension.

24. There can be little doubt that the Gypsies, although the oldest sound-changes of their language show that originally it belonged to the same group as the modern Central languages (Turner, *Journ. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, New Series, ix, 4), were associated at an early period with the ancestors of the north-west languages. Is it, then, mere coincidence that we find two groups, both in Dardic and in Romani, one characterized by the change of *-t-* to *l*, the other by its change to *r*?

## II

### SURVIVAL OF THE SANSKRIT AUGMENT

25. On p. 71 of his *Report* Dr. Morgenstierne draws attention to the very interesting fact that in Khowar “possibly traces of the augment are preserved in some irregular verbs; e.g. *bōm* I can: *obetam* I could; *brium* I die: *obritai* he died; *nēm* I take out: *onēitam* I took out: *šer* it is (< *šete*): *ošoi* it was (< *ašayat*); *žibom* I eat: *oyotam* I ate”.

26. In India proper and in Ceylon the augmented tenses soon disappeared. Pali has the aorist and Prakrit traces of the imperfect: but both quickly gave way to the nominal construction, and their place was taken by the past participle (see J. Bloch, *La Phrase nominale en Sanskrit*). If the augment was to survive, it could only be in a language which preserved one of the augmented tenses, aorist or imperfect. The imperfect (of *bhū-*) and the aorist both occur in the Inscriptions of Aśoka; but it is noteworthy that except for the otherwise monosyllabic *aḥo* (cf. the preservation of dissyllabic augmented forms in Armenian, and the absence in Homeric Greek of augmentless forms of otherwise monosyllabic past tenses such as *ἔσχαρον*) the only augmented forms occur in the Girnar and Shahbazgarhi recensions. In the Khowar examples quoted above the only one which directly represents one of these tenses is *ošoi* < *ašayat*. In the others some element, perhaps an auxiliary verb, has been added to the form of the verb. This form cannot be the past participle in *-ta-* (as in the majority of Indo-Aryan languages) which ends in *-iru* and is found in the compound tense, e.g. *ganiru ošoi* he had taken. We may reasonably suppose that it was added to the old imperfect (or aorist): just as, e.g., in Gujarati the present auxiliary *chā*, etc., has been added to the old present to form the new present tense. This

process was doubtless encouraged by the fact that the endings of the imperfect did not remain easily distinguishable owing to the loss of final consonants (in distinction to the present in which the consonants protected by following vowels partially survived).

27. Even in the case of *ošōi* the element *-ta-* has been added in the 1st singular and the 1st and 2nd plural :—

|              |               |
|--------------|---------------|
| <i>oštam</i> | <i>oštam</i>  |
| <i>ošō</i>   | <i>oštami</i> |
| <i>ošoi</i>  | <i>ošoni</i>  |

Of the forms without *-ta-*, *ošō* may be derived from *aśayaḥ*. In *ošoi* from *aśayat* the final *-i* is probably a later addition, and is perhaps parallel with the *-i* found in Kalasha 3rd singular and plural of the present, and again in the 3rd plural present and past of Khowar (e.g. *ganini* they take). The 3rd plural *ošoni* cannot represent *aśayan*, but presumably owes its ending to the present.

28. This survival of the augment has a striking parallel in the neighbouring Kalasha. The L.S.I. contains the following forms :—

|                                                        |                                                                           |
|--------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>šiu</i> there is ( <i>šéte</i> )                    | <i>ašis</i> there was ( <i>aśayat</i> )                                   |
| <i>pīm</i> I drink ( <i>pībāmi</i> )                   | <i>awis</i> (Leitner) <i>apis</i> (L.S.I.) I drank ( <i>ápībam</i> )      |
| <i>kārem</i> I do ( <i>kāráyāmi</i> or <i>karómi</i> ) | <i>āris</i> I did ( <i>ākārayam</i> or <i>ákaravam</i> or <i>ákaram</i> ) |
| <i>bām</i> I shall be ( <i>bhāvāmi</i> )               | <i>hāwis</i> I became ( <i>ábhavam</i> )                                  |
| <i>cīštīm</i> I stand ( <i>tīṣṭhāmi</i> )              | <i>acištis</i> I stood ( <i>átīṣṭham</i> )                                |
|                                                        | <i>aphūco</i> he asked ( <i>ápṛcchat</i> )                                |
| <i>im</i> I come ( <i>émi</i> )                        | <i>ah</i> I came ( <i>áyam</i> )                                          |
| Cf. <i>parim</i> I go ( <i>páraini</i> )               | <i>parah</i> I went ( <i>pārāyam</i> )                                    |

Some presents have pasts from different roots or compounded roots :

|                                           |                                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>jagem</i> I see                        | <i>āwešu</i> he saw ( <i>ápaśyat</i> )                          |
| <i>žum</i> I eat                          | <i>āšis</i> I ate ( <i>*āśam</i> , cf. aor. subj. <i>āšīt</i> ) |
| <i>dēm</i> I give (cf. Pali <i>demi</i> ) | <i>prah</i> I gave ( <i>prádadām</i> or <i>prádām</i> )         |

Some of the past tenses of uncertain etymology also show initial *a-* : *ašījo* he entreated, *ayisto* it left, *awōjo* he said (but cf. *awōjena* having said ?).

29. In the verb *nisim*, I sit, dental *s* is unexpected (instead of *š*) if it is derived from *nīṣīdati* or *nīśadati* (cf. Khowar *nīšik*). It is due to the influence of the past *nisā* I sat < *nyásadam* (i.e. *niyásadam*).

30. In a compound verb beginning with *ā* the augment is concealed as in Sanskrit: *ōnim* I bring (*ānayāmi*); *ōnis* I brought (*ānayam*). Forms like this may have encouraged the loss of the augment evidenced by some pasts: *jagis* I saw, *tripau* it burnt. *bandau* he ordered, *kurau* he collected (? < \**krṇā*- beside Skt. *kirāti*, cf. Gk. *κεράννυμι*, *κίρνημι*), *surūis* it fell (? \**śad*-: Hindi *sarnā*: cf. Skt. *śadati*), *sangāes* he heard, *sawājau* he kissed, *umbulau* he prophesied.

31. In the majority of cases cited above, the consonant after the augment has its phonetic development: e.g. *āris* < *ākaravam*, *awis* < *āpibam*, *āwešu* < *āpaśyat*, *hāwis* < \**ahav*- < *ābhavam*, *aphūco* < \**aprucch*- (cf. Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions *prichati*) < *āpucchati*. In some cases the influence of the present has re-established the consonant: e.g. *acištis* after the present *cištīm*. This may be the explanation of the form *apis* (past to *pīm* I drink) given in L.S.I. instead of Leitner's phonetically correct *awis*: and for the past of *bām* in the new sense, *abayeni* they could, beside the form of the past in the older sense, *hāwis* I became.

32. The derivation of the past tense in Kalasha from the Sanskrit imperfect or aorist is strengthened by a further consideration. It has been pointed out that the majority of modern Indo-Aryan languages form their past tense and their past participle from the same stem, namely that of the past participle of Sanskrit. All the more striking, therefore, is the opposition offered by Kalasha between the past tense and the past participle of the verb to go: the former is, as we have seen, *parah* I went (*pārāyam*), the latter *gālah* gone (*gatāh*). A similar opposition is seen in the verb "to give": *prau* he gave (*prādāt*) but *dīta* given (if in *ker(e) dīta*, cut, this represents \**ditta*-, cf. Panj. *dittā*).

33. The conjugation of the present in Kalasha (with the exception of the 1st plural, which has been altered by the addition of a suffix *-k*, perhaps to avoid confusion with the 1st singular) is derivable directly from the Sanskrit:—

| Skt.           | Kal.           |
|----------------|----------------|
| <i>pibāmi</i>  | <i>pīm</i>     |
| <i>pibasi</i>  | <i>pīs</i>     |
| <i>pibati</i>  | <i>pīu</i>     |
| <i>pibāmaḥ</i> | [ <i>pīk</i> ] |
| <i>pibatha</i> | <i>pīa</i>     |
| <i>pibanti</i> | <i>pīn</i>     |

34. The imperfect, as has been suggested for Khovar, is more liable

to alteration and reformation owing to the loss of its final consonants. Where the consonants were protected, namely in the 1st and 2nd plural, the old forms are kept (with the addition of *-i*) :—

| Skt.           | Phonetic<br>development. | Kal.                                        |
|----------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <i>ápibam</i>  | * <i>awī</i>             | <i>awis</i>                                 |
| <i>ápibah</i>  | <i>awī</i>               | <i>awī</i>                                  |
| <i>ápibat</i>  | * <i>awī</i>             | <i>awis</i> (Leitner) <i>apīau</i> (L.S.I.) |
| <i>ápibāma</i> | * <i>awīm</i>            | <i>awimi</i>                                |
| <i>ápibata</i> | * <i>awīl</i>            | <i>awi</i> (Leitner) <i>apīli</i> (L.S.I.)  |
| <i>ápiban</i>  | * <i>awī(ʾ)</i>          | <i>awn</i> „ <i>apīan</i> „                 |

The 1st singular is distinguished from the 2nd and 3rd singular by the addition of *-s* (of unknown origin: perhaps an auxiliary: cf. Khovar 1st singular *oštam* beside 3rd singular *ošoi*). Some 1st persons singular are given without *-s*: *ah* I came, *parah* I went, *prah* I gave, *nīsā* I sat.

The 2nd singular phonetically represents the Sanskrit.

In the 3rd singular the form given by Leitner agrees with one form only given in the L.S.I., namely *sangāyes* he heard: all the other past tenses in the 3rd singular both in Leitner and in the L.S.I. end either in *-u* or *-o*. I have suggested above that this is the ending of the present imported into the past to distinguish the 3rd singular from the 2nd singular.

The 1st and 2nd plural phonetically represent the Sanskrit, with the addition of *-i*.

The 3rd plural also appears to have the ending of the present, to distinguish it from the original 1st, 2nd, and 3rd singular.



## THE GRAMMAR OF THE JÑĀNEŚVARĪ

By W. DODERET

JÑĀNADEVA'S commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, completed in the year A.D. 1290 as recorded in the *īti śrī* in chapter xviii. shows, after making allowances for the errors and glosses of copyists, the state of the Marāṭhī language at the end of the thirteenth century A.D. The oldest known existent copy is dated by the poet Ekanātha in the Śaka year 1506, corresponding to A.D. 1584. It was deposited in his *maṭha* or convent-shrine at Paiṭhaṇa on the Godāvārī river, and Ekanātha's colophon states that the original text was quite free from error (*atisuddha*), but had become corrupted owing to copyists' errors, which he corrected (*pratisuddhi keli*). It is not stated on what principles this revision was made, but as the twelve different texts, in the form in which we now possess them, contain several grammatical forms which at Ekanātha's date had already become archaic, we may perhaps hope that the revision was concerned *mainly* with the correction of passages, which owing to copyists' emendations, marginal glosses, or actual errors had become obscure, rather than with the conversion of archaic grammatical forms into those current in the sixteenth century. This hope is fortified by two general considerations. In the first place Ekanātha betrays in his own compositions a decided partiality for grammatical archaisms, and secondly he has preserved in his revised text of the Jñāneśvarī a very large number of Marāṭhī nouns, verbs, and adjectives, which were obsolete even in his day. Ekanātha's revision has thus conferred on posterity the signal benefit of stemming the flood-tide of modernization, which to the great and perhaps permanent disadvantage to philological research, has overwhelmed much mediaeval poetry, especially of that class which was constantly being sung or recited by the people. We have only to turn to Narasiṃha Mehto, who composed in the early part of the fifteenth century, to see how the Gujarātī grammatical forms and orthography of his time, of which we catch occasional glimpses, have been retouched out of all semblance to the original. And the same has happened, but not to the same extent, to such popular poets as Nāmadeva, a junior contemporary of Jñānoba's and to others. We may presume that the philosophical subject matter of the Jñāneśvarī combined with a certain abstruseness

and ellipsis of expression, helped to preserve the original text in a fair state of originality.

And so the twelve texts, which came under Māḍagāvakara's review in preparing his critical edition of the poem, show, as a rule, variations of no very great difficulty for the ascertainment of the correct reading, so far as grammatical forms are concerned. For it is clear, when Māḍagāvakara's footnotes are studied, that many of the variations are due to copyists' glosses and bare-faced attempts to modernize archaic grammatical forms, e.g. when Sākhare, who used the 1825 text, reads *tyāsāṭhī* "on that account" in xviii, 204, for the correct form *taṃyāsāṭhī* of the Paiṭhaṇa and other older manuscripts. So also *pālitosi* in xi, 311, is an obvious emendation for the correct *pālītāsi* "thou dost protect". In this respect the compiler of the Navanīta is a great sinner.

In the following review Māḍagāvakara's selected text will almost invariably be adhered to. He naturally placed great reliance on the Paiṭhaṇa text of the date A.D. 1629, or only forty-five years after Ekanātha's revision. He also found that an undated copy from Paṇḍharapūra tallied with the Paiṭhaṇa copy. And he records that a copy from Charholī in the Poona district, dated 1787, was, despite its late date, extremely useful for comparison purposes and for ascertaining the correct grammatical forms. Māḍagāvakara has in his preface made a list of a considerable number of archaic declensional forms, but owing to want of leisure did not deal with verbal or pronominal forms. An appendix contains a very full vocabulary with modern Marāṭhī synonyms.

Rājavāḍe's vernacular grammar of the Jñāneśvarī is a valuable contribution to the study of archaic Marāṭhī, but the work is to a large extent written to elucidate philological problems, and he uses a text of his own, which differs in some respects from Māḍagāvakara's twelve texts. Bloch's *La formation de la Langue marathe* is mainly philological, but extremely useful for reference purposes. Grierson's *K.Z.*, xxxviii, is most valuable for reference purposes, and his note on the *cā*, *jā* genitive has been embodied in this review. Goḍabole's vernacular grammar is far superior to Navalakara's, written in English. They are both unsound, according to most authorities, on several philological matters, e.g. Navalakara commits the unpardonable heresy of deriving the genitive suffix *cā* from the Sanskrit genitive *sya*! Neither he nor Goḍabole deal specially with archaic Marāṭhī. Beames' three volumes of the *Comparative Grammar of the Indo-*

*Aryan Languages* treat only incidentally of the old Marāṭhī language and several of his conclusions are now regarded by philologists as out of date. The chief purpose of the present review is to assemble the principal archaisms of the Jñāneśvarī in a form which may be readily accessible to the English reader, and to illustrate them by references to the actual text. The different views as regards matters of derivation are stated. Attention is invited to four points: (1) the evolution of the modern present tense, (2) the absence of a general oblique (*sāmānyarūpa*) in the Jñāneśvarī. As regards (1) a view different from Bloch's (op. cit., § 246) is stated, and as regards (2) an endeavour is made to expand Bloch's remarks at the end of § 183 of his *Langue marathe*, and Rājavāde's at p. 25 of his grammar, and to show that the theory is of general application. (3) A curious and rare *saini* form of the ablative is cited, and (4) the existence of a *co* genitive in the poems of Narasimha Meheto, a point which may have some bearing on the vexed question of the origin of the Marāṭhī *cā*, is mentioned. A study of the Jñāneśvarī, besides throwing a flood of light on the state of early mediaeval Marāṭhī, will recompense the reader by the beauty of its style and the varied and often humorous turns of expression in which the poet expands each *śloka* of the Gītā and comments on it. He shows such a knowledge of mundane affairs in all their aspects that it may reasonably be doubted whether so elaborate a work, extending to over 9,000 *ovīs*, was the production of a boy of fifteen. Jñānadeva's birth is reputed to have taken place in A.D. 1275 and he is stated to have died in 1296. Nāmadeva records that they met and that Jñānadeva expressed a wish that they should go the round of the *ṭīrthas* together and hold converse with ascetics and monks. Nāmadeva's dates are given by M. A. Mule as 1270-1350. As the poem is dated 1290 by Jñānadeva himself, we may on the above general considerations presume that this poet was born about the middle rather than at the end of the thirteenth century. The point has some little bearing on the grammatical divergencies of Jñānadeva's and Nāmadeva's compositions.

### THE NOUN

To understand declension as it existed in Jñānadeva's time it is necessary to free the mind from all preconceived notions of what is variously termed "crude form", "base", "oblique", for, as will appear below, an *invariable* form to which postpositions were attached to form case-phrases, as is the case in modern Marāṭhī, had no existence



in our poet's time. The stabilization of a fixed oblique was not *completely* effected until three hundred, or perhaps four hundred, years later. for in Ekanātha (ob. 1609) we still find a preference for such declensional forms as *kopē* "with anger", *tri-bhuvanī* "in the three worlds", *tāpasā* "to the anchorites", *navala lāghava Nārāyaṇā* "wonderful is the magic of Nārāyaṇa". And the same tendency, though to a lesser extent and making due allowance for poetic pedantry, may be observed in Mukteśvara (born 1609), and even in Tukārāma (1608-49), creating the suspicion that the latter's compositions have been to some extent modernized. The history of Marāṭhī declension is one of very gradual change from the synthetic system of Sanskrit, through the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit and Apabhraṃśa stages to the analytic system of the modern language. The Jñāneśvarī exhibits clear evidence of the penultimate stages of this process. For, in the poem we find, as will be explained in detail below, that some postpositions were attached to the synthetic instrumental, others to the synthetic dative-genitive, and others again to the ablative, while several simply follow or are attached to the subjective (accusative). It is thus evident that there was no such uniformity of affixation to a uniform oblique as is the case in the modern language. The line of approach should be from the synthetic dative-genitive. But before discussing this in detail, it will be convenient to set out in tabular form the subjective (nominative-accusative) and synthetic dative-genitives as actually found in the Jñāneśvarī.

| SINGULAR           |           |                 |           |                |           |
|--------------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------|----------------|-----------|
| M.                 |           | F.              |           | N.             |           |
| Subj.              | Dat.-gen. | Subj.           | Dat.-gen. | Subj.          | Dat.-gen. |
| a, u, o, e         | ā         | a               | ē, ī      | a, ē           | ā         |
| dhīra "courage"    | dhīrā     | bhāsa "speech"  | bhāse     | kula "tribe"   | kuḷā      |
| sāgaru "ocean"     | sāgarā    | cāla "hearth"   | cālī      | lugaḍe "cloth" | lugaḍā    |
| deo "god"          | de, ā     |                 |           |                |           |
| ude(waya) "ri-ing" | walayā    |                 |           |                |           |
| ā                  | eyā, ayā  | ā               |           |                |           |
| dolā "eye"         | doleyā    | dayatā "mercy"  | dayate    |                |           |
| vāṭā "wind"        | vāṭayā    |                 |           |                |           |
| ī                  | ī         | ī               | ī         |                |           |
| bhūpati "king"     | bhūpatī   | buddhi          | buddhī    |                |           |
|                    |           | "intelligence"  |           |                |           |
| ī                  |           | ī               | īye       | ī              | īyā       |
| yogī "ascetic"     | yogyā     | antaurī "woman" | antaurīye | pānī           | panīyā    |
| u                  | ū         | u               | ū         | u              | ū         |
| vāyu "wind"        | vāyā      | mātu "word"     | mātū      | vastu,         | vastū     |
|                    |           |                 |           | the Absolute   |           |

| M.                                  |                  | F.                      |                  | N.                  |                 |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Subj.                               | Dat.-gen.        | Subj.                   | Dat.-gen.        | Subj.               | Dat.-gen.       |
| <i>ū</i>                            | <i>ura</i>       | <i>ū</i>                | <i>ur</i>        | <i>ū</i>            | <i>urā</i>      |
| <i>viñcū</i> "scorpion"             | <i>viñcūū</i>    | <i>vāḷū</i> "sand"      | <i>vāḷur</i>     | <i>iṣaiṇ</i> "calf" | <i>vasarurī</i> |
|                                     |                  | <i>e</i>                | <i>e</i>         |                     |                 |
|                                     |                  | <i>se</i> "remembrance" | <i>se</i>        |                     |                 |
| <i>a</i>                            | <i>yā</i>        | <i>ai</i>               | <i>ye</i>        |                     |                 |
| <i>du'arai</i> "commander-in-chief" | <i>du'araiyā</i> | <i>jāmbhai</i> "yawn"   | <i>jāmbhaiye</i> |                     |                 |

*Anuscāra* is the distinctive mark of the plural dative-genitive, thus: *devā. dōḷeyā. yogyiyā, itū, viñcuvā. bhāṣā, antauriyā. sāsurā. kuḷā. vāsarurā.* etc.

Most are agreed to trace the *ā* in the singular of the principal M. and N. "a" declension to the dative (masc.) Sanskrit: *putrāya*. Prakrit *putūa*, M. *putā*. and *ā* in the plural to the S. genitive plural *putrāṇām*, Pr. *putāū*. M. *putā* ; *vanāya*. etc. for the neuter. In the Fem. class we get the series S. *mālāyai*. P. *mālāi*. M. *māle* ; S. *nādyai*. P. *nāiyae*, M. *nāiye*. *nāi, naye* ; Pl. S. *mālānām*. P. *mālāū*. M. *mālā* ; S. *nādīnām*, Pr. *naiyānā*, M. *nāiyā*. We thus get two cases which were identical in form, and at an early date the necessity of postpositional strengthening must have been felt. Examples of the use as a dative or as a genitive in the Jñāneśvarī are as follows: *nātari udāsineḥ dairē | sañcakācī vaibhavē | jethīcī tetha svabhāvē | vilayā jāti ||* "or with Fortune depressed the glories of treasures pass away everywhere by their very nature to destruction", xi, 412. *Āikāi śarīra tarī eka | pari vayasā bhedē aneka | hē pratyakṣa ci dekha | pramāṇa tū ||* "Harken! the body is one, but on account of the difference of age bodies may appear distinct, so do thou see this for thyself and regard it as true", ii, 108. *Naye kā bhalataisī thorī | pari gangā jāi aṅgikārī | tai ci te sāgarī | praveśu gā ||* "and whatever indeed may be the greatness of a river, still when the Ganges receives it, it enters the ocean", xvii, 324. *rātrī āni divasā | kanakā āni kāpusā | āpādu kā jaisū |* "like the difference indeed of night and of day, of gold and of cotton", xiii, 1102. *Ātā saptadaśāpāthī | adhyāya kaiseni uṭhī | to sambandha sāṅgō diṭhī | dise taisā ||* "now I will tell you in a manner that may be clear to your view the connexion of how this chapter arises after the former seventeen", xviii, 50. *Prakṛti te samastā kriyā nōva* "Prakṛti (māyā) is the designation of all activities", xiii, 966. *vārayā vāluve gāṇṭhī kē hī āhe* "where indeed is there union of the wind and of the sand", xiii, 1098. *Alaṅkārate ālē tarī sonēpaṇa kāi gelē* "does gold lose its substance by attaining to the state of an ornament?", xiv, 125. *Brahmeyāhī naye ci āyā* "enters not even into the imagination of

*Brahmā* ", i, 203. As regards the evolution of the dative-genitive forms which contain the letter *y*, there is a difference of opinion, Bloch (op. cit., § 191) regarding the *y* as inherent in the Prakrit forms *āyāya*, *iya*, etc., while Rājavāde and Navalakara ascribe it to the fusion of *ayā*, *eyā*, *iye*, the dative-genitives of the near demonstrative with the subjective of the noun. It is possible also that, in the case of nouns ending in the palatal vowel, *y* may be merely intervocalic; *v* is apparently so in the case of the *ū* nouns. Examples are: *Lakṣmīye-sī* to Lakṣmī, xiii, 1168. *Yogiyā-cā niṣkāmakāma* "the desire of ascetics for freedom from desire", iii, 239. *kṛpāhurā-cā rāvo* "king of the merciful", x, 54. *suneyā* "to dogs", ix, 439. *māsiyā kope* "gets angry at the flies", xviii, 136. *vāniye-cī adhikātā* "increase of polish", x, 56. We now come to the postpositions of the dative-genitive. And here the two cases, which in the ancient Marāṭhī language were one in form, part company.

### Postpositional Dative

Postpositions employed to strengthen the synthetic dative are: *si* or *sī*, *tē*, *lāgī*, *prati*, *sama*, *pari*, *sūrikhā*, *pāsī*. To take them in their order, Beames' theory that *si* or *sī* is derived from the S. gen. *syā*, Pr. *ssa* involves the implication that the palatal vowel is a mere poetical addendum. There is, however, no case of metrical necessity as far as the *ovī* metre is concerned. But more cogently, in the Paṇḍharpūra votive inscription dated A.D. 1273 and cited by Bloch (op. cit., p. 281) we find *Śrī Viṭthaladevarayāsi*. Here there can of course be no question of metrical exigencies. Further *syā* and *ssa* are synthetic case-terminations, while *si* or *sī* is a detachable suffix of the synthetic dative, for as we have already seen that dative appears frequently in the Jñāneśvarī without *si* or any other postposition attached. Everything therefore happens as if *si* were the abraded form of a separate word implying propinquity. Rājavāde derives it from *āsi-pāsi*, the locative of *āsa pāsa* [<? *aśra pārśva*] and it may be noted that *pāsī* is often used in the modern language as a donative or positional dative. Examples of the employment of *si* are as follows: *Nātari pavana meghāsi bihe* | *kī amṛtāsi maraṇa āhe* | *pāhē pā indhana ci giloni jāye* | *pāvakātē* ", "or again, does the wind dread the clouds, or does death come to nectar! Pray reflect too whether the fuel consumes the flame", ii, 14. *He sadayatā asatiye kīrtisī nāśu* | *āṇī pāratrikāsi apabhraṃsu* | "This mercy is ruin to existing fame and destruction to (entering into) heaven", ii, 20. *Tē*

is quite a common postposition of the dative and accusative case-phrase. The derivation is discussed by Bloch (op. cit., § 199), Grierson (*K.Z.*, xxxviii. p. 476), Beames (vol. ii. p. 218), and Rājavāde (op. cit., p. 12). It is attached to the synthetic dative of all three genders, e.g. *bīja śākhātē prasave* "the seed generates the branches", ix, 292. *Bolatā jālā ātmaja | Pāṇḍunarpācā | Kṛṣṇātē mhaṇe avadhārile |* "King Pāṇḍu's son began to speak and said to Kṛṣṇa 'I have listened'", xii, 20, 1. *To tñ kē āji yethē | sāṇḍūniyā viravṛttitē | adhomukha rudanātē | karitu āhāsī* "Thou hast renounced thy valour here to-day and art weeping with downcast face", ii, 12.

The postposition *lāgi*, attached to the synthetic genitive is the synthetic locative of *lāga* [*<lagga <lagna*] often used in Marāṭhī as a noun implying "touch", "connexion", "propinquity", and the like. It is constantly used in the sense of "for", "to", "regarding" in the Jñāneśvarī and by other poets down to the seventeenth century. There seems therefore no apparent necessity to look for the derivation of the modern dative termination *lā*, which did not come into general use until Śivājī's time (1627-80), to any other source, as Bloch and Rājavāde do. *lāreyālāgi* "for planting" occurs in the Nāgāva inscription of A.D. 1367. No instance of *lā*, but the *s* dative is found. Examples from the Jñāneśvarī are as follows: *Hitāhita jāṇāvē | hitā ci lāgi |* "Profit and loss should be understood for one's benefit", viii, 239. *Hā yeṇē mūne mahanta | vari āmhālāgi kṛpāvanta* "According to this view he is a great man and kind to me", ii, 44. *Pāhe pā śarīrācayā gāvē | jayālāgi āle Pāṇḍavā | to kāryārtha āghavā | sāṇḍūniyā* "He looks forsooth at the abode of the body to which they have come, oh Arjuna, having abandoned all business of action", vii, 105. *Tayālāgi tñ rudasī kāyī* "why dost thou weep for him?", ii, 169. *aisayā kājālāgi avatārē mī yugīyugī* "I become incarnate for such matters in æon after æon", iv, 57. *Yālāgi* "therefore" is constantly used at the commencement of an *ovī* (e.g. xviii, 83), much in the same way as the modern *tyāsa*, especially in clauses which sum up the preceding matter. *Lagē* (declinable) is also used as an adjectival suffix, e.g. *vārelagē paṅkhirū* "a bird meeting the wind", xiii, 315. *pāṇilagē hāsē* "swans frequenting the water", vi, 77, and the noun *lāga* "connexion" is in frequent use.

*Prati* "towards", "to"; *Manū* is the synthetic dative in *Manūprati* "to Manu", iv, 17. An instance, however, may be cited of *prati* being attached to the subjective (accusative) *māṇusapṛati* "towards mankind", xiii, 357. *Sama* "like", *jayāsama* "like unto

which ". *Pari* "like". This is really the locative of a noun of the feminine gender, and is often found following or attached to the dative-genitive of the remote demonstrative: *tiyāpari* "like unto that", ii. 122. It thus becomes a mere postposition.

*Pāsī* "near" is the locative of *pāsa* < *pārśva* "vicinity" and although this forms a dative case-phrase, the case to which the postposition is attached is the synthetic genitive rather than the synthetic dative. *Droṇāpāsī ālā* "he came to Droṇa", i. 93 = *Dronāciyā pāsī ālā*. *Sārikhā* "like", *āṇikā-sārikhā* "like unto other things", ii, 240, where *āṇikā* is the dat. plural.

### The Postpositional Genitive

This ancient case-phrase is formed by the addition of *ca*, which is declined for gender according to that of the following noun. It is thus to all intents and purposes an adjective and follows the general rules applicable to the archaic adjective and undergoes modification according to the gender and the case in which the following noun stands. There are as regards this latter feature considerable variations in the different texts. Rājavāḍe gives the declension in tabular form (op. cit., pp. 14, 15). There is, however, much textual variation in respect of these declined forms. Speaking generally, however, and from a comparison of a large number of texts, the following broad conclusions emerge.

|       | M. & N.               | F.                |                                    |
|-------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| Inst. | <i>ceṇi, cena, cē</i> | <i>ciyā</i>       |                                    |
| Dat.  | <i>ceyā, cayā</i>     | <i>ciye</i>       | Note.—In the Loc. <i>cā</i> is the |
| Abl.  | <i>ceyā, cayā</i>     | <i>ciyā</i>       | most usual termination for         |
| Gen.  | <i>ceyā, cayā</i>     | <i>ciyā, ciye</i> | M. and N. <i>ciye</i> for F.       |
| Loc.  | <i>cā, ciye</i>       | <i>ciye, cā</i>   |                                    |

The following examples will illustrate the above: *jihī ātmabodhāciyā āvadi | keḷi svargasāsārācī kuroṇḍi* | "Who through fondness for instruction concerning the (divine) soul have waved (and gifted) away heaven and earth", vi. 28 [F. instr.]. *Tari jayāceyā indriyāceyā gharā | nāhī viṣayāciyā yerajhārā* | "so to the habitation of whose organs there are no goings to and fro of desire", vi. 62 [N. gen., N. dat., F.P. subj.].

*Pari kṣobha maṇi neṇijc Droṇāciye* "but anger in the heart of Droṇa is unknown", ii, 39 [M. loc.]. *Dr̥ṣṭi bhedāciye rānive | racalīsc aī* "when the gaze is fixed on the empire of Duality", xviii, 268

[F. loc.]. *Taisī ci gurukrpā-ukhā njaḍaṭi | jñānācī votapali paḍiṭi | tetha sāmīyācī rddhi ughaḍaṭi | tayācīve diṭhī* “ just when the dawn in the form of the preceptor’s benignity became roseate, the early morning sunshine of wisdom shone forth and the wealth of uniformity was disclosed to his vision ”. vii. 131 [F. dat.].

*Jaisī te śukāceni āṅabhārē | nāḷikā bhorinnālī yere mohare | tarī tenē uḍāvē pari na pure | manaśāṅkā* “ just as (when) the twig has spun round with the weight of the parrot’s body, the parrot ought to fly away, but the doubt in his mind is not dispelled ”. vi. 76 [M. inst.]. *Khapaṇeyācā gāvī pātāvē kāyī karavī* “ what need for clothes in the naked mendicants’ village ? ” iv. 22 [N. loc.]. *Tayācīve diṭhīcā jhaṇē kalaṅka lāge premā* “ beware lest the slur of his glance affect (thy) love (for me) ”. vi. 115 [F. gen.]. *Indriyagrāmācā rājabidi* “ in the High Street of the village of the bodily organs ” vii, 106 [F. loc.]. The derivation of this postposition has been much discussed. Bloch says (op. cit.) “ aucune autre langue ne présente d’affixe declinable à palatale sourde initiale jouant le rôle d’adjectif d’appartenance ”. But this does not appear to be the case, for we find in the Gujarātī poet Narasiṃha’s Bālalilā at the end of the fourth pada, *Narasāyācā savaminū mukhaḍū pharī pharī Jasodā nayāḷe re* “ Jasoda gazes again and again at Narasiṃha’s Lord’s little face ”. In *Śrīṅgāra* seven instances of the nominative of the genitive postposition (*Narasāyāco svāmī*) occur. In *Cāturī chatrīsī* we read *dadhicyū pātra te śīrathī ḍhaliyūjī* “ the basin of curds fell from (my) head ”. Over a hundred similar instances of the *co*, *cī*, *cyū* genitive postposition occur in other poems of Narasiṃha Meheṭo. Hence it is clear that *co* was common and contemporaneous with the *kero* and *taṇo* forms in the early part of the fifteenth century in Gujarāt.

Professor P. D. Gune, in his *Introduction to Comparative Philology* (p. 30), says “ it is curious to note that the Yādava inscription of Nāgaon, dated A.D. 1367, shows both *jā* and *cā* ”. He is referring to the Marāṭhī inscription on the steps of Bhimeśvara’s temple at Nāgāva, 3 miles south of Alibāg in the Kolāba District (Bombay), in which the words *śrī rāyājā pradhānu sihipro* occur. Sir George Grierson, who realized the importance of this discovery, obtained a copy of the inscription from Professor Gune and in commenting on it writes : “ There are two well-known progenitors of the genitive suffixes. One is *kṛta-*, which is responsible for Hindī *kā*, Panjābī *-dā* [through Śauraseni Prakṛit (*ka*)*da-*] and so on. The other is *kārya* (> *kera-* and also *kajja-*) responsible for Hindī *ker*, *kar*. Bengali *-r*,

Mārwāṛī rō, and so on. Also [through (ka)jja-] for the Sindhī jo. There remains the Marāṭhī cā unaccounted for. In a paper written long ago I gave two possible explanations. One was that it was derived from the Sanskrit suffix *tya-* (Prakrit *cca*). This was the usual explanation. The other was new. I pointed out that a synonym of *kārya-* was *kṛtya-*, and that *kṛtya-* became (ka)cca- in Prakrit, and that this would also account for Marāṭhī cā, and would at the same time run parallel with the genitives of other languages. I left the matter in doubt. The Nāgaon inscription now makes me think that the latter explanation is the correct one. Apparently old Marāṭhī used both *jā* and *cā*. These would represent *kārya-* and its synonym *kṛtya-*. The *kārya* form died out of use and left the field in the possession of *kṛtya*. We cannot, of course, be absolutely certain till we come across further instances of *jā*."

### *The Subjective (Nominative-Accusative) Case*

Before proceeding to discuss the other cases it will be as well to dispose of the subjective, which has already fallen out of its proper order. The following table will serve to illustrate this case:—

|     | SINGULAR                                              | PLURAL                              |
|-----|-------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| M < | a gotraja " relation "                                | gotraja, ii, 24                     |
|     | pāya " foot "                                         | pāye, xviii, 180 ; xiii, 885        |
|     | ā vaḷasā " turn ", " twist "                          | vaḷase, vii, 72                     |
|     | i bhūpati " king "                                    | bhūpati, ii, 212                    |
|     | muni " sage "                                         | muni, x, 295                        |
|     | ī virekī " philosopher "                              | virekī, ii, 102                     |
|     | pāpī " sinner "                                       | pāpiye, iii, 129                    |
|     | dī " day "                                            | dī, xviii, 110                      |
|     | yogī " ascetic "                                      | yogiye, v, 52                       |
|     | u sandu (chanda) " frolic ", xi, 581                  | sanda (chanda)                      |
|     | ṭu " season "                                         | ṭū, xviii, 344                      |
|     | ū ceṇḍū " a ball ", xi, 581                           | ceṇḍū                               |
|     | o devo " god ", xviii, 29                             | deva                                |
|     | e ude (udaya) " uprising ", ix, 265                   | ude (udaya)                         |
|     | ai daḷarai (daḷarī) " commander-in-chief ",<br>i, 115 | daḷariye                            |
|     | a kū'a " fraud "                                      | kūṭī, ii, 218                       |
|     | lāṭa " wave "                                         | lāṭā, vii, 74                       |
|     | ā saritā " river "                                    | saritā, ii, 359                     |
|     | vidyā (" knowledge ")                                 | vidyā, xiii, 994                    |
|     | ī dīpti " brilliance "                                | —                                   |
|     | matī " opinion "                                      | —                                   |
|     | ī antaurī, strī " woman "                             | matī, xiii, 69                      |
|     | u mātu " word ", " speech ", xviii, 267               | antauriyā, i, 220 : striyā, ix, 460 |
|     | ū sāsū " mother-in-law "                              | mātū                                |
|     | e se " recollection ", vii, 107 [smṛti]               | sāsuvā                              |

|   | SINGULAR                                                           | PLURAL                               |
|---|--------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| N | a <i>bīja</i> " seed "                                             | <i>bījē</i> , ii, 66                 |
|   | ε <i>lugadē</i> " cloth "                                          | <i>lugadē</i> , xviii, 141           |
|   | ι <i>pānī</i> " water ", ix, 75                                    | —                                    |
|   | u <i>vastu</i> ( <i>para-Brahman</i> ) " the Absolute ",<br>xv, 79 | —                                    |
|   | u <i>gorū</i> " a bovine beast "                                   | <i>gorurē</i> " cattle ", xviii, 597 |
|   | <i>līkarū</i> " a child "                                          | <i>līkarurē</i> , xv, 217            |

In words such as *sandu*, *sāgaru*, etc., *u* is the Apabhraṣa suffix of the singular and such words must be discriminated carefully from *tatsamas* such as *ṛtu*, *rāgu*, etc. This *u* suffix appears to have been still in use in the fourteenth century. *Saku*, *sanvatu*, *pradhānu*, *dharmu*, *dūtāru*, *dharmodeñi*, *pātālu* (*pātīla* " village headman "), *śrīhambīru*, *āgaru* (" field ") occur in the Nāgāva inscription (A.D. 1367). Words ending in *o* often appear in the alternative form in *a*, e.g. *deva* is as common as *dero*. The *o* is still retained in words ending in *h*, such as *lāho* " greed ", *ṭāho* " the peacock's cry ", and in pronouns such as *to*, *jō*. The N. Plural in *ē* may be noted. The modern language has *ī*, *Lugadē chokkhē hoñcē*, xviii, 141, " the clothes should be clean ". See also under adjectives *infra*.

### *The Postpositional Subjective (Accusative)*

Postpositions *sahitē*, *vāñcūni*, *vari*, *verhī*, *Sahitē* " with " is sometimes construed with the subjective, e.g. *nitya-yāgyasahitē* " along with periodical sacrifices ", iii, 86. *Vāñcūni* " without ", " except ", is generally joined to the subjective, e.g. *īśvaravāñcūni* " without God ", ii, 242. *Tujhē vākya vāñcūni* " without a word from thee ", ii, 64; sometimes *vāñcūni* precedes the noun, as in iii, 45. *vāñcūni karmārambha ucita* " without inception of befitting actions ".

*Vari* " on ", " upon ", " up to ", almost invariably follows or is joined to the subjective. The most striking instance is the constantly occurring *hā-ṭhāvo-vari* " up to this place ", " so far ", " in this way ", xi, 36, xiii, 1165, xi, 386, xiii, 677, etc. *Kalpāntavari* " for an æon ", ii, 201. Sometimes the variant *veri* or *verhī* occurs, e.g. *āyusṣyaverhī* " for a lifetime ", ix, 506.

In *vāñcūni* we have a typical example of the gradual passage of verbal forms into postpositions. *Vari* is a most instructive example, and the instability of these postpositions of the subjective affords further proof that in the poet's time there was no question of a general oblique form to which to append postpositions.



*The Instrumental (Synthetic and Analytic)*

This case together with the locative resisted for a long time the gradual break-up of the synthetic declensional system. The characteristic M. and N. synthetic terminations *ē* and *ī* of the singular and plural are derived from S. *ena*. Pr. *ena* in the Sing. and V.S. *ebhih*. P. *ehi* in the Plural. Thus we get the pronouns, *jehī* "by whom", xviii. 70, *jihī* "by whom", x. 129, *tehī*. x. 130. *tihī* "by them", ix. 203; *netrī pāhe* "sees with the eyes", v. 41: *vāyasī candia nolakhije* "the moon is not recognized by the crows", vi. 29. The synthetic instrumental of the Fem. ends in *ā* or *iyā*, the latter being employed for *ī* nouns. All nouns in *i* make *ī* in the instrumental, but these *tatsamas* in some texts read *i*, notably in Mādagāvakara's. The analytic influence which had already spread to other cases, made itself felt on the *ē* instrumental, so that we find in the Jñāneśvarī a good many instances of *ē* with the augments *na* or *ni*, which according to Grierson are the abraded forms of *tana*, *tani*, the latter being the locative of the former. This augment is extensively used as a reinforcement of a participle, a noun or a pronoun in the genitive case, preceding another noun in the simple instrumental in *ē*. e.g. *paī mohāceni sāṅgaḍē | lāsī pilē dharī toṇḍē | tetha dāntāce āṅgaraḍē | lūṅatī jaise ||* "just as behold the points of her teeth touch (without hurting) the kittens which the cat *by force of her love* holds in her mouth", xiii, 252. *āmuceni pāḍē* "by my worthiness", vi, 326. *jāṇīje ācarateni bāḡē* "is known by the method of trial and error" (lit. "the practising method"), xiii, 244. Instances, however, are by no means wanting where the *ni* form is appended to the *ē* instrumental, *anusvāra* being absorbed: *jē hē viśva ci hōūni ase | pari viśvapaṇa nāsāleni na nase | akṣarē pusilayā na puse | artha jaisā |* "this world which arises and subsists, but is not destroyed *by its world-form having been destroyed*, just as the meaning of a word is not lost when the (component) letters are blotted out", viii, 176; *mī sarvathā na juṇjhaī ethē bharavaseni* "by no means will I do battle here with *assurance*", ii, 82. And *u* and *ū* stems assume *ni* regularly, e.g. *vayūni nāvabhārī ugē nasāvē | . . . he ājñā mājhī ||* "it is my command that the wind should not be still for a moment even", ix. 281-2. And the 1st and 2nd personal pronouns have sets of two instrumentals, *mīyā*, *mājheni*, etc.

Rājavāḍe has for some reason omitted to note this *ni* of the *u*, *ū* stems. He considers that the palatal vowel in *ni* is merely a poetical addition, but it is difficult on this hypothesis to account for the

presence of *ni* in the middle of the conjunctive participles (such as *dekhauniyā*), which, as will be shown hereafter, are the ablatives of the verbal root + the locative of the postpositional suffix *ni*, the locative itself of *tana*, nor for the *ni* in the form *bharavasseniṣī* in vi, 47, where we have a treble instrumental. The fact that the *u* stems take this *ni* straightaway adds considerable force to Grierson's *tana* theory, which, however, does not depend on Marāṭhī alone for its proof. (See also remarks under conjunctive participle.)

The following examples will illustrate the Feminine instrumentals :  
*Tū nirmatsaru sadayatā | ethūni nighasi kira māghantū | pari te guti samastā namanāla jayā ||* "thou who from *pity* are not jealous mayest forsooth retire hence, but that retreat will not be agreeable to all these (Kauravas)", ii, 203 ; *je apravytticū avhāṇṭā | sāṇḍūni viddhīciyā nige vāṭā* "those who abandon the bypath of inertia and proceed by the highroad of the Śāstras", vii, 48 : *prthviyā bhūtē vahāvī* "mankind should be supported by the Earth", ix, 282 ; *prajā vinavilā Brahmā* "Brahmā was petitioned by the people", iii, 87 ; *aiseni iyā prakṛti | āpuliyā sarvavyāpti | avikārātē vikṛti | -mājī kīje |* "thus the immutable Absolute is brought into mutability by this *Māyā* through her all-pervasiveness", xiii, 1007.

Bloch (op. cit., § 193) quotes among examples of M. and N. instrumentals *bāyakē* "by a woman". This word is not found in the Jñāneśvari, nor have any instances of the employment of *ē* with the Fem. of nouns, adjectives, or pronouns been detected. Nor does Rājavāde give *ē* as a Fem. Instrumental. *Bayakē* appears to be the instrumental of a neuter diminutive *bāyakū*. ũ.

### Other Postpositions of the Instrumental

*Sī, sahītē, savē* "with", *vīṇa, hīna* "without", *karūni* "having done". Examples are as follows : *bharavasseniṣī* "with confidence", vi, 47 ; *jīvitēṣī* "with life", ii, 45 : *iḥī nāna bhūtē sahītē* "with these various creatures", xi, 273 ; *mukhamelēvīṇa | pilayacē pokhaṇa | kari niriṣṇa | kūrmi jēvī ||* "rears its young by fond gazes without giving them suck, just as the turtle does", xiii, 140 ; *Bharatārē hīna* "without a husband", ii, 199 ; *avaghiyā bhūmikā savē chāle* "he accompanies with every state", xviii, 1043 ; *sayāsēkarūni bahūtē* "with great endeavour", ii, 209 ; *maunēkarūni* "with silence", ii, 83.

*Sī* must be distinguished carefully from the dative postposition *si*. The former is generally derived from *sahitam*. Rājavāde, however, derives *sī* from *samam*. Both derivations present difficulties.

*Note.*—*Sī* is invariably construed with the instrumental and so are *savē*, *vīṇa*, and *karūni*. *Sahitē*, as already noted, is sometimes found with the subjective.

### *The Ablative*

In the Jñāneśvarī this case assumes the forms *ūni*, *auni*, *oni*, *aunu*, and sometimes *hūni*. We have here to do, as Bloch has well shown, with *aū* or *ao* < Pr. *ādu*, *ādo* + the locative postposition *ni*, which Grierson derives from *tani*. As regards *hūni* it may be explained, following Bloch, as the conjunctive participle *ho-ūni* of the root *ho* “be”, “become”. This is clear from xvi, 331, where we read *pātālā-hoūni nimna* “deeper than hell” and in xii, 147, *kā vyāghrā viṣa-hoūni marā* “or to kill a tiger with poison”.

Examples of the more usual terminations *ūni*, etc., are : *svapnauni* “from a dream”, ix, 112; *meghauni* “from the cloud”, vi, 87. *Ethauniyā* “hence”, ii, 202. [Here the augment *yā*, identical with that of the conjunctive participle appears]; *durūni* “from afar”, ix, 172. *Jijediuni[yā] kā janmale Pāṇḍava he* “from the day these Pāṇḍavas were born”, xi, 168. [Three texts have the augment *yā*.] *Svarguniyā* “from heaven”, xiv, 216. *mrgajalācī gā talī | tiyē dīhī duraunu ci nyākālī* “look at those tanks of the mirage with a glance from afar”, xv, 222. Other postpositions of the ablative are *lāgauni*, *lāgauniyā*, *stava*, *saini*, *pāsāvo*. In x, 270, we read *maśakūlāgauni Brahmavari grasī to mī* “I am he who devours (everything) from a gnat up to Brahma”. Also in x, 296, *muṅgiyelāgauni Brahmavari* “from an ant up to Brahma”. *Lāgauni* “from” is found in the Nāgāva inscription of A.D. 1367.

*Lāga* is construed with the dative. Hence in the above examples we have the conjunctive participle, used as a postposition, attached to the synthetic dative to form an ablative.

An instance of *stava* is *annastava bhutē praroha pāvatī samastē* “all creatures obtain growth from food”, iii, 134. As Bloch points out, the texts of the Mānbhavas have an ablative *tava*, side by side with *stava*, so that perhaps *tava* is derived from the Sanskrit *tāvat*, but how is the *s* in *stava* explained? Bloch gives yet another explanation of the derivation of *stava* (op. cit., § 198), but regards the matter

as "provisoirement insoluble". A peculiar and rare form of the ablative occurs in vi. 161. *taisā santosācā kāyī ghaḍilā | kī siddha-bhāṇḍāra-saini kūḍhilā | dise teṇē mānē rūḍhalā | sādḥaka dase |*, "such a body filled with happiness has been fashioned or appears to have emerged from the magician's store in the degree that it has attained to the condition of the magician's patron and accessory". Nine texts have *bhāṇḍārasaini*, two read *bhāṇḍārīhāni*, and one *bhāṇḍārāhāni*. These latter, though obvious glosses, and occurring as they do in the least reliable texts, are useful in fixing the meaning of *saini* as "from", "out of". In this connexion it may be noted that a declinable adjective *sina*, meaning "separate", "different", occurs in five passages, xiii. 295, xv. 458, xvii. 70, 168, xviii. 272. Also the adjective *sinānā* (= *sina* + *āna* < *anya*), meaning "separate", "distinct", is of frequent occurrence. It is possible that *saini* may be connected with this adjective, for in the speech of the common folk, especially the Mahārs, *šine*, *šane*, are pleonastically attached to the conjunctive participles and ablative in *āna*, e.g. *ānhī tē karānašani ālō* "I did it and came here", *to tithūnašine gelā* "he went thence". And it is interesting to compare *saini* with the Hindi *se* "from", "with", and the *sana* of Tulsidāsa. It is also to be noted that *saini* is attached to the subjective. The noun *pāsāvo* "vicinity" is employed as equivalent to "from" in the following passage and construed with the synthetic genitive. *Ātā aisaisēyā aparādhā | maryādā nāhī mukundā | mhaṇauni rakṣa rakṣa pramadā- | pāsāvo mhaṇē ||* "now there is no limit of my transgressions oh Kṛṣṇa, therefore I say protect, oh protect, me from sin", xi, 571.

### The Locative

This is still a synthetic case in the Jñāneśvarī and for long resisted the postpositional influence, so much so that at the present day such locatives as *gharī* "at home", *gāvē* "in the village", "not gone abroad", *rātrī* "at night", *thikāṇī* "in the place", *sakālī* "in the morning", *ravivārī* "on Sunday", *kānī* "in the ear", *jāgī* "in the place", *velī* "at the time", *eke divāśī* "one day", *pūrvī* "formerly", *śevatī* "at last", etc., are still in common use. The *ā* synthetic locative survives in adverbs of time such as *jevḥā* "when", *tevḥā* "then", *magḥā* "a little while ago", *udyā* "to-morrow", *ātā* "now", etc.

The following table will serve to illustrate the synthetic locatives of the Jñāneśvarī:—

| Subj.<br>ending. | Loc.<br>Sing.                             | Loc.<br>Pl.                  | Loc.<br>Sing.      | Loc.<br>Pl.        |
|------------------|-------------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| <i>i</i>         | <i>āgī</i>                                | <i>āgī</i>                   | <i>buddhī. ī</i>   | <i>buddhī</i>      |
| <i>ī</i>         | <i>vicekiyā</i><br><i>[dī. xiii. 818]</i> | <i>vicekiyā</i><br><i>dī</i> | <i>devakī. iye</i> | <i>devakī. iya</i> |
| <i>u</i>         | <i>gurū</i>                               | <i>gurū</i>                  | <i>mātū. ū</i>     | <i>matū</i>        |
| <i>ū</i>         | <i>viñcurī</i>                            | <i>viñcurī</i>               | <i>sāsū</i>        | <i>sāsū</i>        |
| <i>a</i>         | <i>thāyī</i>                              | <i>thāyī</i>                 | <i>jībhe</i>       | <i>jībha</i>       |
| <i>ā</i>         | <i>doḷā</i>                               | <i>doḷā</i>                  | <i>kuḷī</i>        | <i>kuḷī</i>        |
|                  |                                           |                              | <i>mālī. māle</i>  | <i>mālī</i>        |

Neuter nouns in *a* follow the rule for M. *Pāṇī* makes *pāṇī* in the locative, *gorū* “a bovine beast”, *goruvī* (S. and P.), *sonē* “gold”. *soneyā*, *disaṇē* “appearing”, “appearance”, *disaṇeyā* (S.) and *disaṇā* (P.), *āpaṇapē* “the self”, “the soul” (S.), *āpaṇapeyā* (P.), *āpaṇapā*. It should be noted that the Fem. *i*, *ī*, *tatsama* classes are unstable, *i* nouns appearing as *ī* and vice versa. Hence the terminations of the locative vary accordingly. The locative may take five postpositions, four being locatives themselves, attached either to the synthetic genitive, or to the *eā* form of the genitive, or to the locative of a preceding pronoun or participle. They are *mājī*, *ī* from S. *madhya*, Pr. *majja*; *mājhārī*, *ī* from *madhya* + either *hāra* “a line”, “row”, or *antara* “interval”; *ānta* from S. *anta* “inside”; *vikhī* or *viṣī*, the locative of *viṣaya* “matter”, “subject”; *thāyī*, the locative of *thāya* “place”. *Ānta* is generally written separately from the word it is connected with. Illustrations are as under.

*Devā avidyārnāvī paḍilō | jī viṣayavāgure āntudalō | svargasāsūracā*  
*saṅkadalō | doḥī bhāgī* | “oh God! I have fallen into the ocean of ignorance. I have been caught in the net of worldly desires and pressed between both the divisions of heaven and the world”, xi, 329;  
*striyecā tarī viṣī | bhogasamṇpatti anekī | ānī vastu nikī | je je dekhe* ||  
“where his wife is concerned he brings her a wealth of various things for her enjoyment and whatever choice articles he may espy”, xiii, 797;  
*śilpī atinipuṇu | śubhakarmī hī pravīṇa* | “very skilled in the arts and crafts and adept too in good actions”, xiii, 830;  
*mājhā cittī* “in my mind”. ii, 52;  
*taḡā doḥī sainyā ānta* “in those two armies”, ii, 87;  
*jaḡāmājī* “in the world”, ii, 96;  
*jaī kūda āgīthā paḍe*

“when impure gold is put into the brazier”. xviii. 121; *padhigantā thūgī* “in an agreeable place”. xviii. 79; *jetha āśerīye lāle- | ānta hīsā-jībha lole* | “where the tongue of slaughter revolves in the spittle of desire”. ix. 181; *erttīmājhārī* “in conduct”. xviii. 1033; *iye thūgī* “in this place”. ii. 6; *bahutī parī* “in many a way”. ii. 163; *jē samastē iye bhūtē | janmā ādi amūrtē | maga pātālī vjaktītē | janmalayā* “all created beings, which before birth were formless, attained to specific manifestation at birth” (lit. “on having been born”). ii. 164; *gā upadhīmāji gupta* “concealed within these limitations”. ii. 126; *kuśī na rige* “does not enter (thy) side”. xiv. 40; *sākhareciye rāsī baisali nuḍe māsī* “a fly lodged in a heap of sugar does not take to the wing”. xiii. 783; *kā dāravantḥā cī jagācē | sīsa rovilē khāñce | to keṇī parivarīcē | thevilē dekhe* | “or how can a man, whose head (when entering) at the doorway has rolled into the gutter, see what is placed inside the house?”. xiii. 845; *sṛṣṭicā hoṇā na race* “is not built up in the becoming of the created world”. xiii. 1113; *ṛtīmājī kusumākara | vasanta to mī* | “among the seasons I am that Spring, a store-house of flowers”. x. 283.

### Vocative

This case does not differ appreciably from the modern forms, e.g. *Pārthā* “oh Arjuna!”, iii. 3; *Ambe, śrīmantē, nījajanakalpalate* “oh, Ambā! oh wealthy one, oh thou creeper fulfilling the desires of thy devotees”, xii. 10; *āikā mahābāho* “listen, oh mighty one!”, x. 54; *prāṇigaṇaho* “oh host of creatures”. iii. 115; *prajāho* “oh subjects”, iii. 94, 111. *Ambe*, etc., are pure Sanskrit vocatives, which have descended to the modern spoken language, especially in the proper names of females. *Mahābāho* is also a Sanskrit vocative.

### ADJECTIVES, ADVERBS, AND NUMERALS

All adjectives in the Jñāneśvarī are declinable and when declined generally follow the rules applicable to nouns and stand in the same case as the noun which they qualify. Thus, *bahutā tejātē prakāṣe* “he flashes forth abundant light”, ii. 238. Here *bahutā* is the Neuter Dative used as an objective agreeing with *tejātē* in the same case. *Nātari grīṣmakālī saritā | śoṣonī jāti samastā* | “or again all rivers dry up in the hot season”; ii. 359 [subj. F. pl.]: *janmāntarī bahutī* “in the course of many births and rebirths”, iii. 25 [loc. pl. N.]. It is to be noted that the Neuter plural of adjectives, which are indeclinable in the modern language, ends in *ē* in the Jñāneśvarī, e.g.

*kaustubhākūṇi nirmalē leṇī dudhalī* “gave me ornaments purer than Kṛṣṇa’s breast jewel”, ix, 389.

An instance of the instrumental Neuter is: *bolatuse drdhē mānasē* “he is speaking with steadfast mind”, ix, 526. And of the F locative *āghaviṇe trijagatī* “in the whole three worlds”, x, 82.

Adverbs are either the instrumentals or locatives of nouns and adjectives, e.g. *vipāyē* “perhaps”, ii, 205; *viśeṣē* “particularly”, ii, 268; *apādē* “strangely”, i, 43; *vegā* “swiftly”, ii, 221; or else they are adjectives used predicatively. There is a fourth class, consisting of adverbs of time, place, and manner, which can generally be traced to their Sanskrit originals. Some admit of declension, e.g. *bāhirā* “outer”, “outside”; *je kalpane bāhire na nigati* “those who do not get outside of their fanciful thoughts”, vii, 147; *pāṇiyājavaṭi bābuli* “moss growing near to water”, xviii, 272. Others also are declinable, as noted below.

The following is a fairly complete list of adverbs: *jaī* “when”, iv, 197; *taī* “then”, iv, 197; *jāva* “when”, iii, 211; *tāva* “then”, i, 168; *jeutā* “where”, “whither”, iv, 191; *keutā* “where”, “whither”, x, 11; *teutā* “there”, “thither”, ix, 255 (this series is declinable, e.g. *pāhē pā budabuda jeutā jaye teutē jaḷa eka tayātē āhe* “pray observe that whither the bubble goes, there it simply consists of water”, ix, 255); *jedhavā* “when”, ix, 254; *tedhavā* “then”, xv, 164; *kedhavā* “when”, xv, 125; *kē* “where”, vi, 123; *kēhī* “whence”, xviii, 1146; *kahī* “ever”, v, 33; *arautē, arutē* “on this side”, xv, 225; (declinable) *parautē* “on that side”, vi, 81; (declinable) *māghautē, māgutē* “behind”, “formerly”, xv, 75, xvii, 174; (declinable) *pudhā* “in front”, xv, 75; *moharē* “in front”, xviii, 584; (declinable) *ārḥā* “on this side”, xv, 73; *pāṭhī* “afterwards”, “after”, “behind”, xv, 436; *āpaisē* “of one’s own accord”, “easily”, xv, 522; (declinable) *ānauti* “elsewhere”, xii, 79; *āhācu* “on the surface”, ii, 39; *yevī* “as”, “when”, xi, 153; *jevī* “just as”, xvii, 192; *tevī* “so”, “in like manner”, ix, 7; *kevī* “how”, ii, 32; *jiyāpari* “in the manner in which”, “as”, “like”, ii, 301; *tayāpari* “so”, “similarly”, xi, 578; *uparatē* “on the contrary”, xi, 384; *ekasarē* “straight away”, vi, 155 (declinable), *aīla, aīlāṭi, aīṭi* “to this side”, xiii, 844; *pāila* “yonder”, v, 93; *tetha, tethē* “there”, ii, 69; xvii, 192; *yetha, yethē* “here”, xvii, 197; *jetha, jethē* “where”, ii, 38; *kadā* “ever”, ii, 135; *pāhe* “to-morrow”, vii, 14; *sāṁpē (sāmprata)* “now”, xi, 168; *khēva, khēvo* “at that instant”, xvi, 14; *caumerī, ī* “everywhere”, ii, 200; *nāvabhari*

“for a moment”, vi. 332: *nāvānāvā* “repeatedly”, xvi. 179: *nāveka* “momentarily”, iii. 211: *nīrhā* “altogether”, xvii. 249: *nīca* (*nitya*) “always”, “eternally”, xii. 36. *Saviyā*, *sāviyā* (1) “utterly”, viii. 111: (2) “immediately”, vi. 22; (3) “by chance”, vi. 184: (4) “suddenly”, iv. 197. Numerals like adjectives are declinable: *prathamī* “in the first”, *dujā* “in the second”, *tujā* “in the third”, x. 24, 25; *āthā rasācī vōvālanī* “a ceremonial waving of the eight rhetorical qualities”, iv. 213. The cardinal number one is *ekī* in the Fem.: *ekī dorī* “a single rope”, xviii. 55: *maja ekēviṇa* “without Me, the one and only”, ix. 334, and so on.

### PRONOUNS

The following tables exhibit the personal pronouns. References are given in the case of archaisms, where necessary:—

| 1ST PERSON SINGULAR |                                                                                                                                                                                              | 1ST PERSON PLURAL |                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Subj.               | <i>mī</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                  | Subj.             | <i>āmhi</i> , xii. 222; xiii. 156.                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| Dat.                | <i>maja</i> , <i>mātr</i> , ii. 82; <i>maja-lāgi</i> , ix. 361; <i>maja-prati</i> , <i>maja-si</i> .                                                                                         | Dat.              | <i>āmhā</i> , xii. 196; <i>āmhā-lāgi</i> , ii. 4; <i>āmhā-si</i> , ii. 58; <i>āmatē</i> , ix. 30; <i>āmutē</i> , xiii. 33; <i>āmhā-prati</i> .                                                                             |
| Instr.              | <i>myā</i> , <i>miyā</i> , ix. 66; <i>mājheni</i> , ix. 200; <i>maja-sī</i> , x. 116; <i>māsī</i> , ix. 449                                                                                  | Instr.            | <i>āmhi</i> , <i>āmhi</i> , xi. 546, <i>āmuceni</i> , vi. 326.                                                                                                                                                             |
| Abl.                | <i>maja-pāsūni</i> , ix. 88; <i>maja-pāsauni</i> , iii. 35; <i>maja-karaē</i> , iii. 4.                                                                                                      | Abl.              | <i>āmhā-pāsauni</i> , etc.                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| Gen.                | <i>maja</i> , <i>mājhā</i> , i. ē (when declined. <i>mājhayā</i> , xi. 297 (Dat.): <i>mājhiyā</i> , ix. 406 (Gen.): <i>mājhiye</i> , ix. 426 (Inst.): <i>mājheyā</i> , xii. 85 (Gen.), etc.) | Gen.              | <i>āmhā</i> , xii. 226; <i>āmacā</i> , etc., <i>āmucā</i> , etc., ix. 71 (when declined, <i>āmaciyā</i> , xi. 291 (Inst.): <i>āmuciyē</i> , ix. 37 (Loc.): <i>āmuceyā</i> , i. 112 (Gen.): <i>āmuciyā</i> , ii. 37 (Dat.)) |
| Loc.                | <i>mājhāthāyī</i> , ix. 409; <i>maja-ānta</i> , ix. 420; <i>majamāji</i> , ix. 71.                                                                                                           | Loc.              | <i>āmhā-ānta</i> , etc.                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 2ND PERSON SINGULAR |                                                                                                                                                                                              | 2ND PERSON PLURAL |                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| Subj.               | <i>tū</i> .                                                                                                                                                                                  | Subj.             | <i>tumhi</i> , xiii. 51.                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Dat.                | <i>tūtē</i> , ii. 216; <i>tuja</i> , xiii. 781; <i>tuja-prati</i> , xiii. 74; <i>tuja-si</i> .                                                                                               | Dat.              | <i>tumhā</i> , v. 4; <i>tuma-tē</i> , iii. 94; <i>tumhāsi</i> , iv. 41; <i>tumhāpāsi</i> , xii. 319.                                                                                                                       |
| Instr.              | <i>turā</i> , ii. 10; <i>tujheni</i> , ii. 97; <i>tuja-sī</i> , i. 234.                                                                                                                      | Instr.            | <i>tumhi</i> , xi. 59, 589; <i>tumaceni</i> , vi. 140; <i>tumacena</i> , xi. 20; <i>tumhī</i> .                                                                                                                            |
| Abl.                | <i>tuja-pāsauni</i> , ii. 95; <i>-pasūni</i> , etc.                                                                                                                                          | Abl.              | <i>tumhā-pāsauni</i> , etc.                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Gen.                | <sup>1</sup> <i>tujha</i> , etc., <i>tuja</i> .                                                                                                                                              | Gen.              | <i>tumacā</i> , etc., with the usual variations when declined.                                                                                                                                                             |
| Loc.                | <i>tuja-māji</i> , xi. 261; <i>tuja-ānta</i> , xi. 327; <i>tujhāthāyī</i> .                                                                                                                  | Loc.              | <i>tumhāthāyī</i> , ix. 41, etc.                                                                                                                                                                                           |

<sup>1</sup> When declined *tujhiyā*, iii. 12 (Dat.): *tujheyā*, xi. 280 (Loc. M.): *tujhiye* (Loc. F.), xii. 2: etc.



## OTHER PRONOUNS

*Hā, he, hē* “this”, *to, te, tē* “that, he, she, it”, *jo, je, jē* “which”, may be grouped, as they are declined in the same way. The subjective plurals are M. *he*, etc.; F. *iyā, yā, tiyā, jiyā*; N. *yē, iyē, tayē, tē, tiyē, jayē, jē, jiyē*.

|                                 |                        | SINGULAR |            |             |                                |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|----------|------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
|                                 |                        | M. & N.  | F.         | M. & N.     | F.                             |
| Synthetic<br>Dative<br>Genitive | <i>yā</i>              |          | <i>ye</i>  | <i>tayā</i> | <i>tiye</i>                    |
|                                 | <i>yayā</i>            |          | <i>iyē</i> | <i>teyā</i> | <i>ti</i><br>(with <i>cā</i> ) |
|                                 | <i>iyā</i>             |          | <i>eyā</i> | —           | —                              |
|                                 |                        |          | (G. only)  |             |                                |
|                                 | <i>eyā</i> (xiii, 157) |          | <i>eye</i> | —           | —                              |
|                                 |                        |          | (D. only)  |             |                                |
|                                 | <i>yeyā</i> (xiv, 3)   |          | —          | —           | —                              |
| Synthetic<br>Locative           | <i>tye</i>             |          | <i>iyā</i> | <i>tiye</i> | <i>tiye</i>                    |
|                                 | <i>ye</i>              |          | —          | <i>teyā</i> | —                              |
|                                 | <i>iyā</i>             |          | —          | <i>tiyā</i> | —                              |
| Synthetic<br>Instr.             | <i>yenē</i>            |          | <i>iyā</i> | <i>tenā</i> | <i>jiyā</i>                    |
|                                 | <i>iyā</i>             |          | <i>eyā</i> | <i>tena</i> | —                              |
|                                 | <i>yayā</i>            |          | —          | —           | —                              |
|                                 | <i>yā</i>              |          | —          | —           | —                              |

The Ablative is formed by adding *pāsauni*, etc., to the Dat.-Gen., forms in *ā* for S. and *ā* for P. Other case-phrases are formed on the same principles as apply to nouns. Two bases *a* or *i* < *idam* and *e* < *etad* respectively underlie the declension of the near demonstrative.

In the plural *anusvāra* is the distinctive sign of the dative-genitive. e.g. *yā, yayā, eyā* (xiii, 150, 303), etc., also for the loc. pl. *yayā, yā*, etc. It is noticeable that in the Fem. Instr. the synthetic termination *ā* is preserved, as in the case of Fem. nouns, e.g. *vikāra umapa iyā kele* “she has effected innumerable changes of form”, xiii, 991 (referring to Prakṛti or Māyā in the Sāṅkhya philosophy).

The Instrumental Plural runs, M., F., N. *ihī, ehī, tihī, tehī, jehī, jihī*. *Eyā, iyā*, etc., also occur for the F. instrumental plural. The variant *yehī* occurs for the N. instr. plural (xviii, 313). References have been omitted as a rule for these constantly recurring forms. They also show textual variations in all the cases.

There are miscellaneous pronouns, some of which are noted as

under: *Aisē* “such”, ii, 11; *jaisē* “just as”, ii, 8; *taisē* “such”, ii, 8; *kaisē* “like what?”, ii, 61 (*kāyisā*, ii, 7); *kavaṇa* “who”, ii, 6; *kavhaṇa* “who”, ii, 269; *kāi* “what”, xviii, 267 (*kāhyācenī antaḥkaraṇē* “with what heart”, viii, 122); *āpulē* “one’s own”, ii, 57; *jevhaḍē* “as much”, ix, 258; *kerhaḍā* “how much?”, xiii, 64; *yetulē* “so many”, vi, 334; *etulē* “so many”, vi, 438; *jetukē* “as much”, vi, 425; *ketukē* “how much?”, xiii, 639; *kitulē* “how many?”, x, 67; *tetulē* “so many”, ii, 261; *itulē* “so many”, x, 61; *svayē* “by one’s self”, “personally”, ii, 33 (instr.); *satatē* “one’s own”, xiii, 583; *kaicē* “like what”, ix, 9; *tesaṇē* “such”, ix, 9; *yesaṇē* “such”, i, 261; *nija* “one’s own”, xviii, 495; *yerē* “other”, vi, 221; *āpaṇapē* “self” [“the soul”, ii, 119 [xviii, 290].

#### PARTICLES

Some are noted as follows. As they constantly occur, no references are given except in two instances. *Gā* “oh!”, *hana* or *hāna* and *ci* are enclitics; *ci* may also be used as an enhancing particle, e.g. *kiṃbahunā Dhanañjayā | strī ci sarvasva jayā | āṇi tiyeeṇi jālayā- | lāgī prema ||* “in short oh Arjuna the man to whom his wife *alone* is everything and whose love (is) for her offspring”, xiii, 802. *Je* at the commencement of a sentence is sometimes used in the sense of “because” or as an introductory particle. *Je to ātmabodhē toṣalā* “because he has obtained satisfaction by knowledge of self”, iii, 147. *Paī* and *pā* are used independently and also after the Imperative: *pahē pā* “do”, “pray” consider. They are contractions of *pāhī* and *pāhā* respectively. *Kira* “it is true”; *hokā* or *hokāja* “why not”, “to be sure”; *jhaṇē* (1) “perhaps”, (2) “beware lest”; *nānā* “or”, “otherwise”, in introducing a statement [*nānyathā*]; *mā* (1) “then” (*maga*), (2) expresses astonishment. (3) asks a question.

*hā gā* “yes to be sure”; *nā* (1) “or”, (2) “otherwise”, (3) “and”, (4) “but”; *kī* (1) “surely”, (2) “or”, (3) used as an enclitic; *kā* (1) “and”, (2) “or”, (3) “why?”; *nātari* “otherwise”; *hāho* “yes, to be sure”.

#### THE VERB

1. *The Aorist*.—As in the case of the noun the Sanskrit tenses and conjugations underwent reduction and amalgamation until finally the aorist and the imperative were the only synthetic forms left in Marāṭhī. The terminations of the aorist are as follows:—

| Singular.          | Plural.         |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| 1. <i>ē, ī</i>     | <i>ū, ō</i>     |
| 2. <i>asi, isi</i> | <i>ā, ā</i>     |
| 3. <i>e, ī, ai</i> | <i>ati, iti</i> |

In the modern language this tense is employed as a past habitual in affirmative clauses and to express the idea of unwillingness in negative clauses. It still, however, lingers on in its original sense of expressing action independent of time, present, past, or future, in proverbs and pithy sayings, e.g. *phuṭalē motī tutalē mana sāndhā na śake vidhātū* "the Creator cannot mend a fractured pearl or a broken heart". *Jyāchī lāge chāḍa to ule tāḍamāḍa* "He who is sought after may overleap palm and coco-nut trees".

Instances occur of verbs used transitively assuming intransitive endings, e.g. *jāṇē, nācarē* "I do not practice": *pāhē, jūhē, dekhe, mhaṇe, neṇe* "he knows not": *mirarati* "they make a parade of": *nēghati* "they take not": *sāhuti* "they endure": and of the reverse process, *uṭhī, hasai, sirai, ruṇujhujīti* "they clang".

2. *The Imperative* takes the following terminations:—

| Singular.      | Plural.   |
|----------------|-----------|
| 2. ē, ī, aī, a | ā, ā      |
| 3. o           | otu, atu. |

ē is the *usual* termination of the 2nd sing. for intransitive verbs: ī for transitives. Exceptions similar to those occurring in the aorist are found in the corresponding imperatives, e.g. *pāhē, pāhī* "look", viii. 177, ii. 133: *uṭhī* "arise", ii. 18: *upasāhē* "bear with", vi, 21: *hasī* "laugh", etc. Māḍagāvakara shows a decided preference for aī, *dekhaī* "see", where Sākhare has *dekhē*. Rājavāde gives *jāṇai* "know", *āikaī* "hear", which also occur in Māḍagāvakara.

The *anusvāra* in the 2nd plural is unstable, e.g. *pariyesā* "listen", x, 111; *dekhā* "see", v, 10. The precative plural is illustrated by the following: *asotu yē vāyānī* "let these idle words cease", ix, 186: *maga karmendriyē vyāpārī vartatu sukhē* "then let the organs of action function as they please", iii, 76.

3. *The Future*.—The need of a definite tense to express future action must soon have been felt, so we find a future tense built up analytically on the aorist by the addition of *l*. Sometimes the 3rd singular ends in *aila*, e.g. *varusaila* "it will rain", ii, 79. In the 1st singular the *l* has been assimilated to *n* after *anusvāra* on phonetical grounds. This *l* may be the abraded form of some such verbal root as *lāv* or *le* as Bloch (op. cit., §§ 240–2) suggests. But it may be permissible, as Beames does, to refer it to the root *lāg*, which was in use in the poet's time as an inceptive.

4. *Indeclinable and Declinable Present Participles*.—In the evolution of the analytic conjugation the undeclined present participle in *t*

played a great and principal part. In the Jñāneśvarī we constantly find it standing detached and used as the equivalent of a present definite (cf. a similar use in Old Gujarātī and Hindī, and see Beames, vol. iii, chap. ii). Examples are: *Pāhē pā tarāṅga tarī hota jāta | pari tetha udaka tē ākhaṇḍa asata | tevī bhuta-bhāvī nāsiyanta | avināśa jē* : “ behold as water is indestructible, though the waves come and go, so Brahma is indestructible, who is destructible from the view-point of creation ”, viii. 177; *hē anādisiddha āgharē | hota jata svabhāvē | tarī tuvā kā śocāvē | sāṅgāi maja* : “ all this established from Eternity, arises and fades away naturally, so tell me why thou shouldst repine ”, ii. 100. The locative of this participle expresses concurrent or continuous action, as in the modern language. The declinable *tā* form of the present participle was used chiefly (1) as a noun of agency, e.g. *kī tū eka vadhitā | āṇi sakāḷa loka hā maratā | aisī bhrāntī jhaṇē cittā | yevō deśī* : “ or beware lest thou allowest the illusion to enter thy mind that thou art a slayer and all this multitude the victim ”, ii. 99. (2) Constantly as a participial adjective: *vāḍhatē jhāḍa* “ a growing tree ”, x. 69; *padhiyantā thāyī* “ in an agreeable place ”, xviii. 79. Bloch states (op. cit., § 244) that this *tā* participle is employed with the equivalence of a 3rd person present definite. The point may be conceded without admitting that this is the primary use. Indeed, in the two examples cited by Bloch and elsewhere the *tā* forms may equally well be translated as nouns of agency, and in the third passage there is a doubt as regards the correct reading, six texts, including the Paṭhaṇa, placing an *anusvāra* over *mhaṇatū* and *dekhatā*, which would show that these are static participles in the *ā* locative case, used loosely as tense forms. But Bloch raises two issues, which are more important. In the first place he asserts (op. cit., § 248) that the *to* forms of the modern present definite, which occur in Nānadeva, but not in the Jñāneśvarī, were evolved contemporaneously with the *tā* forms, which now do duty for the modern conditional, and that Jñānadeva, being “ un poète savant ”, did not employ the former for that reason. Now in the first place Jñānadeva was not “ un poète savant ” in the sense that he disregarded current Marāṭhī orthography and grammar or failed to employ homely language. For he repeatedly lays marked stress on the beauties of “ Marhātī ”, which in one passage (vi, 133) he speaks of as *deśī Marhātī*. It is inconceivable therefore that he should have deliberately omitted to use the *to* present even in a single instance, had it been current in his day. On the other hand,

Nāma, who survived for over fifty years after Jñānobā's decease in A.D. 1296, was certainly "un poète populaire". But it was for this very reason that we cannot say with assurance that the "to" forms were current in Nāma's time. Thousands of his *abhaṅgas* have been lost, and those which have survived have become extensively modernized from constant repetition in the mouths of the populace.

But secondly, the question is not so much as regards priority in point of time between the *to* and *tū* forms, but as concerns the genesis of the former. It is best to take matters from the beginning as we find them in Jñānadeva. We have then: (1) an indeclinable *t* participle, loosely but very frequently used as the equivalent of a present definite tense, and sometimes occurring in the singular with the variant *tu*: (ii) a declinable *tū* participle used frequently (1) as a noun of agency, (2) often as a participial adjective, and (3) loosely and infrequently as a present tense; (iii) the *t* participle over and over again appearing in combination with (i.e. either attached to, or preceding or even following after) the aorist of the verb "to be", thus:—

| SINGULAR                               | PLURAL                                         |
|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>mī vartata asē</i> (iii, 160)    | 1. <i>āmhī āhā</i> . . . <i>Karita</i> (ix, 7) |
| <i>mī jāṇatu asē</i> (xv, 438)         | <i>āmhī sāṅgatasō</i> (x, 208; vi, 163)        |
| 2. <i>tū parisata āhāsi</i> (viii, 54) | 2. <i>tumhī bolata aṣa</i> (iv, 184)           |
| <i>tū pālītāsi</i> (xi, 311)           | <i>tumhī pokhitasā</i> (v, 2)                  |
| <i>tū karitu āhāsi</i> (ii, 12)        | <i>tumhī ghālitasā</i> (xviii, 292)            |
| 3. <i>to ase bolata</i> (i, 192)       | 3. <i>te vāhata ci āhāti</i> (viii, 183)       |
| <i>to nacatase</i> (x, 173)            | <i>te ācaratāti</i> (ii, 171)                  |
| <i>to karita ase</i> (ii, 1)           |                                                |
| <i>to disatase</i> (ii, 4, 31)         |                                                |
| <i>to gamata āhe</i> (ii, 70)          |                                                |
| <i>to umaṭāhe</i> (vi, 133)            |                                                |

We see here the process of fusion going on before our eyes. The 3rd plural of the modern present (indicative mood) is already evolved and the *h* of *āhāti* has disappeared. Similarly the 1st plural has taken the first step towards integration in *sāṅgatasō*, and it will not be long before the sibilant is submerged. So also in the 2nd plural. Now it is significant that while the plural has practically still retained its archaic form, the *o* model is already present in the archaic 1st plural. In the Jñāneśvarī we constantly find Arjuna or Śrīkṛṣṇa speaking of themselves as *mī* "I", and after a few *ovis* later on, using the 1st plural of the verb. Nor is this strange, for the idiom of the language is to use *āmhī* "we" as equivalent to *mī*. when a person is speaking of himself. It is therefore suggested that the *o* impetus was communicated in a natural manner from the

1st plural to the 1st singular, and subsequently to the 2nd and 3rd singular of the modern present definite. It would seem preferable thus to account for the *o* element in the singular of the modern tense from its actual presence in the archaic 1st plural than to work backwards from an extraneous 3rd personal pronoun, as Bloch suggests, or to imagine because Jñānadeva occasionally and apparently for the sake of rhythm or rhyme places a *to* "he" after a *tā* participle, e.g. *puraviṭā to* in i, 27, "he is the provider," or after the aorist, as in a *bhāvī to* "he experiences", v, 157, that the remote demonstrative was the origin of the *o* element in the modern present definite tense. To repeat, the *tā* form of the present participle had nothing to do with the *organic* evolution of the modern present definite. That evolution can more satisfactorily and simply be traced to internal developments in a tense, which already possessed the *o* element, and whose component parts were the indeclinable *t* participle and the aorist of the verb to be. Everything happens as if this present definite tense was not fully developed until some time after Jñānadeva and Nāma. The *tā* participle lost after Jñānadeva's time one of its principal uses as a noun of agency and was replaced by the *ṇāra* form, which is of rare and doubtful occurrence in the Jñāneśvarī. What then more natural than that this semi-derelict form was left to function as a conditional, a mood which appears to have been a later development in the Marāṭhī language, as it does not occur in the Jñāneśvarī. The F. and N. forms of the modern present definite were clearly a development after Jñānadeva's time and need not be discussed in this place.

As regards the variant form in *u*, found only in the singular. Rājavāḍe (op. cit., p. 114) gives (1) *karitō* < *karitu* + *ū*, (2) *karitōsi* < *karitu* + *si*, and (3) *karitō* < *karitu*. Now this *u* is apparently the same Apabhrāśa attachment, which we meet with in nouns. But as the *to* participial forms of the modern verb were not evolved until after Jñānadeva's time, it is necessary to suppose that the participial ending in *u* continued in currency for some time after the thirteenth century, a supposition which is not borne out by the facts. This leads to the inference that the *u* participle was a moribund, if not already an archaic form in the poet's time and that it was not possessed of sufficient vitality to affect conjugation or to effect the evolution of a new tense form. Māḍagāvakara's text indeed shows a sparing use of the *u* form, both in the case of participles as well as of nouns. Sākhare, on the other hand, hardly ever reads a *t* participle without

the *u* attachment. But then Sākhare has been extensively retouched and is unreliable on this account and because of his modernity.

5. *Past Participle and Tense*.—The so-called past tense, which is really a declinable past participle, was formed by the addition of *l* or *il* the abraded forms of the Prākṛit adjectival suffix *illa* either (1) to the verbal stem or (2) to the *t* participle. The latter method explains the following forms found in the Jñāneśvarī, some of which, in retaining the *t*, have survived to the present day: *hāṇitaliḡā* “on having struck”, ii, 140; *mhaṇitalē* “spoken”, iii, 1; *sāṅgitalē* “spoken”, iv, 36; *khādaṭi* “eaten”, xi, 82; *jāṇitalē* “known”, iv, 81; *ghetaṭē* “taken”, xv, 411; *dhutaṭi* “washed”, viii, 64; *bag(h)italē* “seen”, *vogha-bagē vegalika* “distinct by looking at the streams”, xviii, 52; *pāṭalō* “we arrived”, vi, 2; *sivatalē* “touched”, ix, 195; *haratalē* “lost”, xviii, 150; *jūṭilē* “conquered”, v, 148; *māpitaṭā bolī bolije*, *mitaṭā pūṭilē cāṭije* “speak in measured words, walk with ordered tread”, vi, 350.

*Bas* or *bais* “sit” and *pais* “enter” have *baiṭhalā* and *paiṭhalā* in the past tense and participle. Vide xviii, 597, 677, and cf. the similar Gujarātī forms. The apparent anomaly can be explained when the derivation is examined.

There are a limited number of past participles of the following type: *ḡinhalā* “given” found in the Pāṭaṇ inscription of A.D. 1206 (vide Bloch, op. cit., § 284): *jhūṇjinale*, *juḡhinmalē* “fought”, x, 38; *paḡinalā*, *paḡinnalā* “fallen”, ix, 45; *vāḡhinalayā* “on having increased”, iv, 10; *paḡhinale*, *paḡhinmale* “learnt”, ix, 176; *dhāvinalē*, *dhāvinnalē* “ran”, xviii, 162; *jaginalayā* “on having awakened”, xviii, 215; *sāsinalē*, *sāsinnalē* “matured”, xi, 11; *minālē* “mixed”, ii, 127; *tapinalā*, *tapinnalā* “heated”, ix, 422; *jācinallā* “tormented”, xvi, 252; *bhajinnalā* “worshipped”, xvii, 8; *duḡhinnaṭi* “gave milk”, xviii, 1689; *kāṃpinalē* “trembled”, xi, 486; which appear to go back and practically reproduce the Prākṛit “model” *diṇṇa* + *illa*. *Didhalē* “given”, ix, 177, which occurs frequently, is of the Prākṛit p.p. type, *laddha*, *daddha*, etc. Cf. Gujarātī *pūdhū*, *dīdhū*, etc. Some verbs, which attach the *l* termination to the stem of the verb, lengthen the final vowel of *a* to *ā* before doing so, on the model, of *nigha*, *nighālā* “set out”. This is, however, an unstable class, except in the case of monosyllabic roots. The root *khāṇḡ* (1) “dig”, (2) “break” has the form *khāṇḡilī* (*māṭi māḡi*) “dug” (in the heath), xviii, 35. *Khaṇitalē*, from the root *khaṇ*, does not occur.

Verbs used transitively are sometimes conjugated in the past tense as if they were intransitives. This is in keeping with more modern popular speech, as noted by Goḍabole (op. cit., pp. 236-7). Thus we have in xviii. 1770, *mī granthalō* "I composed". On the other hand, we meet with the reverse process in such passages as vi. 486. *Tribhuvanaikanarendrē bolilē guṇasamudrē* "the one and only monarch of the three worlds, the ocean of virtue, spake". The locative of this participle is used like the locative of the present participle to express action simultaneous or processional with that of another verb, e.g. *jaisā prakatalayā gabhasī aśeṣahī mārḡa disatī* "just as countless paths become visible as soon as the sun has shone forth", ii. 261. It is also used freely as a participial adjective and is declined : *thirāvalenī antaḥkaraṇē* "with heart composed", i, 61.

It should be noted that as the Prākṛit suffix *illa* was attached to both classes of verbs, it appears in such verbs as *bolilō* "I spoke", *cēlayā* "after awakening", xv. 559 ; *mhaṇitalē, sāṇṇitalē*, etc. In the latter verbs the vowels *a* and *i* have been interchanged. A peculiar form of the 1st singular of the past tense deserves notice. The termination is *lā*. In i. 76, the Paiṭhaṇa MS. has *mī jarī jālā ariveka* "although I have proved an ignoramus". In xviii. 284, there is a very clear instance, as eleven out of twelve texts yield *mī tujhē jālā āhē khelaṇē āji* "I have become your plaything to-day". In vi. 71, two texts, including the Paiṭhaṇa, have *navhē choralā* and two have *navhē choralō* "I have not stolen". Over twenty other instances have been noted, sufficient in number and clear in the context to conclude that the *lā* was a variant form of *lō* in the poet's time and that in certain texts the copyist has been busy in changing *lā* into *lō*. It seems that we have in *lā* the older form of the 1st person, possibly evolved from the nom. sing. masc. plus the *anuvāra* of the 1st sing. aorist. Subsequently the influence of the 1st plural in *ō* would, as noted above, extend itself to the 1st singular and finally submerge the *ā* form.

6. *The Conjunctive Participle*.—The forms of this participle terminate in *uni, ūni, ānu, oni, auni, āūni, āuni*, with the optional enlargement to *ūniyā, etc.* Bloch has shown clearly that the simpler forms are nothing but the ablatives of the Marāṭhī verbal stem plus the *ni* locative attachment, abbreviated from *tani*, as in the case of the ablatives of nouns (e.g. *kara + ū + ni : lāga + ū + ni*). *Niyā* is a strengthened locative in *ā* with intervocalic *y*. All this accords logically with the locative being the case of the present and past



participles employed to denote concurrent or processional action. Examples are as follows : *jaisē svapnāmājī dekhijē | tē svapnī ci sāca āpaje | maga ceūniyā pāhijē | tāva kākī nāhī ||* “ just as what is seen in a dream appears real only in a dream ; then when on awakening it is looked for nothing is visible ”, ii, 139 ; *tū jhaṇē kahī yā vātā visaroni jāśī* “ beware lest thou in forgetfulness goest by this road ”, v, 127. The type *mhaṇāūni* occurs in Mādagāvakara and Sākhare, e.g. in ii, 145 ; not in Rājavāde. M. has *mhanauni* (with the diphthong) where S. and R. read *mhaṇūni* or *mhaṇoni*. *Mhaṇāuni*, occurring in M. and S. > *mhaṇoni*, which in the form *mhaṇona* occurs in correspondence of the Peśvā's Court at the end of the eighteenth century. The *ūnu* form is rare. *Nedūnu* “ not having permitted ”, xvi, 70 ; *perūnu* “ having sown ”, xvi, 148, etc.

The Nāgāva inscription of A.D. 1367 contains the following conjunctive participles, ending in *ni*, *karuni* (occurring three times), *mhaṇauni*, *soḍvūni*. The inscription is in prose, and shows that Rājavāde's explanation of the *i*, *iyā* terminations as being poetical addenda cannot be correct. (See remarks under instrumental.)

7. *Participle of Obligation*.—This participle, indicating obligation, moral duty, and the like, and ending in *āvā*, etc., from the Sanskrit *tavya* is found throughout the Jñāneśvarī and does not differ in the construction from the identical modern form, e.g. *tuṇḍā juṇḍhāvē* “ thou must fight ”, ii, 136.

8. *The Infinitive*.—This form in *ū* or *ō* is employed much more freely in the Jñāneśvarī than in modern Marāṭhī, e.g. *juṇḍhō ālāsi* “ thou camest to do battle ”, ii, 206 ; *cālō nenije* “ it is not known how to walk ”, ii, 223 ; *bolō keṇī mī jāṇē* “ how do I know how to utter ”, x, 22 ; *jīvō marō visarale* “ they forgot to live or to die ”, x, 119 ; *maga ekeka vegalē nivadū na ye* “ then each cannot be distinguished separately ”, v, 154 ; *karū saralē* “ ceased to act ”, xv, 587. The evolution of the *ū* form from the Sanskrit *tum* is recognized by all.

9. *The Verbal Noun*.—This noun seems to have been the starting-point from which the modern *ṇara*, *ṇārā* participle or noun of agency was developed. We have at first nouns of agency in *ṇā*. In iii, 156, it is written *mārgī andhāsarisā pudhā dekhānāhī cāle jaisā* “ just as a man even who can see, accompanying a blind man on the road, walks in front ”, and in xv, 381, *aise dekhāṇe te pāhī āna āhātī* “ behold those who take this view are different ” ; *parisaṇeyāciyā rāyā* “ oh prince of listeners ! ”, viii, 58. The suffixes *kāra*, *kārā*, etc., were

added to yield *dekhṇāra*. *ā* on the analogy of *kumbhakara*. *kumbhāra* ("potter").

10. *The Verb "to be"*.—The following additional forms may be noted: *āthi* "is" is never used in composition with a participle. *āṇi āthi nāthi titukē | rundhalē ase yeṇē ci ekē | kalpāntīcena udakē | vyoma jaisē ||* "and whatever exists or does not exist is enveloped by this single (tree), much as the sky (is enveloped) by the waters at the end of an æon", xv, 53. *Āthi* is also used in the plural in xi, 452.

Present participle *sāntā*, *sātā*, *ī*, *ē* from Prakrit *santao*: *Ākālīcī abhrē jaisī | ūrmīvīṇa ākāśī | hārapatī āpaisī | udailī sāntī ||* "much as unseasonable clouds are dissolved of themselves in the sky without discharging rain, as soon as they are formed", iv, 117; *jaisī tīrī ṇāva na dhale | teṅkalī sāti ||* "just as a boat when tied to the river bank does not move", vii, 4. The Passive *asije* "to be" occurs in vi, 170, and elsewhere.

Past Participle: *Āthilā*, etc., "possessed". "existing"; *taiseni unmeṣē āthilā* "possessed with such knowledge", xiii, 630; *āthile ci guṇa vānīlā* "in praising the existing virtues", xiii, 186.

*Āheti* may stand for the more usual *āhāti*: *Vikhurale āheti trijagatī āghaviye* "are spread abroad in the three worlds", x, 82.

The stem *ho* "become", "be", takes the forms *hoṃē*, *hoṃī* in the Imperative, e.g. *niścala hoṃē antarī* "be steadfast at heart", iii, 76; *tū ātā sāvadha hoī* "be attentive now", ii, 185. And in the second plural future, *hōāla*, iii, 99. And in the participle of obligation *hōāvā*, etc., *hōāvī karmī āsthā* "there should be zeal in (doing one's allotted) tasks", iii, 153. Also *hovāvī* in ix, 257: *hovī* in x, 212.

11. *The Negative Verb*.—When the negative participle *na* precedes the verb it is often compounded with it and attracts the vowel of the verbal root towards itself, e.g. *citta mahāsukhī pahūḍaliyā cero neghe* "when the mind is slumbering in great delight it does not awaken", vi, 370; *neṇe ci jo* "who does not know" (*na jāṇe*), vi, 405; *tetha nātude to vāgure* "he is not caught in the net", xviii, 956; *kaḥī ci daṇya nedakhe* "never pays attention (*na dekhe*) to poverty", v, 90; *ninage (na nige)* "does not set out", xvi, 125; *nēdisi* "thou givest not", ii, 8; *nedīla = na deīla* "will not give", iii, 106; *indriyē baralō nedāvī* "the bodily organs should not be allowed (*na dyāvī*) to act according to their sweet will", iii, 116. The following forms of the negative verb "not to be" may be noted: *Nahe* "is not", xviii, 115; *nāthi* "is not", xv, 53; *nohe* "is not", ii, 67;

*navhaila* “he will not be”, iii, 227; *navheti* “they are not”, vi, 399; *nohāvē* “should not be”, iii, 171. with variants *nahāvā*, v, 12. *navhāvā*, vi, 348; *nohiḥje* “not to be”, ix, 68; *mī nohē* “I am not”, ix, 262; *tū navhesi* “thou art not”, x, 174; *mī nasō* “I am not”, iv, 41; *navhasi* “thou art not”, *vadhītā tū navhasi* “thou art not the slayer”, ii, 138; *nāthilē* “non-existent”, “illusive”; *nāthilē śocū* *baisije* “to continue to deplore the non-existent”, ii, 196.

12. *Potentials*.—This mood is expressed in five ways: (1) the verb *ye* “come” is used with the infinitive of the principal verb. *Jaisē pavanē toya hālaralē | āṇi tarangākāra jāle | tarī kavaṇa kē janmalē | mhaṇō ye* “similarly can one say what has arisen or where, in water, which stirred by the breeze, has assumed the form of waves?” ii, 106. (2) The subject of the sentence is put in the dative and the verb in the *v* potential form. *Māyāmaya he saritā na tarave jīvā* “mankind cannot traverse this river of illusion”, vii, 96. (3) The construction is with *śak* “to be able” and the infinitive of the principal verb. *Mhaṇaūni āikaṭ Ārjunā | jaisā viṣphuliṅga lāge indhanā | maga to praudha jālayā tribhuvanā | purō śake* “therefore harken oh Arjuna, just as a spark alights on fuel and then having waxed mighty can fill the three worlds”, ii, 329. (4) A verb used transitively or intransitively may in appropriate contexts convey a potential meaning. *Ekā phalābhilaṣa na ṭake* “some cannot forgo the desire for reward”, xviii, 135. *Parī tyajitā karma na tyaje* “one cannot avoid one’s lot even if one tries”, iii, 52. This use has continued to the present day. (5) The verb *pavanē* “to accrue” is used with the infinitive of the principal verb. *Hā sāṇyāsa jaī sambhave | taī kāmya bādhū na pave* “an action fraught with desire cannot harm when this detachedness arises”, xviii, 127.

13. *Passive Voice*.—This has been dealt with at length in the *School Bulletin*, Vol. IV, Pt. I, pp. 59–64, and the derivation of the *j*, *p*, and *pīj* passive forms explained. The *j* form is most frequently employed. The passive was in full vigour in the poet’s time and even verbs used intransitively could be construed in the third person of this voice and used impersonally, e.g. *jāṭje* “to be gone”, ii, 47; *nasije* “not to remain”, i, 205; *hoije* “to be”, ii, 119. A few examples of the use of the passive will suffice. *Tē yajñavaśista bhogī | mhaṇauni sāṇḍije aghī | jayāparī mahārogi | amṛta siddhi* “he is set free by sins because he partakes of the leavings of the sacrificial offerings, just as nectar is efficacious in times of severe illness”, iii, 123; *mā mahānadī kārī*

*jāñijati* “ then are great rivers recognized ? ”. xiv. 12 : *jañ puratīyā satvaśuddhi | ācarije āstikyabuddhi | tañ tayātē ci gū prabuddhī | sātāvika mhañipe* , “ when belief in God is practised with complete purity of disposition then that man is termed virtuous by the wise ”. xvii, 241. The placing of the subject of the sentence in the dative is noteworthy in view of the fact that that case is employed in the modern *Karmanī* construction *myā tyālā mārīlē = mayā tayā* [lāgī. tē, si] *mārīlē* or *mārijelē*, literally “ by me in regard to him killed ”. Another example is *Hā gā jarī na kīje | tarī ajñānā kāya umaje | tihī kavañi pari jāñije | māryātē* !, “ yes to be sure what will the ignorant understand if it be not done thus and how will the (right) path be recognized by them ”, iii, 157.

The rare *pij* forms have all been quoted and translated in *Bulletin*, Vol. IV, Pt. I.

14. *The Casual Verb*.—This does not differ from the modern form : *tarī mājā karavī hē hīsaka kā karaviśī* “ then why dost thou cause me to commit this heinous deed ”, iii, 4.



# KODAGU PEDA, TULU PUDAR

By EDWIN H. TUTTLE

IN the fourth volume of the *Linguistic Survey of India*, which includes most of the important varieties of Dravidian, Konow has tried to classify the languages described. Evidently Kanara goes with Tamil, Gôndi with Kui, and Kurukh with Malto, while Brâhui and Telugu do not seem to be closely related to any of the other main divisions. Unfortunately the *Linguistic Survey* fails to give accounts of Kodagu (the language of Coorg) and Tulu. Konow has wrongly put both of these with the Kanara-Tamil group. Their linguistic position outside of the group, contrary to their present geographic position, is shown by the derivatives of *\*pitar* (name): Kanara *hesaru*, older *pesar*, Tamil *pēr*, older *pejar*, Kodagu *peda*, Tulu *pudar*, Telugu *pēru*, Gôndi *parōl* or *parōl*, Kui *pada* or *pādā*, Kuvi *dōru*, Parji *pidir*, Brâhui *pin*. Kodagu *peda* is given in Cole's grammar (1867). Caldwell noticed Tulu *pudar* seventy years ago, but failed to understand what is implied by the *d* corresponding to Tamil *j*.<sup>1</sup>

Kanara regularly has *s* (often misrepresented as *ç* by Caldwell) for *c* not in contact with a consonant. Spoken Tamil has sometimes *ç* (written as *c*) and sometimes *j* for an ancient *c* between vowels. In some regions Tamil *c* became voiced and changed to a fricative between vowels, while in others the voicing of occlusives was later than the change of *c* to an affricate, which was not subject to voicing and has become a voiceless fricative. In Kanara and Tamil the word *\*pitar* changed through *\*picar* to *\*pecar*, *t* being palatalized by *i* as in Kanara *kānis-* < *\*kāñic-* < *\*kāñit-* < *\*kāñitt-* (show), corresponding to Tamil *kāñt-* < *\*kāñitt-* < *\*kāñitt-*, the causative of *kāñ-* (see).

Outside of the Kanara-Tamil group the derivatives of *\*pitar* developed *d* without palatalization. Telugu has *vrēlu* = Kanara *beral*, Tamil *virāl* (finger); *mrānu* = Kanara *maram*, Tamil *maram* (tree), and *mrōlu* as a variant of *modalu* = Kanara *modal*, Tamil *mudal* (front). We may therefore assume Telugu *\*prēru* < *\*pedar* < *\*pitar*. Modern Telugu has *vēlu* for *vrēlu*, *mānu* for *mrānu*; dissimilation caused a parallel but earlier loss of *r* in *pēru* < *\*prēru*.

Gôndi has *miār* = Brâhui *masir* (daughter), with a normal loss of medial *s*, and with vowel-displacement accompanying an old stress-

<sup>1</sup> I use *j* for consonant-*i*; capitals for voiceless sounds that lack separate letters, as *L*, *N*, *R*; and a circumflex to mark main stress combined with length.

displacement: apparently the word is still *mīār*, but we lack information about Gôndi stress. Similarly Gôndi has *parōl* < \**pōlar* < \**pudar* < \**pitar*, with medial *r* for *r* as in *maṣā* = Tamil *maram* and with *l* for *d* as in *malōl* < \**mōlal* < \**mudal* < \**mutal* (hare). From Kui *ari* = Telugu *adi* (that), and *mṛāḷu* < \**mūrāl* < \**mutal* (hare), we might expect \**prāru* as the Kui derivative of \**pitar*. The form *puda*, as given in Friend-Pereira's grammar (1909), or *pādā*, as given in the *Linguistic Survey*, probably implies the development \**prdā* < \**pridā* < \**pidra* < \**pitar*: a change of *d* to *r* in \**prdā* was prevented by what may be called negative dissimilation, and the *r* became *a* too late for a formation of *r* as in \**mūrāl* < \**mudal*. Kui seems to have redeveloped the general Dravidian principle of initial stress: but it shared with Gôndi and Telugu an early tendency to displace stress, as shown in *mṛāḷu* and in *mṛāu* < \**mīrāu* < \**mīāru* = Gôndi *mīār*.

Kuvi, as described in Schulze's grammar (1911), seems to be a variety of Kui modified by Telugu. It differs from ordinary Kui in lacking the change of *l* to *ḷ*: *illu* = Tamil *il*, Telugu *illu*, Kui *idū* or *iḍḍu* (house), *hil-* = Gôndi *hl-*, Kui *siḷ-*, Tamil *il-*, Telugu *l-* (be). It has formed an initial *ḷ* from *dr*, as in *ḷāḷu* = Kui *drāḷu* (young animal). We may therefore assume \**drōr* as an older form of Kuvi *ḷōru*. Since sound-displacement is a common feature of Gôndi-Kui, \**drōr* could have come from \**durar*. Kui phonology allows us to infer \**durar* < \**dudar*. Apparently \**pitar* became \**pudar* and developed the variant \**dupar* in Kuvi: \**dudar* was a blend of the two forms. The *Linguistic Survey* puts Parji with Gôndi, although some of its traits are Kui-like. In any case the word *pidir* is the most conservative of the Dravidian forms.

Brāhui *pin* can be explained as representing \**pinna* < \**pidna* < \**pitna* < \**pitan*, with *n* for *r* under the influence of Aryan *nāman*. Apparently Brāhui lacks the widespread Dravidian voicing of occlusives between vowels, but a change of *tn* to *dn* could be normal where intervocalic *t* remained voiceless.

Kodagu *peda* and Tulu *pudar* are nearly the same as Gôndi-Kui \**pudar*, \**pidra*, *pidir*, and essentially different from Kanara-Tamil \**picar*. Putting Kodagu and Tulu with Kanara-Tamil is like calling Spanish a dialect of Portuguese, in spite of the differences between *buena* and *boa* < *bona*.

#### TULU BANDŪI

Gôndi *vandžēr* (tongue) and Kui *vaygosi* (tongue) are quite different from equivalents found in the other Dravidian languages. The basic

form was apparently *\*waykiatro*, changed to *\*waykotria* in Kui. Gôndi and Kui agree with Tamil in voicing simple occlusives in contact with nasals. Gôndi agrees with spoken Tamil in having *r* for *dr* < *tr* after a vowel, as in *sār* (six) = Tamil *ādru* (spoken *ārī*) < *\*ṣatro*. Kui has *dž* for *dr* in *sadž* (six), and *s* for *c* in *sā-* (die) = Telugu *ca-*, so we might assume *-si* < *\*-tši* < *\*-rce* < *\*-rtia* < *\*-tria*, with a displacement of *r* which would keep the *t* from becoming voiced.

Tulu has *dž* for *dr* in *ādži* (six) and *mūdži* (three) = Kui *mūdži*, Tamil *mūndru*. It developed something like *\*bandžedži* from *\*waykiatro*, initial *b* for *v* being normal in Tulu (as in Kanara). A reduction of *\*bandžedži* or *\*bandžidži* produced *bandži* (interior, heart, belly). Gôndi and Kui keep more of the general word-form than Tulu does, but restrict the basic meaning "inside" to the inside of the mouth.

A form *\*wakiatro*, without the nasal, developed through *\*vacatro* or *\*wacetro* to Tamil *vajidru*, Kanara *basiru*, *basuru*, older *basiR* (belly). It does not seem likely that a nasal has disappeared from *\*wakiatro*. We may assume that in Gôndi-Kui and Tulu the nasal was added under the influence of some associated word. Here, just as in regard to *\*pitar*, Tulu agrees with the northern tongues and differs from Kanara-Tamil.





## THE RAMAYANA IN INDONESIA

By J. KATS

ONE of the most popular stories in India and East Asia is the story of the adventures of Rāma, whose consort Sītā is carried off by the giant king Rāvana. From this event proceeds a great war, which leads to the destruction of the tyrant and the return of Sītā.

The most famous adaptation of Rāma's adventures is the Indian Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, which probably was composed some centuries before the Christian era. Besides this there are in India and in the neighbouring countries many Rāma-stories.

But also in more distant places the story of Rāma's adversity and Sītā's fidelity has had in all times a great many admirers. In Siam it is known as "Ramakien", in the Malay literature as "Hikajat Sēri Rama", in Java and Madura as "Sērat Rama", in the Island of Bali as "Rāmāyaṇa", while pictures of this story have also found their way to the north of Celebes and other parts of the Archipelago.

That the story was already known in Old Java is proved by the Old Javanese poem Rāmāyaṇa and by the reliefs on two groups of temples, the one of which (Prambanan, Central Java) was built about the ninth century A.D., and the other (Panataran, in East Java) some centuries later. Many of the most important episodes in the story are chiselled on the stones of these buildings.

Though the general course of the story in Indonesia in the main is the same everywhere, one often meets great differences in the various parts, especially in regard to the relationship of the chief characters, for instance, between the Rāma as used in the stage-plays in Jogjakarta and the Javanese poem.

Whence these differences?

Some consider that the original story has been spoilt. "Original" is, according to them, the "Sērat Rāma" as it is known everywhere in Java, or the old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, "spoilt" is the Jogjakarta version.

Others, who know that the Rāma story was brought to Indonesia by Hindu immigrants, explain the differences by the fact that this story comes from two sources, which already varied in the place of origin, India. There exist the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki and a popular version. Both have found their way to Indonesia.

In this way the origin and the existence of the above-mentioned differences are referred to an earlier time, and another country, but with all that they are not yet explained. The responsibility for spoiling the story is removed from Java to India, but with this it is not yet settled, whether there are perhaps other reasons for these differences than the incomplete knowledge of the "original" *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Usually it is accepted that the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki contains the original story, from which the other *Rāma* stories have been derived. Vālmīki is the great poet of ancient India, his poem forms a wonderful unity and none of the popular stories have reached the height of this remarkable work. But—granted that Vālmīki did not use the popular or one of the popular versions—is it then quite certain that these popular stories all have been derived from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*? Is it not possible that neither Vālmīki nor the unknown popular story-tellers have created the story themselves, but that both took their subject from a more ancient source, which they worked out, each in his own way? And in that case the question arises: Has the original story been spoilt? If so, which of them has spoilt it?

The Bengali scholar Rai Saheb Dineschandra Sen has tried to solve this problem in a detailed discussion on the Bengali *Rāmāyaṇas* (University of Calcutta, 1920). He supposes that the *Rāmāyaṇa* contains three parts, which have arisen independently of one another.

The first story is the story of Prince *Rāma*, who—in consequence of a court intrigue—has to leave the palace for many years, accompanied by his brother *Lakṣmana* and his sister *Sītā*. This story is still found in a Buddhist *Jātaka* in the north of India.

Another part of the story contains the adventures of the pious *Rāvana*, who obtains great power by means of serious penance.

And still another story is that of the monkey *Hanumān*. This is based on the ape-worship, which was practised in olden times in India and which has not even yet entirely disappeared.

The connexion of these three stories might result in the "*Rāmāyaṇa*", as it is found to-day in several versions and the main features of which are the following:—

I. *Rāma*, who as the prince royal of Ayodhya is assigned to succeed his father, is banished from the town in consequence of a court intrigue. He is accompanied by *Sītā*, here his consort (not his sister).

II. As he is wandering in the woods, a mighty giant king, *Rāvana*, carries off his consort and brings her away to his own country.

III. *Rāma* sets out to deliver *Sītā*, but only succeeds with the

assistance of the monkey king Sugriva, and especially with the aid of his dread commander *Hanumān*.

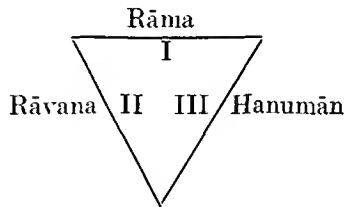
This is, in brief, the view of the Bengali scholar.

To compose one single story out of the above-mentioned three stories, the chief characters have to be connected with one another. Since there is originally no connexion at all between these tales, it is almost certain that different authors will do this in different ways. And so the differences between the various versions will mainly be found *at the points of connexion*.

Indeed, there are—as already mentioned—different versions of the Rāma story, and it is highly noteworthy that these differences in the main are found in *the relationship between the chief characters*, that is : in the connexion of the three composite parts of the story.

Let us trace this point in the Rāma stories which occur in Java and Sumatra.

The afore-mentioned connexion may be pictured in the following diagram :—



The author of a Rāma-story has to connect the parts :—

- I and II
- II and III
- I and III

It is quite possible that in the beginning the connexion has been made in very different ways. But the inquiry is very easy for us as we mainly have only two versions, which differ materially as regards the connexions between the composite parts, that is : the relationship between the chief characters. All the other versions may be reduced to one of these two, which we will call A and B.

The connexions *between I and II* are as follows :—

A. *Rāvana's* sister, *Sūrpanakhā*, falls in love with *Rāma's* brother, *Lakṣmana*. She is scornfully rejected. In revenge *Rāvana* carries away *Rāma's* consort, the daughter of the king *Janaka*.

B. The Malay work “*Sēri Rama*” and the Javanese “*Rama Keling*” connect the two chief characters in this way: *Rāvana* wishes to possess Mandodari, the mother of *Rāma*, but he gets another woman, exactly like her.<sup>1</sup> In a supernatural manner *Rāma*’s father goes to this pseudo-Mandodari who after that becomes the mother of *Sītā*, nominally a daughter of *Rāvana*. Later on *Rāma* marries *Sītā*, who—via the pseudo-Mandodari—is his sister.

(In the Jain writing “*Uttara Purāna*” *Sītā* is also a daughter of *Rāvaṇa*. In the Indian *Adlbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* she is a daughter of *Rāvana*’s consort, Mandodari, who has drunk the blood of the ṛṣi’s killed by *Rāvana*.)

#### *Between I and III*

A. *Rāma* lends assistance to the monkey king Sugriva, who then puts at his disposal his best commander, *Hanumān*.

B. Here *Hanumān* is a son of *Rāma* and Anjanī, a sister of Sugriva. *Hanumān* and *Rāma* are thus related to one another.

#### *Between II and III*

A. No other connexion than the fight between *Hanumān* (as a helper of *Rāma*) and *Rāvana*.

B. *Hanumān* has a son, *Hanumān Tugangga* by name, who has been educated by *Rāvana*’s son *Gangga Mahasura*.

In general, the connexion of the three parts is more close in B than it is in A, because there there exists relationship between the chief characters. With this is not said that the connexions in A are less complete. On the contrary, even in putting these close connexions, B has more odd and unnatural combinations than A, so that in this last version the course of the story is in the main more satisfactory and normal. That does not, however, imply that all those odd and unnatural seeming combinations have been invented by the authors, who have indulged in fancies because they were entirely ignorant concerning the original story or who wished to give a new turn to the story. In many cases the stories, which nowadays seem odd and unnatural, incorporate very old manners and customs. In this respect they are often more original than version A, which seems to us so much more natural and logical.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning a *pseudo-Sītā* see Wilhelm Printz, “*Helena und Sītā*”: *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi* (Fritz Klopp, Bonn).

It would take us too far if we should treat all those old parts of the story, for instance, the finding of Mandodari in a bambu-bush; the marriage of Rāma with his own sister: the fact that Rāvana carries off his own daughter, etc. (A detailed discussion of these stories has been given by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim in his work *Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien*. Georg Müller Verlag, München.)

The version A is to be found in the following: The Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, the story which is represented in the reliefs of the Panataran temple in East Java, the modern Javanese "Sĕrat Rama".

The version B is to be found in: Many popular Indian Rāma stories, the Malay "Hikajat Sĕri Rama",<sup>1</sup> the story which is represented in the reliefs of the Prambanan temple in Central Java,<sup>1</sup> the Rāma story as it is performed in the native theatre, especially in Jogjakarta,<sup>1</sup> The Rāma story in the "Sĕrat Rama Kĕling" in Java and Madhura.

Besides the above-mentioned relationship there are still some important differences between the various versions.

(a) The Javanese "Sĕrat Rama" begins—just like the Indian Jain Rāmāyaṇa of Hemcandra Âcārya (A.D. 1089–1173), and one of the Malay versions—with the adventures of Rāvana (not of Rāma!). The Javanese stage plays possess also a very circumstantial introduction—the Arjuna-Sasra-Bahu-cycle—containing the adventures of Rāvana before he met Rāma. This proves that not Rāma but Rāvana here is considered as the chief character. It is strange that the "Sĕrat Rama"—which for the rest has more similarity with the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki—in this respect differs from that epic and also begins with the story of Rāvana.

The Malay version especially shows a great appreciation of Rāvana in laying much stress upon his penance and upon the wonderful power he obtained by it. (See also above.)

(b) Sītā is considered as Rāma's sister in the Malay version, the Javanese Rama Kĕling and the stage-plays in Jogjakarta. In this case they coincide with the above-mentioned Buddhist Jātaka.

(c) The reason for Rāma's leaving the court is not the same in all versions.

In the Jātaka Rāma leaves the court *in obedience to the will of his*

<sup>1</sup> The reason of the similitude of these three versions perhaps lies in the relation between Sumatra and Central Java in the time of the kingdom of Sŕiwiĵaya (eighth century A.D.).

*father*, who is afraid that Rāma and Lakṣmana will have to endure the envy of his second consort, the mother of Bharata.

According to Vālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa in the old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa and in the modern Javanese version (Sĕrat Rama) Rāma is *banished* from the court by the desire of Bharata's mother.

The Malay version relates that Rāma leaves the court *of his own free will*, as soon as it has been determined that Bharata will succeed their father in his kingdom.

In the stage plays of Jogjakarta, Bharata's mother brings several *charges against Rāma*, whereupon he leaves the court.

(d) In the Malay "Sĕri Rama" as well as in the stage plays in Jogjakarta Hanumān has a son—called respectively Tugangga and Trigangga—who has been brought up by a son of Rāvana, and who only afterwards meets his father. In the other versions this fact is not mentioned.

(e) In several Bengali versions it is related that a half-sister of Rāma, Kukuā, a daughter of Kaikeyī, persuades Sītā—after she has come back to the capital—to draw a picture of Rāvana on her fan. As soon as Sītā has fallen asleep, Kukuā goes to Rāma, telling him that his consort cannot yet forget Rāvana, that she has sketched his likeness on her fan and even while sleeping holds it in her hand.

The versions, quoted above in A, do not mention this episode. But we find it in the Malay story, where "Kikēwi Dēwi" is the informer. Sītā is then driven away from the court, she goes to her protector, Maharsī Kala, and gives birth to a son, Tabalavi. Later on she adopts a boy who is called Gusi.

In the modern Javanese version Rāma doubts the fidelity of Sītā during her stay at the court of Rāvana, and on account of shame at this treatment she resolves to burn herself. Thereupon she mounts the pyre, but the fire does not harm her and the gods descend to testify to Sītā's fidelity.

The Indian Rāmāyaṇa gives almost the same version in the final song (which is a later addition), and says that Rāma nevertheless banishes his consort,<sup>1</sup> who—in the hermitage of Vālmiki—gives birth to two sons, Kuśa and Lava. (In the Malay version these names have become Gusi and Tabalavi.)

(f) The Indian Jain-Rāmāyaṇa tells of the love of Lakṣmana for Princess Vanamālā.

<sup>1</sup> The disowning of Sītā by Rāma is treated in the above-mentioned article of Wilhelm Printz.

In the stage-plays of Jogjakarta the monkey Jambawan has, in the guise of Lakṣmana, a tryst with a maiden. It may be that this event is based on a story like that in the Jain-Rāmāyaṇa.

(g) In the stage plays of Jogjakarta it is related that Antraka Vulcan, consort of Rāma's brother Branta (= Bharata) shows no affection for her husband. She makes it a condition that he has to puzzle out a riddle. Lakṣmana solves the riddle in the place of Bharata, whereupon Antraka Vulcan falls in love with Lakṣmana.

A counterpart of this episode is found in the Malay "Sēri Rama", where Sandar Dévi has a similar aversion to her husband Tabalavi. Then Rāma calls in the aid of Hanumān, who falls in love with Sandar Dévi and goes to her in the form of Tabalavi.

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A STUDY OF THE OROHA LANGUAGE, MALA,  
SOLOMON ISLANDS

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THE material for the study presented here is derived from two sources: (1) grammatical and linguistic notes, sentences, and texts prepared by Bishop Patteson at the Melanesian Mission Headquarters at Kohimarama, Auckland, New Zealand, in the years 1863-4, and subsequently included by H. C. von der Gabelentz in the second part of his *Melanesischen Sprachen*, 1873: (2) grammatical and linguistic notes collected by myself, along with a certain number of words, in the year 1925 at Sa'a, Mala. This is the only study of the language made since 1873.

Bishop Patteson's material was given him by three men from Oroha named Ara'ana, Radeweri, and Tangaheo, whom he had recruited at Oroha and who accompanied him to Auckland. The first of the texts given below describes Ara'ana's return home, and his ceremonial hanging of a bunch of areca nuts alongside the relic case, a wooden figure of a swordfish that contained his father's skull and jawbones. This was done lest his father's ghost should be angry at his absence, and at the consequent failure to receive offerings, and should *irohi* his son, i.e. visit him with sickness. The word *ha'aoho*—descriptive of the offering thus made after a voyage overseas, is used also in Ulawa, Solomon Islands, with the same meaning. Ara'ana did not return with the Bishop, and a year or so later he was taken by a shark when out in his canoe. As he was a chief, the chiefs of the neighbouring villages, his relatives, made a raid on Oroha and were paid off with fines, the idea being that his people were responsible for sending the shark. The first text begins with the pronoun *E*, which von der Gabelentz classes as a form of the dual number, exclusive, but it is more probably a form of the trial number, exclusive, since the dual forms all begin with *a*, and also the "we" of the text evidently refers to the three men. I have also made what I consider to be necessary additions to the text (shown in brackets), some being alterations in spelling, *raa* for *ra* "go, come", *raona*, *raoi* "in (it), within", for *ra na* and *raui*, *rauhi* for *raohi*, "to abide", of ghostly influences, the locative *i* in front of place names, the addition of "breaks" in certain words, where the sign ' denotes a dropped consonant.

Three words quoted by von der Gabelentz seem to be misprints or mistakes: (1) the personal pronoun 3rd pers. pl. *kiri* for *kira*; (2) the definite article *ni*, *ni mane* "the man", for *na*, both *ni* and *na* occurring in two places as part of the same quotation; (3) the spelling *mai* "to die" for *mae*. Also I am sure that the inclusion of 'ng' (*n*) as a sound is incorrect, *rongo* "hear", for *rono*. The language in question has only the ordinary "n" sound, and the rejection of "ng", the nasalized "n" (as well as of "mw", the nasalized "m") is one of its peculiarities. An instance is given of the use of *pw(q)*, *pwana* "sail", pandanus mat, but the sound of *pw* is foreign to the language, and the word here given as *pwana* should be rather *pana*. I can offer no explanation of the word *isuni* "to burn", which von der Gabelentz evidently connects with *suna* "fire".

My own information was given me by a man of the same people, though not actually a native of Oroha. My informant hailed from Tawa ni 'ahi'a, a village a few miles north-west of Oroha, and this will account for the dialectical use of *f* in one instance, the illative *fui* "thereupon, consequently", which Bishop Patteson gives as *pi* and *pui*.

On the west coast of Little Mala there are at present three villages inhabited by people who speak the language here represented, which Sa'a calls *Tolo*, i.e. hill, stranger, "bushman"; Na'oni (Wapari), Oroha, Pau. The Pau people till lately were domiciled at Tawa ni 'ahi'a (Ariel Harbour) and have moved a little further west to their present site, Pau. There are slight dialectical varieties between the languages of the three places corresponding to their original places of origin. The people are all immigrants, either from the dividing channel in Mala, called Su'u rodo (roto), the Night or Dark Harbour, by the peoples of South Mala, and charted as Mara Masike channel, or from the lagoons near Uhu on the west coast. The Na'oni and Oroha peoples came originally from the dividing channel to their present location, and the Tawa ni 'ahi'a (Pau) people came from the lagoons near Uhu (where the Spaniards called in 1568). Na'oni is close to Cape Zélée, the south cape of Little Mala, and the Spaniards anchored there also. (See *Royal Geographical Journal*, April, 1926.) There seems to be good evidence that the Spaniards also put into Ariel Harbour. Oroha is about 1 mile west of Na'oni, and a good government track now leads from Na'oni to Sa'a across the peninsula formed by Cape Zélée.

Bishop Patteson seems to have called the Oroha language Mara

Ma-siki, i.e. Little Mala or Mara, after the (Tolo) name of the portion of the island south of the dividing channel. The island Mala is called Mara by these "Tolo" speaking peoples, who have no *l* in their language, but their word for "little" is *masike* (with a final *e* and not *i*) or *mainai*. The Bishop possibly had in mind the common oceanic word *riki* for "little", and regarded *siki* as = *riki*, while the *ma-* would fit in as the ordinary adjectival prefix. Men from Oroha, either recruited locally by the Bishop, or taken by him from Marau Sound (Tawa ni pupu), Guadalcanal, where they were on a visit to relatives, were the first people from Mala to go abroad, and it was natural that their language should have been classed as Mara Ma-siki, to the exclusion of the Sa'a speaking peoples who were not recruited till later. On an earlier voyage Bishop Patteson took men from Marau Sound to Auckland and printed the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, and a small catechism in their language, and also made grammatical notes. Most of the material appears in the first part of von der Gabelentz. The language is Mala in origin, the Marau Sound people having come there from the lagoons on the west coast of Big Mala near Royalist Harbour. Through his connexion with the people of Marau Sound Bishop Patteson was able to obtain an introduction to Oroha. The little boat harbour where he landed at Oroha alongside the village is called Ha'au. All the three "Tolo" villages of the west coast of Little Mala now have schools belonging to the Melanesian Mission. No translations have been made into the "Tolo" language as here represented.

## A GRAMMAR OF THE LANGUAGE OF OROHA

### 1. *Alphabet*

Vowels : *a, e, i, o, u.*

Diphthongs : *ae, ai, ao, au, ei, ou.*

Consonants : *w, r, k, t, n, m, p, h, f, s.*

The vowels have both long and short sounds, and the doubling of a vowel denotes a lengthening of its sound : *raa* "to go, to come". The use of the "break", denoted by the sign ' , denotes the dropping of a consonant, usually of the "Melanesian *g*" : *i'a* "fish" for *iga* ; but *k* and *t* are also dropped, *ke'e* for *keke*, negative particle, *ha'a* for *hata* "shell money", *Lau bata*. The sound of *k* is hard. There is not such a distinct rolling of the *r* as occurs in Sa'a, and the language is spoken more indistinctly, with little movement of the lips. A *d* in Sa'a may be represented by an *s* in Oroha : Sa'a *hudi* "banana",

Oroha *husi*, Sa'a *idu* "work with adze", Oroha *asu*, but in most cases the Sa'a *d* appears as *t* in Oroha. There are no closed syllables.

## 2. Articles

### (a) Demonstrative :—

Singular: *na*, *a*; *mani*, *ma'i*; *wari*.

Plural: *moi*, *mo*.

### (b) Personal :—

#### a.

(1) As stated in the introduction I am inclined to question the use by v. d. Gabelentz of *ni* as an article, and I regard his *ni* as a misprint for *na*, though *ni* is a demonstrative article in Wango, San Cristoval. Although *na* is in actual use as an article, *na mane* "a man", yet, as the texts given below show, the noun is commonly used without it; but *a* is in general use: *a ora* "the thing", *a taa* "what?", *a hanua* "the land", *noko horoia ana a taa* "with what am I to kill it?", *a mera inau* "my child".

(2) The pair *mani*, *ma'i*, denote a part, a piece: *mani sara* "a piece of cloth", *ma'i niu* "a piece of coconut". *Mani* may also be used as an ordinary demonstrative article: *mani maeraa* "a sickness", *mani wara* "a word", *mani warana* "his word, what he said".

(3) *Wari* is used of round objects and of fruits: *wari ni hau*, *wari hau* "a stone, a pebble", *wari niu* "a coconut", *wari pare'o* "a bread-fruit". (The small club with a nodule of iron pyrites attached enclosed in matting which is peculiar to the peoples in the neighbourhood of Uhu, and one of which the Spaniards found in 1568 at Marau Sound, is called *wari hau*. It was probably owing to the iron pyrites attachment that the name Solomon Islands was given to the group.) The Indonesian word *buwah* "fruit", which appears in Sa'a and Ulawa in the forms *hua*, *hoi* (*hou i*), used of round things or of fruit, and forming articles, appears as *huhua* in Oroha but is of limited use: *huhua i wai* "a bamboo water-carrier". (The common Solomon Islands word for areca nut *bua*, *pua*, also derived from *buwah*, is *pua* in Oroha.) The noun *hau*, which is of similar derivation and is used in Ulawa as an article, *haudinga* "a day", appears also in Oroha. *hau ni pou* "a (dry) log".

(4) *Moi* shortened to *mo* before *o* or *h* shows plurality both of persons and things: *moi inoni* "men", *mo ora* "things".

(5) I have an instance of *si* used as a demonstrative article, *si kamu* "a baler", where Sa'a has *idenu*, *dunu* "bale", with *i* the

instrumental prefix. That *kamu* means the dry sheath of the coconut flower which forms the ordinary canoe baler shows that *si*, in the instance *si kamu*, is a demonstrative article.

(6) The personal article *a* is used with nouns expressing kindred or relationship, or with personal names: *a Waria*, *a porona* "the (male) person, So-and-so", *a pareho* "So-and-so", *a maamaa* "father", when speaking of a definite person; *a teitei* "mother", with the same use, *a ora* "So-and-so", when a person's name is forgotten. The personal article *a* is seen in *atei* "who?" (singular), *kira atei* (plural).

### 3. Nouns

(1) *Noun Endings*.—Nouns which have a special termination showing them to be nouns substantive are (a) verbal nouns, (b) independent nouns.

(a) Verbal nouns are formed from verbs by adding the terminations *na*, *ta*, *ra*, *raa*, *ha*, *haai*, *a*.

Examples: *mae* "to die", *maena* "death", *maeta* "death feast"; *pa'u* "to smoke, of fire", *pa'ura i suna* "fire-smoke"; *hana* "to eat", *hanaraa* "food", especially vegetable food; *raa* "to go", *raaha* "a journey"; *maero* "to be ripe", *maerohaai* "ripeness", *repo* "to be old, ripe", *repohaai* "age, ripeness"; *koru* "to heap up", *korua* "a company", *korua ni inoni* "a company of people"; *hatare* "to go along the coast", *hatarea* "seashore"; *horoa* "day" is probably derived from *horo* "to divide, to make pieces of".

There are certain adjectives to which the noun termination *na* is attached: *sieni* "good", *sienina* "goodness"; *paina* "big", *painana* "bigness". These adjectives are probably verbs in origin.

(b) *Independent Nouns*.—The termination is *na*, and this is (i) added to nouns which express kindred or relationship, (ii) attached to cardinal numerals to form ordinals.

(i) Nouns so formed are always preceded by certain prefixes which mark reciprocity of relationship or of kindred. *mai*, *ma*, *hai*, and by the numeral *rua* "two", or the demonstrative plural article *mo*: *rua mai warina* "sister's son and mother's brother"; *rua maasina* "brother and sister" or "two brothers, two sisters"; *mo hai wauwana* "those who stand to one another in the relationship of grandparents and grandchildren"; *rua mai hunona* "father-in-law and son-in-law, etc."; *rua maihana* "two brothers-in-law, etc."

(ii) Numerals: *rua* "two", *ruana* "second", a second time.

(2) *Nouns with Possessive Suffixes*.—Certain nouns take the suffixed pronouns denoting the possessor. These are nouns denoting:—

(a) Parts of the body: *maa* “eye”, *maaku* “my eye”: *pau* “head”, *pauna* “his, its head”.

(b) Certain states or doings of men: name, life, death, speech, custom: *sasa* “name”, *sasana* “his name”; *maeta* “death”, *maetana* “his death”; *wara* “word”, *warana* “his word”; *manata* “nature”, *manatana* “his nature”.

(c) Position, end, middle, top: (i) *tanuma* “in the middle”; (i) *tanumana* “his waist, in the middle of it”: *to'o'erena* “its tip”.

(d) All the words expressing kindred or relationship, except those for husband *poro* and wife *hu'a* (*keni*) and *mera* child. These nouns are marked in the accompanying vocabulary with (*ku*) added. Certain nouns of this class have the possessive pronoun attached only in the third person singular, *na*, and the plural suffix *ni*, used of things only, is attached to certain of them; *to'o'ereni* “their tips”. In the case of the remaining nouns and also of *poro*, *hu'a*, *mera*, possession is denoted by the addition of the ordinary personal pronouns: *iora inau* “my canoe”; *mera inau* “my child”; *poo inau* “my pig”.

(3) *Genitive Relation*.—The genitive relation of nouns one to another is effected by the use of the preposition *ni*, or of the shorter form *i*: *mane ni Oroha* “a man of Oroha”; *waro ni 'a'a'o* “a fishing line”; *'u'u maa i he'u* “a star”; *sanite i husi* “a hand of bananas”; *dona i niu* “a couple of coconuts”. Both the longer and the shorter forms are used to express purpose. Another form of the genitive is *ri*: *maa ri maro* “a scaffold”; *maa ri tawa* “a landing place”.

(4) *The Instrumental Prefix* is *i*: *ikau* “a crook”; *iraki* “tongs”.

(5) *Plurality*.—Plurality is marked by the presence of the articles *moi*, *mo*, preceding the noun, and the adjective *iwera* “many” may be added: *mo hanua iwera* “many lands” or “many people”. The noun *mora*, *moramora* “a multitude”, used of a thousand of men, may also be used: *mora hanua iwera* “multitudes of people”; *moramora apota* “numerous eggs”.

To a noun *ahuta* denoting totality the pronoun of the third person singular, and of all persons in the plural, is suffixed in agreement with the noun: *ahutana sapeku* “all my body”; *sapeta ahutata* “the bodies of them all”. These pronouns are also suffixed to a stem *ha-*, a noun with a dative use: *haku* “to me”; *hata* “to them”. I have no example of the use of *to-*, with the pronouns suffixed, meaning “with” as quoted by v. d. Gabelentz.

(6) *Endearing Use*.—Two nouns *mai*, *kai*, are used with the adjective *ta'a* "bad", to express endearment or commiseration, *mai* being used of males, *kai* of females: *mai ta'a*, *kai ta'a* "dear (poor) thing!" *mai tata'ara inau* "my poor dear one!" *paina* "big", with *ta'a*, is used of people in authority, *mai ta'a paina* "Sir!" Of *mera* "child" the plural is formed by reduplication, *meramera* "children". The numeral *eta* "one", a noun, is used to express other—another, singular or plural: *eta mane ro'u* "a different person"; *eta mane ro'u marai* "some other people".

(7) There is no grammatical gender, the words *mane* "male", *keni* "female", being added when there is need to distinguish sex: *mera mane* "a boy", *mera keni* "a girl".

(8) Nouns expressing relationship (except *poro* and *hu'a*, and *maamaa* (*maa*) "father" and *teitei* "mother", which latter pair are used as vocatives) are always used as follows: (a) with a suffixed pronoun: *amaku* "my father"; (b) with the termination *na* and with a reciprocal prefix *ma* or *kai*: *rua maasina* "two brothers", *rua hai nikena* "mother and child".

#### 4. Pronouns

##### 1. Pronouns used as the subject of a verb

|       |          |                                                      |        |          |                                       |
|-------|----------|------------------------------------------------------|--------|----------|---------------------------------------|
| Sing. | 1.       | <i>inau</i> , <i>nau</i> , <i>no</i> .               | Plur.  | 1. incl. | <i>ikia</i> , <i>kia</i> .            |
|       | 2.       | <i>i'oe</i> , 'o.                                    |        | 2.       | <i>i'amu</i> , 'amu.                  |
|       | 3.       | <i>ine'ia</i> , <i>ne'ia</i> , <i>ne</i> .           |        | 3.       | <i>ikira</i> , <i>kira</i> .          |
| Dual. | 1. incl. | <i>ikura</i> , <i>kura</i> .                         | Trial. | 1. incl. | <i>ikoru</i> , <i>koru</i> .          |
|       | 1. excl. | <i>ierua</i> , <i>erua</i> .                         |        | 1. excl. | <i>ieru</i> , <i>eru</i> , <i>e</i> . |
|       | 2.       | <i>iarua</i> , <i>arua</i> , <i>aru</i> , <i>a</i> . |        | 2.       | <i>iauru</i> , <i>auru</i> .          |
|       | 3.       | <i>ikera</i> , <i>keru</i> , <i>ikira</i> ,          |        | 3.       | <i>ikirauru</i> , <i>kirauru</i> .    |
|       |          | <i>kira</i> , <i>ikirarua</i> .                      |        |          |                                       |
|       |          | <i>kirarua</i> , <i>rarua</i> ,                      |        |          |                                       |
|       |          | <i>kirua</i> , <i>kiru</i> .                         |        |          |                                       |

The forms beginning with *i* denote emphasis; they are not used by themselves as the subject, but are always accompanied by the shorter forms without *i*, which may themselves be used alone as the subject. The dual *ikura* is used by itself in address meaning "come on". In the 1st pers. sing. *no* is used with the verbal particle *ko* of present or of general time: *noko raa i si'iri* "I am going to-day". *noko fui kera raa mai* "I have just come". *Ne* is used before proper names and the personal article *a* coalesces: *nea ora ka'i raa mai* "who is it that is coming?" *nea Ara'ana*.



The trial is used to denote a more restricted number of persons. as well as merely three people : *e raa mai i Kohimarama* "we three came to Kohimarama", *ora ikirauru, ke'e ora eru* "it is their thing, not our thing", *kira atei auru* "who are you (people) ?", *ke'e ora huni hana eru irehuni* "there is nothing for us to eat here".

The pronouns of the 3rd pers. sing. and pl. may be used of impersonal or inanimate objects, but the example given in von der Gabelentz of *kira* used as a plural article, *kira hanua iwera* "all the countries", is capable of another translation, viz. they are people many, i.e. they are a numerous people, *hanua* meaning both country and people. The use of the pronoun 3rd pers. plur. as a plural article is perfectly correct in Mota, as in Bishop Patteson's hymn *Ra vanua ngang* "Ye lands!", and I suggest that the Bishop was thinking of the Mota idiom which does not obtain in the Mala languages, though alas! it appears in the translations and thus is responsible for the statement of Mr. S. H. Ray, who writes of the Fiu language that "The personal pronoun *kira* also denotes plurality : *kira fiolo* 'the hungry'" (*The Melanesian Island Languages*, p. 488, 7, Number). I myself have been guilty of incorporating this Mota idiom into Sa'a.

*Kira* is used to form a passive : *kira iria 'ato* "they said it, i.e. it has been said", *mo iora kira asumi'i 'ato moi mau* "are the canoes finished yet or not ?" *Kira* followed by the personal article *a* and *ora* thing (used instead of a personal name) denotes a company or a party : *kira a ora*, "who were they ?"

The forms beginning with *i* are used to denote possession : *iora inau* "my canoe". A chief or a person of importance is addressed in the dual, or trial, and a mother, either by herself or with her child, is addressed in the dual.

## 2. Pronouns suffixed to Verbs or Prepositions as object

|                |                        |                 |                      |
|----------------|------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| Sing. 1.       | <i>au.</i>             | Plur. 1. incl.  | <i>kia.</i>          |
|                |                        | 1. excl.        | <i>'ami.</i>         |
| 2.             | <i>'o.</i>             | 2.              | <i>'amu.</i>         |
| 3.             | <i>a.</i>              | 3.              | <i>kira, ta, 'i.</i> |
| Dual. 1. incl. | <i>kura.</i>           | Trial. 1. incl. | <i>koru.</i>         |
| 1. excl.       | <i>erua.</i>           | 1. excl.        | <i>eru.</i>          |
| 2.             | <i>arua.</i>           | 2.              | <i>auru.</i>         |
| 3.             | <i>kirarua, tarua.</i> | 3.              | <i>kirauru.</i>      |

Examples : *kira horoia naponi* "they killed him yesterday", *hanua ka reesikura, mu'una* "the people are looking at us, my lad".

The form *a* is suffixed to a transitive verb as an anticipatory object : *maa ka araia na mane* "a snake bites (him) a man", *eru toia 'ato mo ora nena* "we have finished those things". The form *ta* is used in place of *kira* for the sake of shortness, but *kira* is in quite common use. When things and not persons are in question '*i*' is the form used : *nau ka 'i raa'ohi 'i* "I will go for them (to fetch them)".

### 3. Pronouns suffixed to Nouns or to certain Prepositions :

|          |                |                     |                    |
|----------|----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| Sing. 1. | <i>ku.</i>     | Plur. 1. incl.      | <i>ka, kauru.</i>  |
|          |                | 1. excl.            | <i>mami, meru.</i> |
| 2.       | <i>mu.</i>     | 2.                  | <i>miu, mauru.</i> |
| 3.       | <i>na.</i>     | 3.                  | <i>ta, tauru.</i>  |
|          | Dual. 1. incl. | <i>kara.</i>        |                    |
|          | 1. excl.       | <i>merua.</i>       |                    |
|          | 2.             | <i>marua, maru.</i> |                    |
|          | 3.             | <i>tarua.</i>       |                    |

These are the pronouns denoting possession and, as stated above, are affixed to a certain class of nouns only, those denoting the names of parts of the body, or of family relationships, with certain exceptions, or of things in close relationship to the possessor. a man's name, his speech, etc. They are not used of a man's weapons or house or hand bag. Where they cannot be employed the ordinary personal pronouns are used instead.

The plural forms in the second column denote a restriction in the number of the persons concerned. Words like *maraa*- "lone, unaided, of one's own accord" and *sio*- "after, according to" which have the above set of pronouns suffixed, *maraana* "by myself", *rono siona warana* "hear and do his word", are evidently nouns, though they have no independent use apart from the suffixed pronoun.

### 5. Possessives

There are three possessives, '*a*, *na*, *a*, all of them nouns :—

(1) The first possessive '*a*' is used of things to eat and drink, the pronouns being always suffixed. In the 1st and 2nd pers. sing. '*a*' is added to the suffixed pronoun, and this '*a*' is replaced by '*i*' when several things are in view for a person to eat.

|          |                        |                |                |
|----------|------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| Sing. 1. | <i>'aku'a, 'aku'i.</i> | Plur. 1. incl. | <i>'aka.</i>   |
|          |                        | 1. excl.       | <i>'amami.</i> |
| 2.       | <i>'amu'a, 'amu'i.</i> | 2.             | <i>'amiu.</i>  |
| 3.       | <i>ai.</i>             | 3.             | <i>'ata.</i>   |

|                                 |                          |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Dual. 1. incl. 'akara, 'akarua. | Trial. 1. incl. 'akauru. |
| 1. excl. 'amerua.               | 1. excl. 'ameru.         |
| 2. 'amarua.                     | 2. 'amauru.              |
| 3. 'atarua.                     | 3. 'atauru.              |

Examples : *wari niu 'aku'a* "a coconut for me to eat", *totora 'akauru* "take for us to eat", *ma'i niu ai* "a piece of coconut for him to eat". When the sense relates to food in general and not to a particular meal the ordinary personal pronouns are used : *ke'e ora huni hana eru* "there is nothing for us to eat".

(2) The second possessive *na* also has the pronouns suffixed according to the above list. The meaning is "for" : *mo ora namu'i* "(many) things for you", *ne'ia ka nahu naku'a* "he spoke for me", *toi namu'a* "work for you".

(3) The third possessive *a* denotes "belonging to", "with", "at", and has the above set of pronouns suffixed, but is used without the final *'a* and *'i* in the 1st and 2nd pers. sing. The 3rd pers. sing. is *ana* as well as *ai*, and in the 3rd pers. plur. *ani* replaces *ata* when the reference is to things and not persons : *noko na'i sai paina ani* "I think much of them", *kahi amu* "have you a knife (about you) ?", *wairu ana moi nima (wairuai moi nima)* "on top of the houses", *a taa e rapusia ai* "what did he hit him with ?", *i kerekere ana tara* "by the side of the path", *e rua ne ata* "two of them". These forms of the possessive serve as the objects of verbs to which the pronoun is not suffixed : *nau ke'e hiiwaraimori ana* "I do not believe him"; or as objects when an adverb intervenes between the verb and its object, *kera horo tata'ara aku* "they beat me unmercifully"; or to show differences of meaning, *a taa ne iri ana* "what was he talking about ?".

## 6. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstratives are *ne*, *ni*, *nene*, *neni* "this, these"; *na*, *nena*, *wouna* "that, those".

Examples : *a ora ne* "this thing", *i rehu ni* "here", *wari niu nene 'oko potaria ka'u* "please crack this coconut", *ora atei neni* "whose is this thing ?", *a porona* "So-and-so", *a manena* "that person", *ora nena* "that thing", *mane wouna* "that person there", *mu'u na*, in address, "you (boy) !".

*Na* is also used after the negative : *mau na* "no", *mau nena* "not so".

### 7. Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogatives are *tei* "who?", *taa* "what?" The personal article *a* makes *atei* "who" singular, *kiraatei* plural. *Atei* means "what is the name?", *atei arua raa mai* "who came with you?", *kiraatei auru* "who are all you people?" The demonstrative article *a* is used with *taa*: *a taa ne iri ana* "what was he talking about?"

### 8. Indefinite Pronouns

The words used are *eta* and *ne*; of these *eta* is the cardinal numeral *eta* "one" and *ne* is a noun like *ile* in Ulawa with a similar use.

Examples: *eta moi inoni* "certain, some, people", *eta moi ne* "some", *e rua ne ata* "two (persons) of them". As in Sa'a *ta'eta'ena* means "every": *ta'eta'ena ora* "every thing". *Ta'eta'ena* is a form of the numeral meaning 'one' with *na* demonstrative added. The numeral *taa'i* is used as meaning "different": *rihu kira taa'i* "they have other (different) ways".

### 9. Relative Pronouns

There are no relative pronouns. Their place is supplied by the suffixed pronoun, demonstratives being added: *a ora ne noko usunainia maani'o* "this is the thing which I remove from you", *ine'ia a porona kira ka iria* "he is the person whom they are talking about".

### 10. Verbs

Words may be used as verbs by prefixing the verbal particles, but words which are the names of actions are naturally verbs. Certain verbs have special prefixes or terminations which further mark them as verbs. The verbal particles precede the verb and at least one of them *ka'i* has a temporal force.

(1) The verbal particles are *ko*, *koi*, *ka*, *ke*, *ka'i*. The first two particles *ko* and *koi* are joined in speech to the governing pronouns, the rest of the particles are separated in speech.

(a) *Ko* is used only with the shortened forms *no*, 'o of the 1st and 2nd pers. sing. of the personal pronoun: *inau noko raa* "as for me I am going", 'oko rono ta'a, mu'una "you are making a row, you!". The time is more or less present. The illatives may replace *ko*: *nau fui kera hura* "I have just arrived".

The vowel *i* may be added to *ko*: *nokoi raa* "I am going", *nokoi usuna'inia'ato* "I take it away". This *i* may be the short form of the genitive which is used to denote purpose.

(b) *Ka* is used with all the pronouns which are the subject of the verb. The time is the historic present. The subject need not be expressed.

(c) *Ke* expresses a certain amount of futurity or of condition in the action: *arua ke toi siona waraku, arua ka mauri ai* "if you two do according to my word, you two are living thereby, i.e. will live"; *'ai nena arua ke ania, arua ka mae ai* "you two will eat that tree, you two die thereby".

(d) *Ka'i* denotes a definite future: *ka'i haro mano ka'u* "it will end in time".

(2) *Times and Moods*.—A subjunctive is formed by *ana* "if", when used with *ka* or *ka'i*: *'oko ma'ohia ana ka'i raa mai'oke* "do you wait for him in case he should be coming". An imperative is conveyed by the use of the particle *ke*, or by *ko*, used with *'o* "thou". Conditional affirmation is expressed by *ha'araa*: *ke suui iria ha'araa seni* "if you were to say it, it would be best".

The illatives are *pi*, *pui*, *fui*, the latter being a dialectical peculiarity of Tawa ni 'ahi'a. The meanings are "then, thereupon, in that case, for the first time", the particles *ko*, *ka*, need not necessarily precede them: *God pi toia saso* "God then made the sun".

The particle *ka'u* follows the verb and (a) denotes a preterite, *i'amu 'amu raaraa ka'u* "you indeed went"; (b) mitigates the harshness or the directness of a request or a command.

The adverb *'ato* denotes a preterite and follows the verb. The demonstrative *na* denotes completion, *warita saro mau na* "anciently the heaven was not".

(3) *Negative Particles*.—The foregoing particles are not used in negative sentences. The negative particles are *ke'e* and *suui*, the latter is a dehortative and is also used of future time: *'oke suui iria, manena* "see that you do not say it, you!", *suui hai seni 'ato ro'u* "it will not be any good again". The ordinary negative *mau* "no, not" is also used as a negative particle, *ine'ia mau mane paina* "he is not a chief".

A negative imperative is indicated by *mane* "lest", *mane 'o iria* "do not say it".

The genitives *ni*, *i*, are used to denote purpose: *ka na'i sae ni asumia* "he thinks about making it", *noko raa i kaesi tarua* "I am going to play a trick on them".

(4) *Suffixes to Verbs*.—(1) There are certain terminations which when added to neuter verbs, i.e. to verbs to which the pronoun of

the object cannot be attached. make them definitely transitive. These suffixes are of two forms:—

(a) The vowel *i* by itself or a consonant with *i*: *i*, *hi*, *mi*, *ni*, *ri*, *si*.

(b) The termination *a'i* which is suffixed by itself to nouns to convert them into transitive verbs *sasu*, *sasua'i*: *pa'ura i suna ka sasua'ia maaku* "the smoke has got into my eyes".

The consonants *h*, *m*, *r*, *t*, may be prefixed to the termination *a'i* forming participles: *oro* "to stoop", *oroma'i*, *oroha'i* "stooping, squatting"; *ta'era'i* "risen"; *raputa'i* "fallen headlong".

To the terminations *ha'i*, *ma'i*, *na'i*, *ra'i*, *ta'i*, the genitive *ni* is suffixed and the whole forms a compound transitive suffix: *haneha'ini*, *onoma'ini*, *hiina'ini*, *tahera'ini*, *raputa'ini*.

The syllabic suffix *ha'ini* is used with certain verbs as meaning "with": *oro'ha'ini* "to swim with a thing", *haneha'ini* "to climb holding a thing".

(5) *Prefixes to Verbs*.—These are causative and reciprocal. The causative is *ha'a*; it may be prefixed to nouns, verbs, adjectives, numerals, and is used with verbs which have a transitive suffix.

(6) The reciprocal is *hai*. With the addition of the adverb *ro'u* "again" *hai* denotes a change or an addition: *ke'e hai sieni ro'u* "it will never be any good again".

(7) *Passive*.—The passive is expressed by the use of the personal pronoun 3rd pers. plur. *kira* as subject with the verb, the adverb 'ato "already" being added; *kira* is also used impersonally.

(8) The third possessive is used to form a gerundive, the suffix *i* being added to the verb: *horoiana 'ato* "the killing of him".

(9) *Reflexive Verbs*.—The noun *maraa-* with suffixed pronouns added denotes reflexive action: *ka horoia maraana* "he killed himself".

(10) *Reduplication*.—Verbs are reduplicated in three ways, and there is no difference in the use of the reduplicated forms beyond an intensification of meaning.

(a) By repetition of the first syllable: *suri*, *susuri*.

(b) By repetition of the whole word: *horo*, *horohoro*.

(c) By repetition of the whole word with the omission of the inner consonant in the former member, *rahi*, *rairahi*.

## 11. *Adjectives*

The adjective follows the noun.

(1) Certain words have a form which is only used of adjectives: this form may be either a termination or a prefix:—

(a) Adjectival terminations are 'a, ta'a.

'a: *sane* "white ant", *sane'a* "infected with white ants"; *seni* "good", *seseni'a* "very good"; *pa'uraisuna* "smoke of fire", *pa'uraisuna'a* "smoky".

ta'a: *osi* "to cut, to score", *osiosita'a* "scored".

(b) Adjectival prefixes are *ma*, *ta'i*, *taka*, *tara*, *tata* :—

*o'i* "to break", *mao'i* "broken"; *marokeroke* "roaring", *ta'inaru* "simultaneous", *ta'ihikukihu* "tangled", *takaruha* "unloosed, undone", *tarakoni* "gathered together, in harmony", *tatakehukehu* "headlong".

The prefix *taka* denotes spontaneity; 'a is prefixed to verbs and forms participles: *hari* "to break off a branch", *ahari* "broken off"; *hisu* "to pluck", *ahisu* "plucked".

(2) *Comparison*.—Degrees of comparison are shown by the use of prepositions or adverbs, or by a simple positive statement. The prepositions used are *maani* 'from', which always has the pronoun suffixed, and *riutaa* "beyond, in excess", which is followed by the third possessive: *poo e paina maania asuhe* "a pig is larger than a rat", *mane sieni nena maania* "he is a better man than he", *ikira ne kira iwera riutaa ata* "these are more numerous than those". The adverbs used are *kerā* "a little", *hiito'o* "very much".

A positive statement carries comparison by implication: *mane sieni nena*, *mane taa nena* "this man is good, that man is bad".

## 12. Adverbs

(1) *Adverbs of Condition*.—*Mora* "only, merely, without any reason", *sieni mora* "good enough", *heeta* "only, solely", *ohe* "perhaps, possibly"; *ato* "finality, emphasis", *mano ato* "finished, done with", *ato o'o* "for good and all"; *ka'u* of preterite, softening down a statement, etc.

(2) *Adverbs of Manner*.—*Ua* "how?", *ua* "yet, still", *uitaa* "how?", *ka tau uitaa* "spoke how, i.e. what did he say?", *una* "thus, like that, assent", *uri*, *urini* "in this way, so", *urihana* "like, in the same way as", *tarei* "for no reason, merely, wantonly"; precedes the verb.

(3) *Adverbs of Time*.—*Mano* "finished, past", *ato mora*, *ato morana* "immediately, right now", *si'iri*, *si'irini* "to-day", *naponi* "yesterday", *warita* "past or future time, three days hence". The locative *i* may be prefixed to the last four of these. *Poe ruana* "two days hence", *poe roosi*, *poe ni oluna* "three days hence", *i na'o*, *ato ina'o* "formerly", *rau na'o* "do for the first time".

(4) *Adverbs of Place*.—*Ihei* “where?”, *i rehu*, *i rehuni* “here”, *ai* “there, therein, thereby”, *mai* “here, hither”, *wou* “there”, *karai*, *karaini* “nearly, near”. Affirmation *iau*, negation *mau*, question *ne*.

### 13. *Prepositions*

#### (1) *Simple Prepositions* :—

|              |                                                                                                                      |
|--------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Locative     | <i>i</i> .                                                                                                           |
| Causation    | <i>haahi</i> .                                                                                                       |
| Motion to    | <i>tare-</i> ; <i>takoi-</i> ; <i>suri</i> ; <i>isuri</i> .                                                          |
| Motion from  | <i>maani-</i> .                                                                                                      |
| Dative       | <i>huni</i> .                                                                                                        |
| Instrumental | <i>ana</i> , <i>ani</i> , <i>ai</i> , <i>ainia</i> .                                                                 |
| Relation     | <i>ana</i> , <i>ani</i> , <i>ai</i> ; <i>haani-</i> , <i>ha'ini-</i> ; <i>honosi-</i> ; <i>sio-</i> ; <i>keke-</i> . |
| Genitive     | <i>ni</i> , <i>i</i> , <i>ri</i> .                                                                                   |
| Position     | <i>ahui-</i> .                                                                                                       |

With the exception of the locative, the instrumental, the first three prepositions of relation, and the genitive, all the foregoing are used with a suffixed pronoun.

According to Melanesian idiom the locative *i* is used of place whence, and of direction, *i hei* “at what place?”, *raa i hei* “go to where?”; of the instrumental prepositions *ana* is the ordinary one in use denoting “with”. When the noun denoting the instrument is not preceded by an article, or when the noun is used in a general sense, *ani* replaces *ana*: *u'ia ani noma* “hit him with spear”, *ani taa* “with what?”. When the instrumental comes at the end of a sentence *ai* is used: *a taa kera rapusia ai* “what did they hit him with?”, *ka na'i sae ai* “thinks about it”; *ainia* means “because, with what?”; *ana* also means “because”. In relation *ana* is used to denote “of”: *i kerekere ana tara* “by the side of the path”, *wairu (wau iru) ana nima* “on the top of the house”, *i wairu ai* “on top of it”; (an idiom is *a taa ne iri ana* “what is he talking about?”), *arua ka mauri ai* “you two will live thereby”, *ka asumia ai hori nana* “makes it to sell for himself”; *ani* is used as plural of *ana*, *nau ke'e hana ua ani* “I have never eaten any of it”. I have no knowledge of the form *aie* quoted by von der Gabelentz.

*Ani* is used in the composition of nouns: *supi ani 'ai* “a wooden club”. *Haani*, *ha'ini* both denote “with, along with, accompanying”; *honosi-* means “in the way of, to meet”; *keke* is used as Sa'a *saa-*, Uawa *sie-*, “at the house of, to visit”; *nau papahe*



*kekemu* "I came to see you"; *sio-* denotes "after, according to"; *kira ke'e rono siona warana* "they did not hear his word".

*Ahui-* means "round about, concerning".

(2) *Compound Prepositions*.—These are nouns with the locative; the pronoun is suffixed as the actual object or as an anticipatory object when a noun follows: *i haho* "above", *i oro-ha-* "below", *i rao-*, *i raoi* "within". Of these *i oro-ha-*, *i rao-*, are never used without a suffixed pronoun; the addition of the vowel *i* in the form *i raoi* is worthy of notice, unless, perchance, the form is *i rao'i* neuter plural.

As in Sa'a some prepositions are constructed from the verbal nouns to which the suffixed pronoun is always added: *ori* "to change", *oritaku* "in my place".

Certain verbs are used as prepositions: *roosi* "to await", *i'o roosia* "wait for him" (*poe roosia* "third day hence"), *karaini* "near to", *ha'atauri* "far from", the pronouns being suffixed.

#### 14. Conjunctions

|                            |                                                 |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Copulative, <i>ma</i> .    | Disjunctive, <i>moi</i> .                       |
| Adversative, <i>ta'a</i> . | Conditional, <i>ana</i> .                       |
| Connective, <i>'ato</i> .  | Illative, <i>pi</i> , <i>pui</i> , <i>fui</i> . |

A mark of quotation is *uri*. "Or not" is expressed by *moi* followed by *ke'e*, or *moi mau*. "Until" is *hura ana*. *Haro* shows consecutiveness of action. The preposition *haani-* "with" is used as a conjunction; *mane haania keni* "men and women".

#### 15. Numerals

The numeral system is decimal, all numbers above the ten are expressed in tens.

##### (1) *Cardinals* :—

|                               |                                     |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 <i>eta</i> , <i>taa'i</i> . | 6 <i>e ono</i> .                    |
| 2 <i>e rua</i> .              | 7 <i>e hiru</i> .                   |
| 3 <i>e oru</i> .              | 8 <i>e waru</i> .                   |
| 4 <i>e hai</i> .              | 9 <i>e siwa</i> .                   |
| 5 <i>e rima</i> .             | 10 <i>tanahuru</i> , <i>awara</i> . |

In numbers other than *eta* the initial *e* is omitted in quick counting. The prefix *to'o* forms distributives: *to'otaa'i ora mora* "only a few"; *eta* is used as meaning another, different, *eta mane rou marai*. *Waru* "eight" is used as an indefinite number. *Tanahuru* is the tenth of a series; *awara* is the tally of ten.

To express units over ten *mana* is employed: *awara mana eta* "eleven". An incomplete tally is expressed by *taatara*: *awara taatara* "some over ten".

Special words are used for the tens of different objects : *a'uru i niu* " 10 coconuts ", *hika ni i'a* " 10 large garfish ", *waro* " 10 smoked coconuts (20 halves) strung for sale ", *aitari ni i'a* " 10 parrot fish ". Two coconuts strung together is *dona* " a pair ".

*Tanarau* is 100 : *tanarau ni i'a* " 100 porpoise teeth strung as a unit ". Numbers above the hundred are expressed by *mana* : *tanarau rua awara mana hai* " 124 ".

Special words are used for hundreds of various objects : *aro ni hui* " 100 taro ", *nao* " 100 yams or 100 hana ", *totoro ni kui* " 400 dogs' teeth strung as a unit ".

*Sinora* is 1,000 ; this is used correctly of yams or hana or taro ; *pera* " 1,000 coconuts ", *mora* " 1,000 of men ", *mora ni hi'ona* " innumerable ghosts " ; the reduplicated form *moramora* is used indefinitely as meaning " many ".

(2) *Ordinals*.—The cardinals with a substantival termination *na* form the ordinals.

|                       |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
| First <i>etana</i> .  | Fourth <i>haina</i> . | Seventh <i>hiuna</i> . |
| Second <i>ruana</i> . | Fifth <i>rimana</i> . | Eighth <i>waruna</i> . |
| Third <i>oruna</i> .  | Sixth <i>onona</i> .  | Ninth <i>siwana</i> .  |

Ordinals precede the noun : *ruana mane* " the second man ". Tenth is expressed by *tanahuru ana*.

*Enita, nita* " how many ", is used with the substantival termination *na* : *enitana* " what number (is it) ? ".

(3) Multiplicatives are formed with the causative *ha'a* : *ha'arna* " twice ", *ha'atanarau* " a hundred times ". *ha'anita* " how often ? " In *hautaa'i* " once ", the *hau* probably is *hau* " fruit " ; cf. Articles (3).

The word *ta'e* " to embark " is used as a kind of descriptive prefix along with the cardinals *taa'i*, *olu*, *hai*, and with *enita*, where the holding capacity of a canoe is in question : *ta'e oru* " a three man canoe ".

## TEXTS

1. *E raa mai (i) Kohimarama. ka raa i Oroha ka raa*
1. We came here (to) Kohimarama, (we) go to Oroha (we) go

(i) *nima, Ara'ana ka reesia nununa i'a. ka to'ia pua*  
 (into) house, Ara'ana sees it figure its fish. hangs it areca nut  
*ka to'ia mai i kekena hi'ona maa'i. ka iria. " Noko*  
 hangs it here at alongside it ghost sacred. says it, " I

*ha'aoho ahuiaua ana nau raa ha'atau* ". *Mane*  
 make offering protecting myself because I went far off ". (A) man  
*ka asumia 'ai ka konia pauna amana, pauna*  
 carves it piece of wood puts it head his father his, head his  
*asina, warina, ka koni(a) ra(o)na i'a, ka iria :*  
 brother his, mother's brother his, puts it inside it fish says :  
 " *Hi'ona ikoru nena, ka rauhikoru nena* ". *Sasana i'a mora,*  
 " Ghost our that, abides with us that ". Name its fish merely,  
*hi'ona ne'ia i raoi. Pa'eua hi'ona ro'u, maa hi'ona ro'u, huasa*  
 ghost he inside. Shark ghost also, snake ghost also, crocodile  
*hi'ona ro'u, purupuru i Oru marau ka to'o ana mane, ka mae,*  
 ghost also, firefly at Oru marau hits against person, (he) dies,  
*ka iria hi'ona. Huasa ka i'o i asi, ka i'o i hanua ; ta'e*  
 considers it (a) ghost. Crocodile lives in sea, lives on land ; one  
*uaarouaaro rua mane oru poo rua kui ka ani'i 'ato. Ka*  
 month two men three pigs two dogs eats them completely. (He)  
*reesia mane ka araia, ka pora haania ra(o)na asi. Huasa ka raa*  
 sees man bites him, jumps with him into it sea. Crocodile goes  
*i hanua, ka rairahi ai, ka tora n(i)ui, ka rairahi apota ; taa'i*  
 on land, lays (eggs) there, builds nest, lays eggs ; one  
*huasa moramora apota, rua awara, apotana ka urihana* goose ;  
 crocodile countless eggs, two ten, eggs its like goose eggs ;  
*huasa ka i'o oroha'i kekeni, ke'e apa haahia urihana*  
 crocodile sits crouching beside them, not squat on it like  
*kua ; mane ka reesia, kira ka pania huasa, ka naa*  
 a hen ; a person sees it, they drive it away crocodile, eats  
*potaria apota ni huasa.*  
 breaks it eggs of crocodile.

2. *Eru ka iria una : " Kira ka raohia, kira ka na'isae*

2. We speak it thus : " They think about it, they reflect

*'ohia. kira ka nahu urini.* " *Waraimori nena, rua mane, reesia*  
 about it, they speak thus." True that, two men, see it

*hanua ai a hanua nena, reesia ka'u, kira ka toia haka, kia*  
 (the) land there the land that, see it please, they build ships, we  
*ke'e rio saia, rihu kira taa'i kira ka toia*  
 not see know it, custom their another (different), they make it

*wai,            kia ke'e rio    saia,    kira ka toia suna, pana,*  
 water (medicine), we not see know it, they make it fire, sails,  
*kia ke'e manata'inia.*  
 we not know it.

3. *Mane uru ka pu(u) (i) ta(a)tara, ke'e saia ire, mane*

3. Man blind treads on path, not know it precipice, man  
*sieni ka to'o i kaikaina, ka iria:* "Ire nena 'oko hu":  
 good takes hold on hand his, says it: "Precipice that you fall":  
*ine'ia ka nahu:* "Oko nahu ruuiau ainia ta? Noko  
 he says: "You speak forbidding me for what? I

*raa mora."* *Mane marai ka iria:* "Suui  
 am going just (as I please)." Man another says it: "Don't

*roronoa warana, mane ka kaekae nena, ire mau ai, 'oko*  
 listen to it word his, man deceiving that, precipice not there, you  
*ra": mane uru ka iria:* "Mane sieni nena, ke'e nahu  
 go": man blind says it: "Man good that, not speak

*ruuiau, ke'e urihana mane wouna."* *Mane uru ke'e rio*  
 forbidding me, not like man over there." Man blind not see

*saia mane ka kaesia nena, mane ka ha'amaesia, mane uru*  
 know him man deceive him that, man kills him, man blind  
*ka raa, ka raa, ka hu, ka mae.*  
 goes, goes, falls, dies.

4. *Noko peria poo i'oe, noko hiria huni'o ana*

4. I steal it pig yours, I pay a fine for it to you with  
*ha'a, i'a, ka i'o tarakoni ro'u. Mane*  
 shell money, porpoise teeth, live collected together again. Man  
*ka raa mai ka peria keni inau, noko raa noko horoia, ka toto*  
 comes here steals her wife my, I go I kill him. make it up  
*huni'au, ha'a i'a, ka i'o tarakoni ro'u.*  
 to me, shell money, porpoise teeth, live collected together again.

5. *Nemo paina, mane ka ma'uma'u uhi ine'ia ka ta'a, ka iria*

5. Rain great, man fears yams his are spoilt, says  
*huni mane saia:* "Noko waa'i'o ana ha'a,  
 to man (that) knows: "I reward you with shell money,

*poo, oko ha'asaso ro'u.*" *Mane saia ka iria*: "Siena,  
pigs, you make sun again." *Man* (that) knows says: "Good,  
*ne'ia ka'u, ka saso ro'u.*"  
wait awhile, fine (weather) again."

### A VOCABULARY OF OROHA LANGUAGE

n = noun; v.i. = intransitive verb. i.e. a verb to which the pronoun of the object cannot be attached; v.t. = transitive verb, i.e. a verb to which the pronoun of the object can be attached; partic. = participle; (*ku*) written after a noun denotes that the possessive pronoun can be attached, a hyphen at the end of such nouns denotes that they are only used with the pronoun attached.

#### A

*aharota* n., kinsman.

*ahune-(ku)*, a man's sister, a woman's brother.

*'ai*, tree.

*ama-(ku)*, father.

*'ani* v.t., to eat.

*apa* v.i., to squat, to crouch.

*aporoa* n., commoners, the people belonging to a chief.

*apota (na, ni)*, egg.

*ara* v.i., to bite: *maa ara*, poisonous snake.

*arai* v.t. to bite a person.

*araha*, a chief.

*arahu* partic., come out of its socket.

*asa* v.i., to be difficult.

*asai* v.t., to be too difficult for a person.

*asi*, sea.

*asi-(ku)*, a man's brother, a woman's sister.

*asu* v.i., to work with an adze, to carve.

*asumi* v.t.

*ata rumu*, large frog, Rana Guppyii.

#### E

*'ere, 'ereere (na, ni)* n., tip, top shoots of branches.

*eri* v.t., to dig.

#### H

*ha'a*, shell money.

*ha'aaraha* v.t., to conduct the ceremonies for the son or the daughter of a chief; to ennoble.

*ha'amaesi* v.t., to kill.

*ha'amauri* v.t., to restore to health; to save.

*ha'aoho* v.i., to make an offering of areca nuts or money to a family ghost on returning from a voyage.

*ha'asaso* v.i., to make fine weather.

*ha'asiena, ha'asieni* v.t., to put right, rectify.

*ha'atau* v.i., to be far off.

*ha'atauri* v.t. to be far off a place or thing or person.

*haharisi*, grass.

*hana* v.i., to shoot with an arrow.

*hanasi* v.t.

*hana* 2 v.i., to eat.

*hanaraa* n., food.

*hane* v.i., to climb.

*hanena'ini* v.t., to climb, holding something.

*hanua*, land, island, people.

*haoru*, new.

*hara* v.i., to attempt.

*hii* v.i., to feel, perceive.

*hiina'ini* v.t.

*hi'ona*, a ghost.

*hiri* v.t., to pay a fine for.

*hoowa*, morning, between 8 a.m.

and 10 a.m.: *i hoowa*, tomorrow morning.

*hooa* v.i., to be calm.

*hori* v.t., to buy, to pay.

*horo*, *horohoro* v.i., to kill, to hit.

*horoi* v.t.

*horoa*, a day.

*hu* v.i., to fall.

*hua*, ground, the earth, as opposed to *saro*, the sky.

*hu'a*, woman, wife.

*hui*, taro.

*huno-(ku)*, father-in-law, son-in-law, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law.

*huta* v.i., to be born.

# I

*i'a*, fish, porpoise tooth.

*iha-(ku)*, brothers-in-law, sisters-in-law.

*ikiiki*, a land frog.

*inoni*, a human being.

*inu* v.t., to drink.

*inuhi* v.t.

*i'o* v.t., to sit, to stay.

*iora*, canoe.

*ira*, a stone axe-head.

*ire*, a precipice.

*iri*, *iriiri* v.t., to say, to consider.

*iru*, above, on top of.

*iwera*, all.

# K

*kae* v.i., to deceive.

*kaesi* v.t.

*kaikai(ku)*, hand, arm.

*kare(ku)*, child.

*keni*, woman, female, wife.

*kerā*, slightly, a little, just now.

*ki'iki'i(ku)*, finger.

*koe*, a frog.

*koni* v.t., to put, to place.

*kua*, fowl.

*kui*, dog.

# M

*maa(ku)*, eye.

*maa*, snake; *maa ara*, poisonous snake.

*ma'ahu* v.i., to sleep.

*maa'i*, sacred, holy.

*mae* v.i., to die, to be ill.

*maena*, death.

*maeraa*, sickness.

*maesi* v.t., to die of, to be ill of.

*maeta(ku)*, death feast.

*maimai*, little, small.

*mamana*, a few.

*manata'ini* v.t., to know, to perceive by intuition.

*mane* 1, man, male.

*mane* 2, lest.

*mano*, finished, completely.

*mara*, like, as.

*marai*, other, different.

*marau*, island ; *Oru marau*, Three Sisters islands ; *warumarau*, the world.  
*masike*, small, little.  
*mato*, earth, dirt.  
*matora-(ku)*, middle.  
*ma'u*, *ma'uma'u* v.i., to fear.  
*ma'uni* v.t.  
*ma'usu*, bush, forest.  
*mera*, child ; *meramera*, children.  
*mora* 1, only, merely.  
*mora* 2, 1,000 of men ; *moramora*, countless, numerous.  
*mu'u*, person, fellow, man.

## N

*naa* v.i., to eat.  
*nahu* v.i., to speak, to say.  
*na'i* v.i., to put ; *na'i sae*, to think.  
*napōni*, yesterday.  
*nari*, canarium nut.  
*ne'i* v.t. to put, put down ;  
*ne'ia ka'u*, wait-a-while.  
*nemo* n., rain ; v.i., to rain.  
*nima*, dwelling-house.  
*niu*, a coconut-tree ; *wari niu*, a coconut.  
*niui*, a nest ; *tora niui*, to make a nest.  
*nunu(ku)*, figure, shape.

## O

*oha*, canoe house.  
*'ohi* v.t., to fetch, go for.  
*ono* v.i., to swallow.  
*onoma'ini* v.t.  
*opa(ku)*, belly, mind, heart.

*ora*, thing ; *a ora*, So-and-so.  
*oro, orooro* v.i., to swim.  
*oro ha'ini* v.t., to swim with a thing.  
*oro ha-(ku)*, underneath.  
*oro* v.i., to lean over.  
*oro ha'i* partic., crouching.  
*oroma'i* partic., slanting.  
*oto, ootoo*, straight.

## P

*paapaa(ku)*, grandmother, grand-child.  
*pa'ewa*, shark.  
*paina, paipaina*, big.  
*pani* v.t., to drive away.  
*papahe* v.i., to walk about, to visit.  
*pau(ku)*, head.  
*pa'u* v.i., to smoke, of fire.  
*pa'ura i suna*, smoke of fire.  
*peri, periperi* v.t., to steal.  
*pīi, pūpīi* v.i., to boil with hot stones.  
*poe*, a day ; *poe ni oruna*, etc., cf. *Ulawā poe danita'i*, next morning.  
*poni*, night.  
*poo*, pig.  
*po'o*, a part.  
*pōra* v.i., to jump.  
*pota* v.i., to break, crack ; *pota niu*, to crack coconuts.  
*potari* v.t.  
*pua*, areca nut.  
*puri(ku)*, behind a person : *i puri*, at the rear.  
*purupuru*, firefly.

## R

*raa*, *raaraa* 1. v.i., to go; *raa mai*,  
to come here; *raa wou*,  
go there.  
*raa* 2, v.i., to shine, of sun.  
*raani* v.t., to shine upon.  
*rahi*, *rairahi* v.i., to lay eggs.  
*rani*, *i rani*, sky, heaven.  
*rao*-(*ku*), inside; *i raoi*, the inside.  
? *i rao'i*, inside them.  
*raohi* v.t., to think upon.  
meditate.  
*rapu* v.i., to strike, to hit.  
*rapusi* v.t.  
*rarawa* v.i., to be slothful, to be  
lazy, to be unwilling.  
*rarawasi* v.t., to neglect through  
laziness.  
*rate*, a reed.  
*rau na'o* v.i., to do for the first time.  
*rauhi* v.t., to abide with a person,  
of spiritual influence.  
*reesi* v.t., to see.  
*rereho* v.i., to speak, to say.  
*rihu*, custom, manner.  
*rio* v.i., to see.  
*rono*, *rorono* v.t., to hear; *rono sai*,  
to understand upon hearing.  
*roona'ini* v.t., to meditate upon.  
*roosi*, to await.  
*roto* 1, v.i., to be dark.  
*roto* 2, piece, part.  
*ruha* v.i., to loose.  
*ruhasi* v.t.  
*ruhata'i* partic., loosed.  
*ruui* v.t., to forbid; *nahu ruui*.

## S

*sae*-(*ku*), heart, mind; *na'i sae*,  
to think.

*sai* v.t., to know, to have know-  
ledge of; *rio sai* v.t., to  
perceive.  
*saihuni* v.i., to be concealed,  
hidden.  
*sanite*, a hand of bananas.  
*sape*-(*ku*), body; *i'o i sapena*,  
to be along with a person.  
*saro*, cloud, sky.  
*saruhe*, centipede.  
*sasa*-(*ku*), name.  
*saso*, sun, fine weather.  
*sasoa'i* v.t., to shine upon, of  
the sun.  
*sasu* v.i., to smoke.  
*sasua'i* v.t.  
*seni*, *seseni*, good.  
*senina* n., goodness.  
*siho* v.i., to go down.  
*siena*, *sieni*, as *seni*.  
*si'iri*, *si'irini*, to-day; *i si'iri*,  
*i si'irini*.  
*sinehi*, outside; *i sinehi*.  
*suri*, *susuri* v.t., to follow, go  
after.

## T

*ta* v.i., to give, to take; *ta mai*,  
give it here!  
*ta'a*, *tata'ara*, bad.  
*ta'e* v.i., to go on board, to go up.  
*taera'i* partic., risen.  
*ta'eri* v.t., to go on board a  
canoe.  
*tahe*, to ascend.  
*tahi* v.i., to flee.  
*tahisi* v.t., to flee from.  
*tani*, wind.  
*tanuma*-(*ku*), middle, waist.  
*tara*, *taatara*, path.



*tara* v.i., to be lost at sea, to drift.  
*tarahuri*, place; *i tarahuri ana*,  
 in its place.

*tarakoni*, gathered together; *i'o tarakoni*, to be at peace.

*tarei*, merely, wantonly, precedes the verb.

*tau* v.t., to do; v.i. to say;  
*ka tau uitaa*, says what?

*tauna*, to desire.

*tautaunire*, echo.

*teitei*, vocative, mother!

*to'o* v.i., to hit; used with possessive 3.

*toi* v.t., to do, to make, to act.

*to'i* v.t., to hang up.

*tora* v.i., to carry.

*toto* v.t., to pay a fine for, atone.

*tooru* v.i., to sit.

## U

*uhi*, yam.

*u'i* v.t., to aim at and hit, to hammer.

*upu* v.i., to swell.

*ura* 1, v.i., to stand; *urai hei*, whence?

*ura-(ku)*, 2. ortho-cousins, children of two brothers or two sisters;  
*rua maurana*.

*urouro* v.i., to howl, to yell.

*uru. uruuru* v.i., to be blind.

*uruha*, kindred; *uruha ni inoni*.

## W

*waa'i* v.t., to reward, to give payment to.

*waarovaaro*, moon.

*wai*, water.

*wara(ku)* 1, word.

*wara* 2, v.i., to speak.

*waraimori* v.i., to be true.

*wari(ku)*, mother's brother, sister's son.

*warita*, three days ago, time past or future.

*warumarau*, the world; *waru*, eight.

*wate* v.t., to apportion the food at a feast; v.i., to make a speech at a feast.

*wauwa(ku)*, grandfather, grandchild.

*weri* v.t., to split with the nails.

SOME READINGS OF JANAKIHARANA XVI

By S. K. DÉ

THE text of *Jānakī-haraṇa* xvi, published by Dr. L. D. Barnett in *BSOS.*, vol. iv, pt. ii, pp. 285 f., from an old Malayalam MS., gives me an opportunity of furnishing readings of the same text from another MS. recently acquired by the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, of which a certified transcript exists in the Dacca University Library. The acquisition of this MS. by the Madras Library was reported in their *Report of the Working of the Peripatetic Party, during the Triennium 1916-17-18-19*. I had an opportunity of examining it during my visit to Madras in 1924. It contains twenty cantos ; but I was disappointed to find that it is only a transcript from an original, which, I was informed, was discovered somewhere on the Malabar Coast. As such, the value of its readings may not be superior to those given by Dr. Barnett ; but Dr. Barnett's text, based that it is on a single MS., is admittedly unsatisfactory in some places. On comparing it with the text, as given in the Madras MS., I find that it happily fills up the lacunæ in Dr. Barnett's text, and in some cases gives, in my opinion, better readings. I propose to notice these below. It is possible that the archetypes of the two MSS. were not the same, as my MS. omits several verses given by Dr. Barnett's (the authenticity of which cannot be finally decided without the help of a third MS.) ; and the sequence and arrangement of some of the verses are not identical.

I notice, first of all, the discrepancies in the order of verses. The figures refer to the numbering of verses in Dr. Barnett's text, which for the sake of abbreviation, will be indicated by the letter B ; while the Madras MS. will be referred to as M.

After B 11, M reads B 16-20, then 15, 13, 12, 14, and 21, after which there is agreement. M omits altogether 44. Again, after 56, M reads 62, 60, 64, 61, 70, 71, 58, 72, omitting altogether 57, 59, 63, 65-69. After 72, there is agreement up to the end of the canto.

With reference to the differences of readings, the following are the more important :—

Śl. 2. *aruṇa-kara-dṛḍhāvakṛṣṭa-raśmi-praṇamita-kandhara°* (M). Here °*raśmi-praṇamita-kandhara°* is preferable to B's °*raśmi-vraṇam iva kandhara°*, for in the latter reading *vraṇam iva* is difficult to construe and does not give good sense.

Śl. 3. *avalupya* (M). for *anulipya* ; preferable.

Śl. 6. *apasaratīti* (M), for *apasarataiti*, would give better sense.

Śl. 7. *namita-capala-mastakā* (M) ; *samupahatā* (M) better. for *samupagatā*.

Śl. 9. *ravir apacalito* (M) for *ravir atha calito*.

Śl. 19. For the *lacuna* in the second line, M. reads : *atipātu-patalam vipātya viśvaṃ vivara-ga°*.

Śl. 20. *nyadhatta* (M), better for *nrathairva*.

Śl. 13. *hṛtaḥ* (M), for *jītaḥ*. It avoids repetition of *jītaḥ*, already used (*avajītaḥ*) in the first line.

Śl. 12. *atha mano* (M), for *adhamano*, gives better sense.

Śl. 21. It should be read thus :—

*gagana-sarasi candra-rūpyakumbhe vyapasarati sma nipātite rajanyā|  
tadupahita-taraṅga-dhūta-nīlī-nikara ivāti-ghanas tamaḥ-pravāhaḥ||*

Śl. 25. °*avakuṇṭhanena* (M), for °*avakuṇṭhaneva*, seems preferable.

Śl. 29. *rāgaḥ* (M), better than *rāgaiḥ*.

Śl. 31. *vasana-samuditāṅga-saṅgi°* (M) for *madana-samucitāṅga-saṅgi°*.

Śl. 32. *priyā-nirasta-śravaṇa°* (M), preferable to *priyā nirasya śravaṇa°* ; for in the latter reading *priyā* and *nirasya* are difficult to construe.

Śl. 34. *tvām* (M) for *tvam*, and *priyā hi kope* (M) for *priyātikope*, seem better readings. In the next line, M reads *parama-nigraha-prasāde* as one compound word.

Śl. 35. *niṣiṅcasi* (M) better, for *niṣiṅcati*.

Śl. 36. *tirayasi* (M) better, for *tirayati*.

Śl. 38. °*parimantharaḥ* (M) better, for °*paripanthikah*.

Śl. 40. *sakhi-girā nirāse* (M) better, for *sakhibhir ānirāse*. Similarly, I think, we should read *phala-cyutā nirāse* in the second line of Śl. 28.

Śl. 42. °*bhāga°* (M) better, for °*bhāva°*. We should read, with M, *vidarśi*, and not °*vidarśita°*, which is contrary to metre.

Śl. 43. *daṣṭavān* (M) certainly better than *dṛṣṭavān*, which gives no sense.

Śl. 45. For the *lacuna*, M reads : *svayam akhilaṃ mama*.

Śl. 50. The last line is read as follows in M : *tava capala nīrūpitā navōdyat-praviralā-romṇi kathaṃcid uttarōṣṭhe*.

Śl. 51. *nayana-śravo'si jātaḥ* (M) seems preferable to *śravo'pi jātaḥ* ; for *api* has no force here.

Śl. 53. *mitra-kṛtye* (M) for *sādhukṛtye*. Supply *eva* (M) for the lacuna.

Śl. 54. *kṣatam* (M) for *kṛtam*.

Śl. 55. *madhu papuḥ* (M) certainly better than *madhuvapuḥ*. Also M reads °*kuntalôpamuktam* for °*kuntalôpayuktam*.

Śl. 64. °*jarjarêva* (M) is certainly preferable to °*jarjaraiva*, for the figure appears to be *utprekṣā* and requires *iva*. M also reads *paribhogavatsu* for *paripūtaratsu*.

Śl. 61. °*lohinībhir* (M) for °*vāhinībhir*.

Śl. 71. *parikṛta°* (M) for *anugata°*.

Śl. 72. *anartayat* (M) for *aharṣayat*.

Śl. 74. °*sūkṛtiḥ* (M) for °*sūtkṛtaḥ*; and *priyābhiḥ* (M) for *samābhiḥ*.

Śl. 77. °*dhātu-vibhūṣaṇaḥ* (M) for °*dhātu-vibhūṣitaḥ*.

Śl. 79. We should read, with M, *vyaktam* (= "clearly") for *vyastam*, and *samastaḥ* for *tamastaḥ*. The word *śaśītaḥ* in the first line must be construed as *śaśī + itaḥ* (= *gataḥ*); while the last line should be read as *sārasaṁ taṁ rasantaṁ* (= *rasantaṁ taṁ sārasaṁ*).

Śl. 80. We should read, with M, *udaka-hrāsa-velām* for *udaka-hrāsa-celām* both for the sake of the *yamaka* and the sense. The word *virāmāḥ* must be construed as *vi + rūmāḥ* ("wives of birds"); while *nētan* should be taken as *na + itam* (= *gataṁ*). In the last line the reading *vigata-kiraṇôdbhāsam* of M (for *vigata-caraṇôllāsam*) seems to be better.

Śl. 81. *vihīta°* (M) for *pihīta°*, and *para-bhāṭam* (M) for *vara-bhāṭaḥ*.

Śl. 82. The last line is somewhat obscure; for *āsrutapurā* is irregular, if construed with *sēyam*, while *ākrośāyitā* is unintelligible. The reading of M *āsrutavarākośāyikā śāyikā* is equally puzzling, and does not throw any light on the question.

Śl. 83. *Naktam* is apparently a noun (and not an adverb here), in apposition to *nakrādhivāsam*.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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THE ŚATAPATHA BRĀHMAṆA IN THE KĀṆVĪYA RECENSION. Edited by Dr. W. CALAND, Professor of Sanskrit at the University of Utrecht. Vol. i (containing full Introduction and part of the Text). iv + 4 + 120 + 96 pp. Lahore: Moti Lal Banarsi Das, 1926.

Students of Vedic literature know already the importance of the Kāṇva text of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* from the use made of the portions available to him by Professor Eggeling in his translation of that text. It was his intention to publish the Kāṇva recension, but with his usual critical acumen he came eventually to the conclusion—fully justified by the facts—that the manuscript material available to him was inadequate to permit of a scholarly edition, and accordingly he transferred the extracts which he had made to Professor Caland, in the hope that the latter might be able to secure the necessary additional material to permit of an edition. Through the instrumentality of Dr. F. W. Thomas, fresh manuscripts were ultimately procured, and the first seven books of the text have been prepared for press by Professor Caland. For the rest of the work it has proved sufficient to draw up a statement of the differences of reading between the two texts, so that, when the printing is complete, we shall have available in effect all that we can desire to know of the Kāṇva recension. One regret only is possible, that the work has not had the advantage of the admirable typography of the Harvard Oriental Series. Despite the endeavours of the author and Paṇḍit Bhagavaddatta, there are regrettably many misprints, of which only a modest selection is dealt with in the Corrigenda. But in view of the difficulty of securing the publication in Europe of really solid and valuable work, it would be ungrateful not to appreciate the enterprise of the publisher in undertaking the production of the text. The present instalment contains the introduction and the Brāhmaṇa up to II, 2, 4, 16; the early completion of the work is greatly to be desired.

Though the manuscript tradition is far from satisfactory, Professor Caland's long familiarity with the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts, his profound knowledge of the intricacies of the ritual, and his sound judgment have enabled him to prepare a text which is a remarkably

creditable achievement. There are, inevitably, points of reading on which divergence of view is possible, but they are comparatively negligible and the only prospect of any substantial improvement of the text becoming possible is through the discovery of additional manuscript material. Nor in any case are minutiae of this kind of sufficient general interest to deserve inclusion in a review.

The introduction also is masterly ; it makes available a wealth of precise information regarding the Kāṇva recension, and, if it is possible to question certain of the results of the author, that is mainly due to his candour in presenting the facts in full detail, and without attempt to suppress or pass over what makes against his own theories. As the questions raised are of general interest, they may here be briefly considered. Professor Caland starts from the supposition (p. 87) that the Samhitās of the *White Yajurveda* are prior to the Brāhmaṇas which presuppose them, though he hazards the suggestion that parts of the Samhitās did not pass through their final redaction until after the Brāhmaṇas. But in the case of the *White Yajurveda* everything points to the simultaneous redaction of Samhitā and Brāhmaṇa, in conscious opposition to the texts of the *Black Yajurveda* in which the Mantras and the Brāhmaṇas were handed down in confusion. As regards the Mādhyandina, books I-V and VI-IX and the corresponding Adhyāyas I-XVIII of the Samhitā, show so marked an adaptation to each other that one cannot well suppose that there elapsed any time between the redaction of the Samhitā and that of the Brāhmaṇa. But we can carry the matter further than that. Both in the Mādhyandina and in the Kāṇva recensions a portion of the Brāhmaṇa (II, 6, 2, 17 ; III, 6, 1) has found its way into the Samhitā. It is impossible to suppose that such a curious accident could happen independently in the case of both Samhitās after the redaction of their Brāhmaṇas as suggested by the author ; the error must have been made in the original *Vājasaneyi Brāhmaṇa* and *Samhitā* whence it was taken over by both recensions. This consideration disposes of the only ground adduced for suggesting any difference in time between the redaction of the two portions of the Mādhyandina text, and, however we explain the original error, it does not support the production of the Brāhmaṇa after the text of the Samhitā had been settled upon. Nor is there the slightest doubt as to the existence for a prolonged period of the original Brāhmaṇa, quite distinct from either of our recensions. That is proved by the citations from a Vājasaneyaka by Baudhāyana, Āpastamba, and other writers, which

are not found in the text of the *Çatapatha* in either recension, and by the absence from it of the rules of ritual usage among the Vājasaneyins which are recorded by Āpastamba. Professor Caland indeed (p. 108) seems to suggest that the proper inference to be drawn is that the Brāhmaṇas in the two extant recensions do not represent their original forms, but the view taken here seems infinitely simpler and far more probable.

There is in fact no evidence that the Mādhyandina recension, as we have it, is a worked over version as far as concerns its essential parts (I-IX). The evidence, on the contrary, suggests strongly that it was a text which came gradually into being, under conditions which prevented the working over of the earlier part. It is admitted that the kern of the work is made up of two sections, the non-Çaṇḍilya books, I-V, and the Çaṇḍilya books, VI-IX, which were brought together in one whole. Professor Caland's arguments that books I-V have been worked over appear to me to prove the reverse. They are as follows :—(1) The discussion of the Adābhya cup is not given in these books but in XI, 5, 9, which is a manifest borrowing from the Kāṇva text, V, 8, 2. (2) The text omits rules for the use of two formulæ which are supposed in XII, 4, 2, 8, to have been given above. (3) There is lack of uniformity in grammar and style. But, surely, the omission of the account of the Adābhya cup is a striking proof that the text had become so fixed that it was not possible to take the obvious course of inserting it at its proper place. Moreover, the author himself points out the source of the version in XI, 5, 9: it is unquestionably borrowed from the Kāṇva school; and he also himself gives the true explanation of the reference in XII, 4, 2, 8. It is clearly a reference to the formulæ given in the Kāṇva text, III, 1, 3, 2, 3, and, like XI, 5, 9, is a borrowing from the Kāṇva. Whether we agree with the author that books XI-XIII were originally Kāṇva pure and simple, and then were taken over by the Mādhyandina, or whether more prudently we content ourselves with saying that they were strongly influenced by the Kāṇva, is of no consequence; there is no doubt that Dr. Caland has shown at least that Kāṇva influence is strong. But that influence was unable to interpolate the original five books. The arguments from grammar and style as regards these five books are in no way sufficient to suggest working over. On the contrary the five books present a marked individuality as opposed to VI-IX, and the variations in them are certainly no greater than are found in homogeneous passages of other Brāhmaṇa texts, e.g. in the



*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, or the Brāhmaṇas of the *Rgveda*. It must be remembered that a Brāhmaṇa is never the work of an individual stylist ; it is the redaction of floating doctrines, and phrases of older origin are worked in without cautious adaptation.

As regards Mādhyandina VI–IX there is also no evidence of working over. The corresponding Kāṇva books VIII–XI are clearly unoriginal and do not contain a doctrine which in Mādhyandina VIII, 5, 3, 8, is plainly indicated as held by the Kāṇvas. Books I–VII of the Kāṇva version are more independent, but the discrepancies between them and the Kāṇva Saṁhitā have been definitely shown to be derived from use of the Mādhyandina, though there remains a substantial body of distinction between the two texts.

With books VI–IX Dr. Caland classes Book X (Kāṇva VIII–XI and XII). Now it is true that Book X, the Agnirahasya, is closely bound up in subject matter with the preceding books, as it develops mystical speculations on the fire cult and advances to a position reminiscent of the Upaniṣads. But that is no ground for assuming contemporaneity of production, and two facts tell seriously against it. In the first place, there is the testimony of the Madras manuscript of the Brāhmaṇa which expressly places the Agnirahasya after the Aṣvamedha and before the Āraṇyaka, instead of after the group of Čāṇḍilya books. Dr. Caland suggests that the Pravargya may be meant by Agnirahasya, but this is obviously implausible, for the Pravargya is essentially the Āraṇyaka as opposed to the Upaniṣad ; the author himself rightly insists that this is the relation of the two texts. Secondly, a Vārttika on Pāṇini IV, 2, 60, has the terms Ṣaṣṭi-patha and Čatapatha, and these terms suit precisely the hundred chapters of the *Čatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the sixty of the first nine books. It is really impossible to ignore the significance of this fact ; nothing can be made out of the Kāṇva for the number 60 ; it is true that the first seven books make up 40 chapters, but the total is 104, and there is no plausible way of reducing it to 100, apart from the fact that the books after the first seven are admittedly a congeries. The fact that there are 104 chapters is merely one more proof of the late character of the Kāṇva recension. We may, therefore, confidently accept Eggeling's view that book X is an early addition to the text. Books XI–XIII may, though this is unlikely, have been originally proper to the Kāṇva : in any case they are essentially supplementary to the main text. There can be little doubt that these three books were early recognized as a distinct whole, for the second bears the

term Madhyama and the same feature is to be seen in the case of Kāṇva XIII-XV. Distinct again is Book XIV (XVI) which contains the Pravargya and the Upaniṣad, the latter being doubtless of composite character. Whether, as Dr. Caland suggests, this is due to confusion of Mādhyandina and Kāṇva versions is uncertain, but it is noteworthy that the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, which normally follows the Mādhyandina Brāhmaṇa, in one passage (I, 11, 6) refers to the *Kāṇva Upaniṣad* (XVI, 8, 4, 12).

On one other point it is doubtful if Dr. Caland's tentative view should be adopted. He is inclined to place the *Baudhāyana Sūtra* in its older parts before the Brāhmaṇa on the strength of a few passages in which the Brāhmaṇa refers to usages of the Carakas which are only recorded in Baudhāyana. But this conclusion is clearly invalid; to be cogent we should have to be in a position to say that we had all the Brāhmaṇa literature of the *Black Yajurveda* before us, and obviously this is not the case.<sup>1</sup> There seems, therefore, no reason to doubt that Baudhāyana is, like Āpastamba, later than the Brāhmaṇas, as is suggested by much other evidence adduced by Dr. Caland, and as he admits (p. 98) is *prima facie* probable. The conjecture that we are to hold that the original Baudhāyana was a Kāṇva who abandoned his school and went over to the *Black Yajurveda* may safely be dismissed as wholly unproved. It has no sanction of any kind in the Çrautasūtra and the fact that late passages in the Gṛhyasūtra and the Dharmasūtra call him Kāṇva or Kaṇva do nothing to render it plausible. Nor is this act of renegation at all necessary to explain the hostility of the *White Yajurveda* to a Kāṇva; the *Atharvaveda* (II, 25, 3) and the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā* (XXVIII, 4) are alike unsympathetic, and no question of a renegade arises in their case.

Certain difficulties present themselves as to the relationship between the *Çatapatha* and the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇas*, as conceived by Dr. Caland.<sup>2</sup> He holds (p. 101) that the authors of the oldest part of the *Çatapatha* must have known the *Jaiminīya*, because both texts (III, 3, 4, 19; IV, 3, 4, 13) adopt the attitude of the *Jaiminīya* (II, 79, 80) on the subject of the Subrahmanyā formula as against the Kauthuma-Rānāyaṇīya doctrine. But there is no such correspondence in form or substance as to suggest actual borrowing from our *Jaiminīya*,

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Caland's own proof from the *Vādhūla Sūtra* in *Acta Orientalia*, ii. 145. I doubt if his view of that Sūtra as prior to Baudhāyana can be maintained: it seems later.

<sup>2</sup> See also his *Over en uit het Jaiminīya-brāhmaṇa*, pp. 36 ff.

which alone would establish this doctrine. It is admitted (p. 102) that *Jaiminīya* I, 51–65, is borrowed from the *Çatapatha* (XII, 4, 1 : XIV, 7, 1), and the admission is necessary, because the passages exactly correspond and borrowing must be assumed, while the source is sufficiently indicated by the fact that there is a polemic in the usual manner of the *Çatapatha* against the Carakas, which would be out of place in the *Jaiminīya*. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that in *Jaiminīya* II, 228, there is quoted verbatim an explanation of a verse in the form in which it is given in the *Mādhyandina* II, 5, 1, and it is ascribed to Vājasaneyā. There is nothing to suggest anywhere in the two texts that the *Jaiminīya* is other than a borrower from the *Mādhyandina*, not merely from the source of that text. In the case of the Kāṇva, however, we have a clear piece of evidence showing that it had the *Jaiminīya* before it : in II, 5, 2, which corresponds with *Mādhyandina* I, 5, 4, and *Jaiminīya* II, 291, 292, we find an addition of a paragraph which is palpably taken from the *Jaiminīya* ; the question is one of a dialogue between the gods and the Asuras in the *Jaiminīya*, while Indra is the interlocutor in both *Çatapatha* texts, until the Kāṇva at the end inserts a reference to the gods. We may, of course, resort to the view that the Kāṇva is interpolated, but there is really no ground for refusing the *prima facie* conclusion that it used the *Jaiminīya* ; if so, however, it must be noted that we have an argument against the theory of Dr. Caland that XI–XIII of the *Mādhyandina* are derived from the Kāṇva, a conclusion in itself not very probable, influence being far more plausible. Dr. Caland<sup>1</sup> is inclined to suggest that the episode of Bhṛgu as told in the *Jaiminīya* is more natural than as recounted in the *Çatapatha*. The two versions seem to me clearly to be ultimately derived from a common source, but to be independent of each other. That the Kāṇva is later than the *Jaiminīya*, though probably at no great difference in time, is suggested also by the tendency of the text to use the narrative perfect ; it is a feature of the *Jaiminīya* that it sins in this regard, and this fact seems to me far to outweigh the view of Dr. Caland<sup>2</sup> which would put the *Jaiminīya* before the *Pañcaviṅça* on the strength of other, but, in my view, much less significant grammatical facts, and of the omission in the latter of mention of repulsive rites known from the former.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 20 ff. The *Jaiminīya* (ii, 112) quotes Tāṇḍya, and there is strong similarity with *Pañcaviṅça*, xx, 3, 2. It need not have known the *Pañcaviṅça*, but certainly it knew an allied text.

The vexed question of the mode of denotation of the accent of the *Çatapatha* has been reconsidered (pp. 7–11) by the author; he has succeeded, not indeed, in proving that Weber's interpretation is the correct view, but in rehabilitating its plausibility, and his discussion must be carefully considered in any investigation of the Sanskrit accent. Valuable also are the contributions made to Vedic grammar, syntax, and lexicology. Here and there a different view may be taken; the quaint *yady enaṁ nidrāsyāt* seems clearly<sup>1</sup> a slip for *nidrāyāt* in the Mādhyandina, and it in turn seems best taken not as an impersonal verb but as *nidrā āyāt*. The suggestion that the crux *ādityānīmāni çuklāni yajūṇṣi Vājasaneyena Yājñavalkyenākhyāyante* (XIV, 9, 4, 33) should be rendered "these formulæ . . . are named after Yājñavalkya" is hardly plausible; the two passages cited as parallel have *ācakṣ* as the verb, which is by no means the same thing, and in each the sense of the instrumental is natural; the traditional rendering which makes Yājñavalkya proclaim the formulæ is far more probable. The instrumental in III, 2, 10, 10: *etena ha sma vai tad Āruṇir āha* is hardly inexplicable; it may rather be deemed one of the signs of the posteriority of the Kāṇva version, for which also its neglect (p. 59) of the strict placing of the enclitic pronoun is characteristic. Another significant fact in the same direction is the obvious increase in the frequency of the use of the narrative perfect; of all the criteria of age in the Brāhmaṇas this has proved itself the most satisfactory, contrasting strongly with the use of the *ai* form of the genitive. The Kāṇva rejects this usage, but it is clear, as Dr. Caland in a valuable note<sup>2</sup> on the subject in *Acta Orientalia* (v, 49 ff.) admits, that it is not possible, as formerly he was inclined to do, to hold that the use of *ās* is a sign of superior age. The use of *ai* was clearly a stylistic peculiarity, which is not helpful as regards dating. The dative *tasmai* followed by a *yad* clause is already discussed in *Riṅ-Veda Brāhmaṇas*, p. 82. In II, 6, 1, 26: *samiddhahoma u hy eva samṛddha āhutīmām* is perhaps not so much a case of the encroachment of the genitive on the dative—which is still in the main, when not specially motived, alien to the Brāhmaṇa, but is comparable with the *Çatapatha* use of *pūrṇa* with the genitive. Nor can one well explain the phrase *prajābhyah ahinsāyai* in the Mādhyandina, as opposed to *prajānām* in the Kāṇva, as a case of carrying into the plural (p. 65) the use of the ablative form,

<sup>1</sup> An optative of the *s* aorist in the active, suggested by Dr. Caland, would be a unique form, and is out of the question.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *rātriya* in *TS.* vi, 1, 3, 2, is plainly a mere MS. blunder.

for it is much casier to take the dative (not ablative) as a *daticus commodi*, or even to recognize another instance of attraction; the Kāṇva itself uses attraction regularly in such cases as *ā tisrbhṃ dogdhoḥ*, where the Mādhyandina has the regular *tisṛṇām*. The genitives in V, 4, 4, 12: *ned asya hatasya niraṣṭasya pratyupahvayai* and *kiṃ tasya na pratyupahvayeta* are odd, but perhaps not inexplicable; the first may be taken as genitive absolute, the second explained through the presenece of *kiṃ* as a motived transition to the usurpation of the functions of the dative by the genitive. In I, 3, 1. 2: *visṛjyante yathārthānām* is indeed a crux; conceivably it may go back to a correction of *yathārthān* to the normal *yathārtham*. There are, as usual, a few cases<sup>1</sup> of imperfects for aorists, but I doubt if the Mādhyandina passage I, 6, 2, 2, is really to be regarded in this light. It seems as if there a definite nuance justifies the use of perfect and imperfect in lieu of aorist. The deplorable form *samāṇuviṣata* one would like to excuse the Kāṇva, but is supported by the monstrous *aṇuviṣyāmahe* of both recensions elsewhere. The attempt to differentiate the imperfect, when used in co-ordination with the perfect, as suggesting a *plusquam* perfect (p. 71) is not, I think, supported by the instances cited, and in other texts also it is dubious if any real distinction can normally be discovered; an occasional nuance is unquestionably present, but it is a distinctive feature of the development of Sanskrit style that the sense of distinction died out. Dr. Caland is inclined to hold (p. 46) that the form *utsākṣe* in II, 3, 2, 13, supports the *sākṣe* of the *Atharvaveda* (II, 27, 5) but this is not probable; the evidence for the confusion in MSS. of *kṣ* and *kṣy* is overwhelming,<sup>2</sup> and isolated forms in texts, admittedly badly handed down, cannot be permitted to prevail over grammar and constant usage. Similarly *adariṣma* in V, 1. 5, 4, is a most dubious form, and it is doubtful whether it is wise to restore by conjecture in VII, 5, 1, 6, such a form as *samārdhayiṣtām*. A curious double use of *vā* is seen (p. 78) in IV, 1, 1, 4: *atha yeyam pratiṇī sarpaṇām vaiṣā dig yatra vā devāḥ prāñca udākramāns tad dhaiṣāhīyata hīnā vodīcī manuṣyāṇām*; Dr. Caland seems to take the *vā* as the ordinary disjunctive, but that is out of the question, for there is no disjunction present; we are merely told of the southern quarter (*atha yeyam dakṣiṇā sū pītṛṇām*), then of the western, then of the northern. We must in fact recognize here the use of *vā* as a particle

<sup>1</sup> In Mādhyandina iii, 2, 3, 1, the perfect is doubtless a mere blunder of the MS. in view of the repetition of a long passage in identic terms.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Āitareya Brāhmya*, p. 254. n. 6.

of assertion much in the sense of *vai* ; there are elsewhere also indubitable cases (*Rig-Veda Brāhmaṇas*, p. 89) ; the *Mādhyandina* III, 6, 2, 20, cited as parallel, is totally different, *vā* being there plainly disjunctive and being merely repeated with the main clause, thus, as was inevitable, appearing immediately after the relative clause preceding (*tam agnir vābhidahed yo vāyam devas . . . sa vā hainam abhimanyeta*). The cases of *ca . . . ca* are again quite different, they fall under the type of *yad u ca* or *yac ca*. The use in the *Mādhyandina* III, 1, 1, 11 of *yad aha . . . tad aha* is doubted by Dr. Caland (p. 80). It appears that in the *Kāṇva* the reading is *yad aha . . . tad u ha* ; the original *Brāhmaṇa* clearly must have had one or other of these readings, and on the whole the double *aha* seems the more probable ; it is easier to explain *u ha* being substituted for *aha* than the reverse. In *Mādhyandina* I, 2, 4, 3, we have *na vā iha mad anyad annam asti yaṁ vā ayaṁ nādyāt*, for which the *Kāṇva* offers merely the aid of omitting the *mad*, a decidedly inferior reading. Dr. Caland suggests (p. 82) that the relative clause should be regarded as an attracted clause of fear (*yad vā māyaṁ nādyāt*), “quem hic (vereor) ne devoret”, but this is perhaps rather strained. Eggeling’s version “whom, surely, he would not eat”, though not quite satisfactory in sense, suggests that *nādyāt* should simply be rendered “whom may he not devour”, the ordinary optative of wish, without any irregularity of construction whatever and excellent sense. But these must suffice to indicate the many points of interest raised by the new text, edited with a skill and learning worthy of such predecessors as Weber and Eggeling.

A. B. K.

OVER HET VAIKHANASASŪTRA. By W. CALAND. Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, Deel 61, Serie A, No. 8. Amsterdam, 1926.

This short paper by Dr. Caland is of special interest because he first brings evidence which clearly shows that the *Vaiṣṇava Gr̥hya-sūtra* was written by an author who was saturated with the idiom of a Dravidian language, and, secondly, he seeks to prove that the current dating of the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* may be too early. In this suggestion two points are involved, the knowledge of the *Vaiṣṇava* in the *Mānava*, and the date of the *Vaiṣṇava*. Now the *Mānava* (III, 21, 37, 38) has a list of forms of marriage which runs as regards its first four members *brāhma*, *daiva*, *ārṣa*, and *prājāpatya*, and the

number of ancestors and descendants, who are purified by marriage in these several forms, is given as 20, 14, 6 and 12 respectively, to whom must be added the individual married. There is no doubt that this is a curious order as regards the last two forms, the break in the rule of descending order of effectiveness being *prima facie* odd. Now in the *Vaikhānasa* (III, 1) we find the order *brāhma*, *daiva*, *prājāpatya* and *ārṣa*, with the proper numbers in descending order. In Āṣvalāyana, Gautama, and Viṣṇu the numbers definitely differ, so that it may be argued that the *Vaikhānasa* is the source of Manu, who may possibly have borrowed his order from Gautama or Viṣṇu. It seems to me that this is quite inconclusive, and that it is natural to suppose that the borrowing was the other way. It is true that Manu knows (VI, 21) the *Vaikhānasamata*, but there is no reason to suppose that this is a reference to our late text; Baudhāyana and Gautama clearly knew a *Vaikhānasaśāstra*, which no one imagines to be our text. Moreover, there appears to be no ground for laying any stress on the order of Manu as irregular. Gautama has the order *ārṣa* and *daiva*, and the numbers for the two are three and ten. It seems to me, therefore, much more probable that the borrowing is from Manu, with which accords well the very local character of the *Vaikhānasa* text. In these circumstances it is hardly necessary to investigate the date of the *Vaikhānasa*. The references to the Greek order of the planets and the use of *tāmbūla* are held by Dr. Caland to place the text not before the fourth century A.D. It may fairly be doubted if they can be pressed to this extent, but at any rate it seems to me that we need not feel that any ground exists to bring Manu down beyond A.D. 200. The *Vaikhānasa* itself, of course, must be left uncertain as regards the lower limit, until some allusion to the present work actually is found in a text earlier than the late commentaries in which it is known. Of special interest is the reference it contains to the curious Totenhochzeit, which is recorded of the Nambūdri Brahmins.

A. B. K.

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A CONSTRUCTIVE SURVEY OF UPANISHADIC PHILOSOPHY. By R. D. RANADE, M.A., Director, Academy of Philosophy and Religion. 31 + 439 pp. Poona: Oriental Book Agency, 1926.

The Academy of Philosophy and Religion has undertaken the publication of an Encyclopædic History of Indian Philosophy, and vol. II of the History affords an interesting sample of what may be expected from this great effort, to which contributions have been

promised from most of the leading writers in India on philosophical topics. Indian philosophy is to be enabled to exercise its due influence on the west by its presentation in modern form, and by the comparison of its doctrines with those of European thinkers of the past and present alike. In such attempts there are patent advantages: the Western philosopher may well be induced to study Indian thought more closely when he is reminded of Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Bradley and Bosanquet. On the other hand there is the disadvantage that in discovering similarities we may be led to ignore what is characteristically Indian or specifically individual. Doubtless all philosophies are directed to one end, and their results have frequently a remarkable similarity: what, however, is really important is their methods, and nothing can be less like Berkeley than the mere assertions of the *Aitareya Upaniṣad* (III. 3) regarding the primacy of the intellect, for we can hardly accept the author's doctrine (p. 118) that we have in that Upaniṣad (III. 2) a serious classification of mental states. Still less convincing is the suggestion (p. 275) that the doctrine of Yājñavalkya that the self alone is its light is equivalent to the "theoria" of Aristotle. Oldenberg was right in his insistence on the essential affinity of the thought of the Upaniṣads with that of mystics like Plotinus.

The same tendency to obliterate distinctions appears in Mr. Ranade's treatment of matters purely Indian. If he will not believe in the different character of Greek, Egyptian, and Indian views of transmigration, so also he will not permit any suggestion of borrowing from the aborigines even of the elements of the idea, but claims it as Aryan and clearly present in germ in the *Rgveda* (pp. 145 ff.). But he adduces no fresh evidence, and we are left, as before, with mere possibilities. What is certain is that in certain Upaniṣads we find a quite clear and definite doctrine of transmigration and that what really counts in philosophy is the distinct formulation of any doctrine, not the fact that it is a natural deduction from early ideas.

Apart, however, from these tendencies there is much of interest in the work, which represents the synthetic side of a study of the Upaniṣads, which in its analytic aspect is to appear as a separate volume. This mode of treatment is justified by the author who compares (p. 19) Gomperz's analytical survey of Plato with Zeller's synthetic presentation. There is here an obvious flaw in the comparison, for, though Plato's mind passed through more than one stage, his thought presents a whole quite incomparable with that of the many authors of the Upaniṣads. But, admitting the legitimacy of the plan, the work



is of value as an attempt to establish a constructive view of the world, based on the Upaniṣads but reinterpreted in the light of western philosophy. The author ingeniously completes his scheme by pointing out that in the *Bhagavadgītā* we find the doctrine of duty for its own sake, which is necessary to supplement the deficiencies of the ethical doctrines of the Upaniṣads themselves. Not the least interesting section of his work is Chap. IV in which he explains his views of the development of later philosophies from the Upaniṣads ; the case made out for Ćaṅkara's doctrine as a legitimate development is moderate and reasonable. Mr. Ranade rejects (p. 201) the identification of the Kṛṣṇa of the Upaniṣad and him of the epic, declines (p. 187) to believe in the historical reality of the Kapila of the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, and recognizes (pp. 101-5) that not borrowing but parallelism is the true view of the similarities between early Greek and Indian thought.

On matters in the sphere of philology the author is an unsafe guide. His description of the close of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* as of "unsurpassed grandeur" is as untenable as two passages in his rendering of it (pp. 352, 353). The argument regarding the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, (p. 15) is wholly misconceived ; no doubt can exist as to the existence of different strata in the *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, and it is significant that in what are clearly the older passages, as other grounds show, transmigration is not mentioned. Nor is it the case that in the Upaniṣad (II, 4) there is a clear statement of the doctrine of transmigration in the principle of the three births of man. On the contrary, the third birth is best taken as birth into the world of death, a conception which does not carry us beyond the ideas of the Brāhmaṇas. The order of the Upaniṣads accepted (p. 16) is not based on any cogent reasoning, and disagrees with the praise given (p. 433) to Weeker's researches, which, though that author fully recognized that they rested on far too limited a base to be in any way conclusive, point strongly to placing the *Kena* and the *Īcā* after the *Aitareya*, *Taittirīya*, *Kaṭha*, and *Kauṣṭhiki*. But the adduction after each chapter of the sources relied on is a convenience, and the book forms a distinctly useful addition to the already large literature on the Upaniṣads.

A. B. K.

LA THÉORIE DE LA CONNAISSANCE ET LA LOGIQUE CHEZ LES BOUDDHISTES TARDIFS. By TH. STCHERBATSKY. Translated by Mme I. DE MANZIARLY and PAUL MASSON-OURSSEL. pp. xi + 255. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1926. 50 fr.

The originality and acumen of Professor Stcherbatsky's thought have somewhat tardily brought his introduction to his Russian translation of the *Nyāyabindu* the merited honour of renderings into German (Munich, 1924) and into French. The new translation, we learn, was ready in 1914, but some consolation for the delay is afforded by the fact that the author has revised in certain details his treatise and that it thus presents his mature views. The accuracy of the translation, which is due mainly to Mme I. de Manziarly, is assured by the supervision of M. P. Masson-Oursel, whose *Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Philosophie Indienne* (1923) attests his competence as an interpreter of the obscure fields of Indian philosophy.

It is interesting to note that Professor Stcherbatsky has not changed in any essential point the views which he has so long propounded, and we may readily concede with M. Masson-Oursel that his work proves that India in the seventh century A.D. possessed "une logique aussi puissante que celle d'Aristote et une épistémologie assez originale pour faire penser au kantisme". Without stressing the parallelism with European thought, it is clear that the most valuable contribution of Buddhism to Indian philosophy is presented by the school of thought which is best represented by Dharmakīrti, and which the author traces (pp. 160 ff) to a combination of the Yogācāra and Saṅtrāntika schools. It is more difficult to be certain of the precise character of the view held by Dharmakīrti regarding the real element in perception. An interesting attempt has been made by Professor Dasgupta (*Indian Philosophy*, i, 409 f.) to claim for Dharmakīrti the position that in perception we have as the element of validity "the pure sensation of the moment presenting the specific features of the object", as opposed to Professor Stcherbatsky's view that the reality is the incognizable foundation of our knowledge, a thing-in-itself which is utterly unknowable. Either view can be made consistent with the expressions of the *Nyāyabindu*, but the latter explanation may be preferred on the score that, on the whole, it better fits in with the trend of the doctrine of Dharmakīrti. But the divergence of view on the part of two competent interpreters is a significant reminder of the obscurities of Indian logical texts and the difficulty of transferring the ideas of their authors into modern terminology.

without altering their meaning by recalling associations in reality alien to the Sanskrit terms.

Special attention is due to the light often thrown on other philosophical systems by Professor Stecherbatsky's discussions ; the Vedānta of Čaṅkara gains in clearness when considered in the light of the Mādhyamika and of Dharmakīrti and it is impossible to refuse validity to his arguments (e.g. pp. 88, 183 f.) in favour of the great debt of the Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika schools to Buddhist logicians. His effort to connect Dharmakīrti's view of reality with the fundamental doctrine of Avidyā in early Buddhist thought (p. 163) is ingenious and attractive. Moreover, his work has the great merit of clear statement of the views which he holds, though it is probable that in seeking for definiteness he sometimes gives to Indian theory a precision and completeness foreign to the schools. It would perhaps have added to the authority of the work, had the author in his revision definitely replied to some of the criticisms directed against his theories, and there seems no good reason for insisting on placing not only Dignāga but Vasubandhu in the fifth century A.D.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

ASŌKA. By JAMES M. MACPHAIL, M.A., M.D. Second edition. (The Heritage of India.) 12mo ; pp. 97 ; 1 plate. Calcutta : Mysore printed, 1926.

HARSHA. By RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D. (Calcutta University Readership Lectures, 1925.) 12mo ; pp. 203, 3 plates. London, Oxford : (University Press) printed, 1926.

Dr. Macphail's monograph on the great Maurya appears here in a second edition. It deserves this success, for although it does not present the fruit of original researches or the solution of any problem, it is a well composed summary of the main facts known to us concerning Aśōka set forth in a style calculated to interest the general reader without sacrificing truth to τὸ ἡδύ. In a popular book of this kind there are almost inevitably some minor points to which the professional historian or philologist will take exception ; and in this connexion we may remark that "Amitraghatta" (p. 16) should be "Amitraghāta", that the name *Rāhula* does not really mean "bond" (p. 32 f.), that Gautama is not the name of the clan but is a patronymic taken by a Śākya Kṣatriya from a Brahman *Purōhita* (p. 32), that the description of the Buddha's teaching given on p. 34 f. is really inadequate, that the crypto-Buddhism that still survives in Orissa is very

imperfectly described on p. 66, and that "Omar Khaliff" (p. 85) is grammatically and phonetically incorrect. It may be added that the chronology of Aśōka is even more uncertain than Dr. Macphail seems prepared to admit. But these after all are minor details. On the whole the book is a really good and well-documented estimate of the character of Aśōka as a man and a seeker after righteousness. As such he was great. But of religion, as a relation of the human soul to God, he could have little, for he was a Buddhist. The *Dhamma* which he strove in all earnestness to realize was not merely moral righteousness and legal rule, but also and pre-eminently the Law of Nature and the preaching of Gotama Buddha in which that law was believed to be revealed. Early Buddhism contained a cold doctrine of psychology and nature, some warmth of sympathy for living beings, and a big *Weltschmerz* ; but religion was not in it.

The amazing career of Harṣavardhana of Kanauj is one of the most intriguing riddles of history, and will remain so even after Professor Mookerji's thoughtful and careful monograph. The author here studies the life of Harṣa and his historical setting in seven chapters, with plates depicting the coins ascribed to him, the Banskhera inscription which seems to reproduce his handwriting, and a map of India as it was divided in his reign. It is a piece of good and scholarly workmanship, in which nearly all the relevant facts of historical and cultural interest are carefully presented. I say "nearly all", for owing to no fault of Professor Mookerji he has not been able to make use of Mr. Aravamuthan's recent monograph on the Maukharis or the Vappaghōṣavāṭa grant of the Mahārājādhirāja Jayanāga of Karṇasuvārṇa, published by me in *Ep. Ind.* XVIII, p. 60 f. The book, however, brings no solution to the puzzle : how did Harṣa do it, and when ? We know that he was born about A.D. 590 ; we know the vague account given by Bāṇa of the circumstances of his early years and the equally vague references to his victories given by the Chinese sources. But what we long to know is : what was the real political position of our hero at the beginning of his career as regards his paternal kingdom and that of the Maukharis ? Did he start as king or as *kumāra* after Rājyavardhana's death ? By what methods was he able to create in a few years an empire which comprised almost the whole of Northern India ? And what is the chronology of this chapter of marvels ? To these questions Professor Mookerji brings no certain answer.

From his view on a part at least of the last question I venture to

dissent. Hiuen T'sang tells us that Harṣa "waged incessant warfare until in six years he had brought the Five Indias under allegiance": and we know he came to the throne about 605-6. Accordingly Professor Mookerji writes (p. 36) "we may assume that all his conquests were over by about A.D. 612". In other words, Harṣa had built up a colossal empire, strong enough to last for over thirty years and to survive the disaster of Pulakēśi's victory, before he was more than twenty-two years of age! This would be a miracle, if true. But the hypothesis is gratuitous: it is quite needless to suppose that Hiuen T'sang's "six years" began in 606 and ended in 612.

A few minor points may be mentioned. The coins figured on the frontispiece are ascribed by Professor Mookerji to Harṣa, but they are almost certainly not his. They bear the name *Śīlāditya*, and may be assigned to an earlier king of that ilk, possibly Śīlāditya of Malwa. It is stated (p. 61) that Bhaṇḍi is a Hunie rather than a Sanskrit name; but no evidence is given for this assertion, which is contrary to what we know of Indian onomatology. The statement on p. 136 that the Chinese *Pei-na* represents probably Sanskrit *Beḍa* or *Veḍa* is incorrect, and the alleged Sanskrit words seem to be *voces nihili*. On p. 172 a generalization of Hiuen T'sang is made the basis of an assertion that in the days of Harṣa "there were no intercaste marriages", which is far too sweeping. Finally, we may remark that the transcription of names is sometimes inconsistent, and in a few cases incorrect. On the whole, however, the work is careful and accurate, and will be really helpful for the study of a most interesting person and his age.

L. D. B.

MĀGHA'S ŚĪSUPĀLAVADHA. Nach den Kommentaren des Vallabhadēva und des Mallināthasūri ins Deutsche übertragen von E. HULTZSCH. pp. vii + 249. Leipzig, 1926. 8vo.

The fact that Māgha's poetry is heavily clogged with punditry has always rendered him a darling of the learned, and led many of them to prefer him to the less sophisticated Kālidāsa. He had considerable poetical feeling for some themes, and—what is more important in India—an amazing skill for versifying erudition, which peculiarly fits his stanzas for quotation in the schools. Possibly, too, he may have other qualities less obvious: one suspects in him a vein of irony, since he gravely says that "men of nobler sort are naturally brief of speech" (II, 13), and then continues his poem for twenty cantos.

But however we may estimate his merits, his importance in Sanskrit literature is very great, and Professor Hultzsch deserves the thanks of teachers and students for this scholarly translation, in which are also included notes and a critical appendix giving the textual readings in which Vallabhadēva's recension differs from that of Mallinātha. As Vallabhadēva wrote his commentary early in the tenth century, about three hundred years only from Māgha's date, the critical value of the text preserved by him is obviously much greater than that of Mallinātha, who is comparatively modern.

L. D. B.

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ĀSCARYACŪPĀMAṆI. A Drama by ŚAKTIBHADRA. . . . With an Introduction by S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S. (Sri Balamanorama Series, No. 9.) 8vo: pp. 28 + 238 + iii. Mylapore (Madras), 1926.

This drama has a special interest for the *Bulletin*, as it furnished Mr. Rama Pisharoti with a strong argument for his thesis in his important paper on the Bhāsa-problem published in this journal, Vol. III, p. 111. The publication of it was begun, but apparently was never completed, in the *Kēraḷa-grantha-mālā*, a literary magazine printed at Kottakal which began its career in 1906. The enterprise of the Bālamanoṛamā Press has now given us a well-printed edition of the text with a commentary by an anonymous scholar of much learning, though of somewhat late date.

The play is of fairly high antiquity (according to tradition, its author was a disciple of the great Śaṅkara), and of considerable merit ; indeed, Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri, whose learning and critical acumen place him in the foremost rank of Indian scholars, suggests that " it is the best of the Rāma plays, perhaps barring Bhavabhūti's Uttara-rāmacarita in certain respects ". As I have already noticed some of its features in the *JRAS.* of 1927, p. 352, I may be pardoned for abstaining from repetition ; but I would call attention to the weighty evidence that is borne by this play against the Bhāsa-hypothesis, as Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri effectively shows in his introduction. In fact, it kills " Bhāsa ".<sup>1</sup>

L. D. B.

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<sup>1</sup> How deadly its evidence and the statement of the case by Mr. Kuppuswami Sastri are may be seen from the review in the *Madras Journal of Oriental Research*, I, i, p. 103.

GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES. Edited under the supervision of the Curator of State Libraries, Baroda. 8vo. Central Library : Baroda ; Baroda and Bombay printed, 1916, etc.

This series having now passed its tenth anniversary, it is a fitting time to survey its output.

Its first volume (1916) was Rājaśekhara's *Kāvya-mīmāṃsa*, on the art of poetry and the poet's craft, a very valuable and interesting work (pp. xxix, vi, 112, 27, 3, xiv). No. 2 (1916) was Vastupāla's *Nara-nārāyaṇānanda*, a poem of sixteen cantos on the sports of Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna on Girnar and the rape of Subhadrā, with a Jain hymn by the same writer, etc. (pp. x, i, 92, xii) ; No. 3 (1917) was Ānanda-jñāna's *Tarka-saṃgraha*, criticising and refuting the Vaiśeṣika system (pp. 6, xxii, 142, xvii, viii) ; No. 4 (1917) was Prahlādana's *Pārtha-parākrama*, a play in one act on an epic theme (pp. viii, 29) ; and No. 5 (also 1917) was Rudra's *Rāṣṭrānuḍha-vaṃśa-mahā-kāvya*, a poem of twenty cantos on the history of the Bāgula dynasty of Mayūra-giri (pp. xxiv, 118, iv, 1). In 1918 appeared No. 6, Vāmana's *Līṅgānu-śāsana* with his own commentary (pp. ix, 21, ii) ; No. 7, Bālacandra's *Vasanta-vilāsa*, a poem of fourteen cantos containing a life of the famous Vastupāla, minister of Viradhavala of Dholka (pp. xvi, 114, vi) ; No. 8, six dramas by Vatsarāja, a minister of Paramardi of Kālāñjara (pp. x, ii, 191) ; and No. 9, Yaśaḥpāla's *Mōha-rāja-parājaya*, a drama on the conversion to Jainism of the Caulukya king Kumārapāla (pp. xiv, xvii, 135, xviii, ii). In 1920 appeared No. 10, Jaysiṃha's *Hamṃira-mada-mardana*, an historical drama on the repulse of a Moslem army by Viradhavala of Dholka and his ministers Tējahpāla and Lāvanyasiṃha, with some panegyric poems (pp. viii, 90, viii) ; No. 11, Sodḍhala's *Udayasundarī-kathā*, a romance in prose and verse (pp. viii, ii, 158) ; No. 12, Mahādēva Vādindra's *Mahā-vidyā-vidāmbana*, on the *mahā-vidyā* syllogism, with commentaries (pp. xlv, 189, viii) ; No. 13, part 1 of *Prācīna-gurjara-kāvya-saṃgraha*, a collection of old Gujarati poems and prose extracts on Jain legend and doctrine (pp. 2, 132, 30) ; No. 14, Somaprabha's *Kumārapāla-pratibōdha*, sermons on Jainism purporting to have been given by Hēmacandra to Kumārapāla and an account of the latter's conversion and practice of Jainism, in Sanskrit and Prakrit (pp. xv, xvi, 39, ii, 478, vii) ; No. 15, Bhāsarvajña's *Gaṇa-kārikā*, eight verses summarizing the doctrines of Pāsupata Yogis, with the commentary *Ratna-tīkā*, etc. (pp. x, 57) ; and No. 16, the *Samgīta-makaranda*, a manual of music, ascribed to the mythical Nārada (pp. xi, iv, 64). In 1921 were

issued No. 17, the Catalogue of the Library of Kavīndrācārya Sarasvatī, written about A.D. 1650 (pp. xv, 3, 2, 34). and No. 18, the *Vārāha-grhya-sūtra* (pp. v, 24). In 1923 appeared No. 20, Dhanapāla's *Bhavisayatta-kathā*, a Jain legend in Apabhraṃśa verse (pp. 69, 148, 174); No. 21, Mr. C. D. Dalal's *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Jain Bhandars at Jesalmere* (pp. 70, 101); Nos. 22 and 23, the *Paraśu-rāma-kalpa-sūtra*, on the Śrī-vidyā system, with commentary of Rāmēśvara. etc. : and No. 24, the introductory part of Rāmānujācārya's *Tantra-rahasya*, a commentary on the Pūrva-mīmāṃsā (pp. 15, 84). The first volume of *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*, a copious treatise on the rules of building and statuary, appeared as No. 25 in 1924; the second part, No. 32, was issued in 1925. In 1925 also were published No. 19, the *Lēkha-paddhati*, a collection of model documents and letters for use in Government offices (pp. xi, 130); No. 26, vol. i of the *Sādhana-mālā*, a collection of formulæ of Buddhist worship (pp. xxiii, 342); No. 27, vol. i of a *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Central Library, Baroda*, by G. K. Shrigondekar and K. S. Ramaswami Shastri (pp. 28, 264); and No. 28, vol. i of the *Mānasōllāsa* or *Abhilaṣitārtha-cintāmaṇi* ascribed to Sōmēśvara III, an important work on polity and economics (pp. xviii, 146). The present year has produced as No. 29 Rāma-candra's *Nala-vilāsa*, a drama on the epic tale of Nala (pp. xi, 91).

The record of the Series is, as is patent to all, an extremely creditable one. Nearly all the texts issued in it were hitherto unpublished : some are of outstanding value, and none are without merit or interest. As is to be expected, a considerable number of them are concerned with the history and literature of Gujarat and the West, which lends an attractive touch of local colour to the collection. But almost every branch of Sanskrit literature is here represented, and congratulations are due to the editors (the first of whom, unfortunately, is no more) and to the enlightened Government of Baroda for the services that they have rendered to the classical literature of India.

L. D. BARNETT.

FURTHER DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA. Translated from the Pali of the MAJJHIMA NIKĀYA. By LORD CHALMERS, G.C.B. Sometime Governor of Ceylon. In two volumes. Vol. ii. (Printed for the Pali Text Society.) Oxford University Press, 1927.

Of this long-needed work, and its many excellencies I have already written an appreciation in a previous number of this Journal. The second and concluding volume is now in our hands; for it all that



was said of the first holds good. Of the doctrinal contents long known to the very little world of Pali readers—how many Buddhists are conversant with the Pali scriptures?—it is not here the occasion to speak. But English readers of the “Dialogues” can now for the first time compare a complete translation of the second group (Nikāya) of Suttas with that of the first group. They will need to be reminded that each Group is the final derivative and outcome of a special and distinct school of repeaters:—“Dīgha-repeaters” and “Majjhima-repeaters” (*-bhānakā*)—appointed, it is alleged, at the first Council at Rājagaha, to concentrate separately on the recensions of the oral sayings which had been as yet collected and put into standard verbal (not scriptural) form. As might be expected, they will find, with much mutual agreement, interesting differences in doctrinal selections and emphasis. And they may also note, in the present volume, the emergence of the Sutta, here and there, in *uddesa*, rendered “summary”, e.g. No. exxxvii, and *niddesa*, or detailed exposition. It is not a far fetch of imagination to see, in the former, the brief “argument” as *written* on a metal plate, long before the advent of the date-palm leaves made the writing of the whole record a much easier matter.

Equally important perhaps are the lessons subsequent translators from the Pali should learn from this notable essay in their craft. Lord Chalmers has raised so fine a standard here of English style as to queer the pitch for any more of the somewhat poor specimens of it that have found publishers’ suffrages in translations from the Pali, not only by Europeans and Asiatics, but also by Englishmen and Americans. I spoke of this before. But translators can also learn what to avoid. And that is, (i) not to place, by never so slight a twist of language, ideas in the mouth of these olden time speakers which they never intended to say. And (ii) secondly, not to give them words, the equivalents of which did not exist in the speaker’s tongue. For all its high level of excellence I cannot give to either volume, in this respect, a clean bill of health. Time and space are both very limited. I can only sample.

(i) If the reader will turn to Sutta viii (vol. i), p. 29, he will find the translator making the founder of Buddhism say, what, to the best of my knowledge, is not to be paralleled in an other canonical passage treating of the same subject. Now, in that the Buddhist Order adopted a standardized wording to an extent that impairs most Suttas as literature, such a unique rendering looks at once fishy. Here it is:—

“ The way to get quit . . . of those false views . . . is by seeing with right comprehension that *there is no ‘ mine ’, no ‘ this is I ’, no ‘ this is my self ’.*”

I have yet to find anything quite so wild as this universal negative attributed to the Sakyamuni. Had the Pali meant to say this, the wording would have been *natthi kiñci mamāti, natthi koci ahaṃ asmīti, natthi koci me attāti*. But the text runs thus:—*Yā imā . . . diṭṭhiyo loke uppajjanti . . . taṃ : n’etaṃ mama, n’eso ‘ham asmī, na m’eso attā ti evam etam . . . passato*, etc. That is:—“ The opinions which arise in the world . . . to one who sees with true wisdom that saying: it is not mine, it is not what ‘ I ’ am, it is not the ‘ man ’ in me—those opinions are got rid of.”

The early Buddhists liked to quote the Sāṅkhya academic wordings, of which this is one. But the Sāṅkhya was emphatic that the man (*puruṣa*) exists, only he must not be identified with either body or mind in any of its phases. Is it *likely* that, aware of these implications, they would have used a formula in which these were involved, if they held “ there is no ‘ this is I ’ ? ” But Buddhists, and European writers, not discerning what Buddhism started withal, as different from what it grew to be, all too glibly maintain that the denial of the ‘ I ’ was perpetrated from the beginning. It is more likely that, if the Founder had taught that denial, he would have been considered, not a wise teacher but an idiot !

However that may be, my point is, that the Pali here cannot rightly be rendered by a categorical negation. They who do not hold, as I do, that Pali literature can be shown to betray a history in this doctrine of “ no-self ”, they who overlook the ambiguity in the word *ātman* (*attan*), and its uses, they who do not see that a *side-issue* of early Buddhism was a protest against the self-in-man, that is, the man-as-God, of inner brahmin teaching, a side-issue which degenerated into a nihilistic view on the very man, or self—these will not see in this misrendering any distortion of historical fact. To me it is a buttressing of error, which European Buddhists will bring forward to support that nihilistic view ; it is a set-back to that historical grasp which better knowledge will yet one day make general. I only wish that these lines of criticism were likely to have any fraction of the influence which the rendering in the translation will have. I gladly add, that the care bestowed in general in the renderings reveals so far no other slip so breeding bane.

(ii) Translators, especially of an ancient tongue, have two special

difficulties to cope withal: words the tongue had, but their own has not, and words which their own tongue can supply better than the ancient tongue of their text. In either case, their rendering will be misleading if special care, special training, and the history of their subject be not ever mounting guard. For the most part the present work is a model of care in these respects. For instance, it improves on the *Dialogues* in not calling *bhikkhave* "brethren". No man deserves that name of honour who is not a brother to all men. The monks were brothers more or less to each other. They did not look upon the laity as their brothers: nor did they ever speak of men, lay or religious, as brothers. It was a mistake on our part so to call them. The word was *there* if the *will* had arisen. The monk was to consider women as "sisters". This was the limit of his progress. Lord Chalmers (and I) chose "almsmen", a literal rendering.

But in other terms he is less literal: e.g. in *Tathāgata* "truth-finder", *devā* "gods", *dhamma* "doctrine", *virīya* "will, resolution", *tulanā* "cogitation". In the first three *we have no fit word*. The originals should have been left in, with an explanatory footnote. "Truth-finder" looks forward; *Tathāgata* looks back; so much in Buddhism does. It smells of tradition: "he who has thus come", namely, by the ancient Buddha-way. *Deva*, *devatā* had ceased to mean "gods". Yes, they existed right enough, but any king was so addressed: "sire", and *all* inmates of other, happier worlds and those too of earth, if unseen, were so called. We do not consider our fellow-men, hosts in other worlds, as "gods". *We have no word*—as yet. *Devā* should "stand". *Dhamma* does not mean just fixed teaching, save in a quite secondary sense. It is what we try to express in what ought, what may be, the better, the ideal. "Norm" has points, but it is rather "good average"; not "the better". *We have no fit word*. Let it stand. So shall we do better service to truth. India has some words which we have not, which we ought to have.

But in "will" we have a word which India had not, has not. Ours is the wealth, not the poverty. *Virīya* is only effort, energizing, a mode of using will. Will reaches-out-after, but it is self-directed, it seeks this, not that. The very *choosing*, here implied, India cannot word in a general way. *Tulanā*: (scale-) "weighing", is an effort after such a word, yet the translator, not wary psychologically, renders it by "cogitation" (ii, p. 99), in which is no need for choosing, willing, acting, doing, or not doing.

A translation can throw much light on man's growth or want of it,

in values, in will, in wording, if only it will not put in what is not in the original. In the present work there is as a rule little of this undeserved enrichment. In either case, we could have done with more guidance in the steering that brief judicious footnotes give the English reader.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

SAMAŚLOKĪ GĪTĀ. By MUKUNDA GAṆESH MIRAJKAR. pp. 205.  
Poona City : Gaṇesh Printing Works, 1926.

A splendid contribution to Marāṭhi literature in verse. The Bhagawadgītā enjoys universal popularity. It has been translated into every modern language of the world. It contains a practical philosophy of life. It has eighteen chapters each bearing a different title according to the subject treated in it. Sanskrit commentaries on it can be reckoned by scores. In all the vernacular languages of India, there are translations, renderings, expositions, dissertations, lectures, theses, essays, written on this wonderful book. It is regarded as Smṛti. The Bhagawadgītā offers a great field to authors, to orators, to preachers to exhibit their marvellous powers. The original text has been committed to memory by millions of Hindus. Thousands of individuals have taken a kind of vow of reciting the Bhagawadgītā in its entirety once in a day. Hardly two years pass without something being published on the Bhagawadgītā. And still there is scope for every talented man to write on it. The material of it is inexhaustible. The present rendering of the Gītā is in verse and in the same metre—*samaśloki*—as the original. It has a fine Marāṭhī tone. If we compare this work with that of Wāman Pandit, the latter has the greater charm. There is nothing amiss in the present work, however, but Wāman's rendering has something that catches life, that fascinates the mind. The present attempt, however, is quite successful. Some of the verses, the sixteenth chapter for example, will serve as a fine specimen of excellent Marāṭhī. The book will repay perusal.

S. G. KANHERE.

BIHĀRĪ RATNĀKAR. By JAGANNĀTH DĀS RATNĀKAR. 9½ × 7;  
32 + 296 + 46 pp. Lucknow : Gangā Pustak Mālā, 1926.  
Rs. 5.

The author's reappearance in the field of literature is most welcome. For years the pressure of business prevented him from devoting

attention to the subjects which he loves, and it was feared that he was lost to literature. Happily, this fear is not to be realized. He has long been a student of Bihārī's *Satsaī*, and has specially taken up the question of the true text and correct sequence of verses.

This volume gives the result of his investigations. The body of the work contains the text of the *Satsaī*, *dohā* by *dohā*, with translation and commentary. The meaning of difficult words is inserted in brackets. In an animated introduction he tells of his search for MSS. and the difficulties which had to be overcome. There is a description of six MSS. dating from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, including one erroneously thought by some to be in Bihārī's handwriting. These have all been carefully compared and collated. When the author was unable to get access to a MS. he had a special copy made. A remarkable fact emerged from the comparison. It was found that all the MSS. followed either wholly or almost wholly the same order, and Jagannāth Dās concludes that this is undoubtedly the order preferred by Bihārī himself, exhibiting in fact the authentic sequence of the couplets.

The author accepts 713 *dohās* as genuine, but he adds in an appendix without commentary 143 more which are found in other editions of the *Satsaī*. Another appendix gives in alphabetical order the first lines of all the *dohās* here accepted, with a table showing their position not only in this but in seven other recensions. There are four full-page illustrations, three of which are coloured.

Altogether, it is a fine piece of work, a worthy testimony to the good taste and industry of this scholar and poet.

T. G. B.

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JARĀSĀDH VADH MAHĀKĀVYA. Pt. i. By GIRIDHAR DĀS, edited by VRAJ RATN DĀS. 7½ × 5; 24 + 174 pp. Benares: Kamalmani Granth Mālā, 1926. Re. 1/4.

Vraj Ratn Dās is already well known for his work on Hindi literature. To speak only of recent publications, he brought out not long ago an excellent edition of the *Prem Sāgar*, followed by one of *Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇ*, and now we have this edition of a fine poem hardly ever heard of. It contains the text with numerous footnotes and two introductions, one on the poet and one on the poem.

Gopāl Candr, better known by his *upanām* of Giridhar Dās, the father of Bhāratēndu Hariś Candr, was the author of many works, perhaps forty in all, hardly any of which are obtainable. He died

sixty-seven years ago at the early age of 26. Poetical works corresponding to the strict Sanskrit conception of *mahākāvya* are rare in Hindi, though if one strips the idea of purely arbitrary concomitants, there are many. The poem before us has a right to the name even in its narrowest sense.

The editor, in introducing to us this epic written by a man (I almost said a boy) who ranks among the foremost Hindi poets, and yet is almost unknown, has done a great service to the cause of the literature of his country.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

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AKBAR AND THE JESUITS. An Account of the Jesuit Missions to the Court of Akbar. By Father PIERRE DU JARRIC, S.J. Translated with Introduction and Notes by C. H. PAYNE. (The Broadway Travellers. Edited by Sir E. Denison Ross and Eileen Power.) xlviii + 288 pp., 8 plates. London: Routledge, 1926.

Mr. C. H. Payne has translated from Du Jarric's *Histoire des choses plus memorables advenues . . . aux Indes Orientales* the chapters relating to the three Jesuit missions sent from Goa (in 1580, 1590, and 1594) to Akbar's court at Lahore. Du Jarric, as his editor points out, cannot rank as an original authority, but his work has a high value, first, as a convenient summary of all available published material, and, secondly, as preserving for us the contents of documents either no longer in existence or otherwise inaccessible. His narrative is clear and extremely readable, and he seems to have made a very conscientious use of his authorities. They, and not he, are responsible for the curious ignorance of Moslem religion and local customs—as Mr. Payne says, “these alien creeds were,” to the Jesuit Fathers, “things to be uprooted rather than studied”—shown, *inter alia*, in the use of the term *alcoran* for a minaret, and the assertion (p. 60) that unmarried women who wish to make the Mecca pilgrimage “all get married beforehand so as not to break the law. After their return they are free to part from their husbands if they have a mind to do so”. The character of Akbar is not unsympathetically described, though a quite natural bias leads the writer to take the most pessimistic view of his ultimate destiny and to account for the misfortunes which befel him in 1596 and 1597 as judgments on him for his “foolish worship of the sun”.

The translation reads so easily that it must have involved no ordinary amount of care and labour, and furnishes a good illustration

of *ars est celare artem*. One may be permitted to wonder, however, why the translator should invariably have written "Noël" for "Christmas"; "emersed" on p. 206 is probably a printer's error—the only one noticed, with the exception of the perplexing reversal of two notes to Chapter IX, on page 251, where 12 should have been numbered 13 and *vice versa*. The typography is otherwise unexceptionable, and the general appearance of the volume on a par with the rest of this most attractive series. It is illustrated with eight reproductions of Persian paintings, including Manohar's portrait of Akbar from the group picture in the Wantage Collection.

A. W.

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LE KOU-WEN CHINOIS. Recueil de textes avec introduction et notes.

Par GEORGES MARGOULIÈS, Docteur ès-lettres, etc. pp. cxxvii + 464. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926.

LE "FOU" DANS LE WEN-SUAN. Étude et textes. Par GEORGES MARGOULIÈS. pp. 138. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926.

M. Georges Margouliès makes an effective entrance into the sinological world with the simultaneous publication of these two volumes. The first contains 120 pieces of *ku-wên* (the exact significance of which term will be found carefully explained in the introduction); the second, three typical specimens of the *fu*, a prose-poem of a kind that is peculiar to Chinese literature. The mere bulk of the work, and the great labour of translation that it must have involved, cannot but compel our admiration. It is true that the great majority of the pieces selected have already been translated either by Professor H. A. Giles in his "Gems of Chinese Literature" or by Père Zottoli into dog-Latin; a few have also been done by Grube in his "Geschichte der Chinesischen Litteratur"; but it is evident that M. Margouliès has struck out an independent line, and is little indebted to the renderings of his predecessors. He is too much obsessed with the ideal of absolute and literal fidelity to his text: in his opinion, it would be waste of time to attempt to present the artistic side of Chinese literary productions to a public that is not yet capable of appreciating it; and therefore, rather than "glide over difficulties and offer a Frenchified imitation of Chinese authors", he has preferred to make "an almost literal version" which will at any rate convey the thought, though doing scant justice to the elegance of the form. Here he would seem to be the victim of an illusion which is not uncommon among translators; for, indeed, the possibility of thus separating

the thought from the form, the matter from the manner, is more than questionable.

Most of the essays, prefaces, notices, dissertations, and what not that come under the general head of *ku-wên*, are delicate blooms which will hardly bear transplantation into another language ; only the most sympathetic handling enables them to retain a little of their original perfume. Now, to judge from his long and well-written introduction, M. Margouliès has a nice appreciation of Chinese literary composition which is remarkable in a foreigner ; he can savour the fine points of style that distinguish authors of different dynasties and different schools ; yet apparently he cannot see that a rigidly literal translation of these same authors must almost necessarily obliterate the style which is of their very essence, and reduce them all to a dead level devoid of inspiration. Let us see how he treats Liu Ling's sparkling little eulogy of wine :—" Il y a un maître, homme supérieur, qui considère le ciel et la terre [l'éternité] comme un moment, le soleil et la lune comme des fenêtres, les huit côtés du monde comme sa cour et ses avenues. Il marche sans ornières ni traces, il reste sans demeure ni chaumière, il fait sa tente du ciel et sa natte de la terre. il va là où le mène sa volonté. Quand il s'arrête, il prend une bouteille, il tient une coupe. Quand il est en mouvement, il porte une cruche et il a une pot à boire avec lui. Il n'y a que le vin dont il s'occupe, comment connaîtrait-il le reste ?

" Il y a un jeune noble et un lettré notable qui ont entendu ma réputation et qui ont critiqué ce qui en est. Ils agitent leurs manches, ils arrachent leurs cols, leurs yeux sont furieux et leurs dents grincent. Ils font des exposés des rites et des lois, le bien et le mal se lève [confusément] comme un essaim d'abeilles [dans leurs discours]."

This is certainly more literal, but is it not a hundred times further from the spirit of the Chinese than the version in "Gems" ?—" An old gentleman, a friend of mine (*sc.* himself), regards eternity as but a single day, and whole centuries as but an instant of time. The sun and moon are the windows of his house ; the cardinal points are the boundaries of his domain. He wanders unrestrained and free ; he dwells within no walls. The canopy of Heaven is his roof ; his resting-place is the lap of earth. He follows his fancy in all things. He is never for a moment without a wine-flask in one hand, a goblet in the other. His only thought is wine : he knows of naught beyond.

" Two respectable philanthropists, hearing of my friend's weakness, proceeded to tax him on the subject : and with many gestures of



disapprobation, fierce scowls, and gnashing of teeth, preached him quite a sermon on the rules of propriety, and sent his faults buzzing round his head like a swarm of bees."

The piece ends with a humorous simile, the point of which has been entirely missed by M. Margouliès: "Quand il écoute avec calme, il n'entend pas le bruit du tonnerre, quand il regarde attentivement il ne remarque pas l'aspect du Tai-chan. Il ne sent ni le froid ni le chaud qui touchent son corps, ni les troubles de la joie et du désir. Baissé, il contemple le tumulte des dix mille choses qui lui sont comme des algues qui flottent sur le Kiang ou la Han, et les deux héros à ses côtés lui sont comme des abeilles ou des parasites de mûrier."

There is a serious mistranslation here which ought to have been avoided, seeing that a correct rendering is given in "Gems":—

"His ears were beyond the reach of thunder: he could not have seen a mountain. Heat and cold existed for him no more. He knew not even the workings of his own mind. To him, the affairs of this world appeared but as so much duckweed on a river; while the two philanthropists at his side looked like two wasps trying to convert a caterpillar (into a wasp, as the Chinese believe is done)."

The last clause runs thus in the original: 二豪侍側焉如蜾蠃之與螟蛉. The French translator wrongly takes 與 as a conjunction, and ignores the seemingly unimportant character 之 which really gives the key to the meaning: "like wasps associating with a caterpillar." The sphex or solitary wasp is in the habit of keeping caterpillars in its nest as food for its young, a fact of natural history which is noted in one of the Odes (see *Shih Ching*, II, 5, ii, 3). This gave rise to the legend that caterpillars were reared by wasps, and in time actually became wasps themselves. In the present passage, of course, the caterpillar stands for the old gentleman who is suffering from the attentions of the philanthropic "wasps".

In justice to M. Margouliès as a translator, it must be added that such mistakes do not often occur in his work. His general familiarity with Chinese idiom is not to be denied, but he fails in the art of expression. It is a pity, because good French prose, with its grace, flexibility and lightness of touch, is precisely the medium which would appear best suited for the rendering of *ku-wên*. As it is, we have glimpses of what he may yet be capable of in a few pieces such as the touching appeal to the Throne made by the sister of the great general Pan Ch'ao (here translated for the first time), or the sober

and well-reasoned dissertations of Han Yü, where less demand is made on the translator's imaginative faculty.

A feature of both these volumes that will bring joy to the heart of the serious student is the provision of exhaustive geographical and historical indexes giving all proper names in Chinese.

LIONEL GILES.

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NATURAL MAN: A RECORD FROM BORNEO. By CHARLES HOSE.

With a Preface by G. ELLIOT SMITH. pp. xvi + 284. 126 illustrations, and 1 map. Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1926. 30s.

Having read every word of this very interesting and readable book, I feel that my first duty is to thank its author for the pleasure he has given me. The work, as regards about nine-tenths of it, is a delightfully written piece of descriptive ethnography which it would be hard to excel. It is true that it is largely, and perhaps mainly, a revised abridgement of Hose and McDougall's *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, which was issued in 1912 by the same publishers. Many passages are textually identical, and a number of others are paraphrases based on the earlier work. Without a collation of the two books, page by page, for which I cannot spare the time, it is not possible for me to make a more precise statement on the matter. At any rate, the work under review, though not entirely new either in substance or in form, contains a very vivid account of the life and habits, arts and crafts, customs and beliefs, and general mentality of the Bornean tribes, with which its author has been intimately acquainted for a great number of years. His earlier work set him in the front rank of descriptive ethnographers, and the present one, if it does nothing else, will confirm that position, and make it more widely known among the general public.

My own view, which I give for whatever it may be worth, is that descriptive ethnography should be entirely dissociated from all speculations and disquisitions regarding the causes and origins of its subject matter and should confine itself to a statement of facts. I conceive that there is a distinct danger that an ethnographer's mind may be unconsciously warped, and his descriptions more or less distorted, by the influence of theories. A great part of the present work is taken up with an important section of the population of Borneo known as Kayan. I have already expressed elsewhere (*JRAS.* (1926), p. 745-6) my disbelief in the theory that the Kayans are identical with, or at all closely related to, the Karens (or alterna-

tively, the Chins or the Kachins) of Burma. There are serious difficulties in the way of accepting it, and not many cogent arguments in its support. Such general agreement as exists between the customs of Kayans and Karens is by no means confined to them but extends to many other uncivilized tribes of Indonesia on the one hand, and Indo-China on the other. Whether such cases of agreement are to be attributed to the coincidence of adaptation, on more or less parallel lines, of entirely unconnected tribes to more or less similar environments; or to direct diffusion through some geographically intermediate link, which is now lost or has yet to be discovered; or to former close contact between some of the ancestors of the one tribe and some of the ancestors of the other; or to a genuine racial descent from one common stock, are matters which will long be debated by anthropologists. The various schools will continue to arrive at the several conclusions which best fit in with their individual theories. But, to my mind, it will be a long time before anything approaching to certainty will be attained.

So far as I am able to judge from the descriptions given, the Kayans are as typically Indonesian as need be, and fit quite well into the general framework of Bornean ethnography. There is not the slightest need to drag in, on their behalf, any hypothesis of a comparatively recent emigration from Indo-China. That at some remote age the coasts of Eastern and Southern Indo-China were in part at least occupied by Indonesians, is a very generally accepted and highly probable view. But it is altogether another matter to suggest that the Kayans have come from there, and particularly from the Irawadi valley, in the last millennium or so. The history and general conditions of Indo-China during that period are fairly well known; and it may safely be said that within that time there is no trace of Indonesians in the Karen country.

I cannot help thinking that a slight similarity between the various tribal names has (perhaps subconsciously) contributed to the formation of this theory; and my opinion is shared by a recent writer on the Karens, who has expressed his view of the matter in the following terms: "It seems fairly clear that if this accidental similarity of name did not exist, the Kayans would not have been considered closer than the Dyaks in kinship to the Karen" (H. I. Marshall, "The Karen People of Burma" in *The Ohio State University Bulletin* (1922), vol. xxvi, No. 13, p. 15). It should be remembered that as regards language Kayans, Karens, and Chins (with Kachins) belong to three quite

distinct groups. It seems to be characteristic of certain schools of comparative ethnology to undervalue, or even neglect entirely, the evidence of language, which is, after all, an important element to be considered. While it can give us no certain evidence of racial connexion or common descent, it can tell us a great deal about historical contact in the past, whether recent or more remote. Moreover, comparative philologists have by this time developed a fairly sound method, while comparative ethnologists are still engaged in groping for one and disputing among themselves over its technique.

Before any really satisfactory and final grouping of the tribes of Borneo can be made, a thorough classification of their languages must be undertaken. In that respect Borneo is still, having regard to its size, the most neglected area of Indonesia. As a rule it has been represented, in works on Indonesian linguistics, solely by the Ngaju dialect. As there are in S. H. Ray's "The Languages of Borneo" (in *The Sarawak Museum Journal* (1913), vol. i, No. 4) vocabularies of about a hundred dialects and sub-dialects, often differing very much from one another, it is obvious that to pick out the one that happens to be the best documented as representative of the whole group is a quite inadequate way of dealing with the languages of Borneo. I have not the time, nor would this be the place, to go into the details of this question at any length, but must confine myself to a somewhat superficial test to illustrate my meaning. On the basis of the Bornean numeral systems, Ray's languages can be roughly divided into four groups, of which one is anomalous. It consists of a single language using peculiar words for 7, 8, and 9. Of the rest, a large majority, much the biggest of the four groups, uses the words *tělu* and *tujoh* (or variants of them) for 3 and 7 respectively, and into this group fall the Kayan dialects, which to that extent, therefore, are typically Bornean. They also agree with about a dozen Kenyah and other non-Kayan dialects in the numbers 8 and 9. Of the remaining two, much smaller, groups one has the Common Indonesian *tělu* and *pitu* for 3 and 7, respectively. The other, which includes the Iban (or Sea Dayak) dialects has *tiga* for 3 and variants of *tujoh* for 7.

This last point serves to support Dr. Hose's view that the Iban language is more closely related to Malay than the other Bornean languages and dialects are. But it is quite impossible to regard Iban as having been, or being, "a tongue out of which Malay, as spoken to-day, has been evolved under Arab influence" (pp. 6-7). The differences between the two are more deep-seated than that: we

have ample records of the Malay language going back continuously for more than three centuries, and a few inscriptions even as far back as the fourteenth century, which are quite inconsistent with such a view. If, indeed, the Iban entered Borneo less than three hundred years ago from Sumatra, it is pretty certain that they did not come from any part of Sumatra where Malay was the language generally spoken. But that theory, again, is quite unsupported by historical evidence at present.

The first thirty pages of the book contain a sort of historical introduction (taken over from *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* without much alteration) on which something must be said. Its arrangement is not all that could be desired, e.g. pages 10-13 are substantially a repetition of pp. 3-5. I must leave it to geologists to decide the probable date when the island of Borneo was last united with the continent of Asia, and whether there is any likelihood that the ancestors of any of the existing Bornean tribes had reached their present homes before that somewhat doubtful and remote time (pp. 3, 4, 10). To me it seems rather unlikely. For the rest, I can only regret that this portion of the work, which is not essential to it, was not subjected to some revision. The Indonesian alphabets are not from the Tamil (p. 15) but from the Telugu-Canarese group. To say that the exact locality of Champa (in the period of the Sung dynasty of China) is doubtful (p. 17) is to ignore all that has been done in the last twenty years or more by French scholars to determine the extent and boundaries of Champa and the position of its successive capitals, all of which matters are now pretty definitely ascertained. For "Hianzta" (p. 18), a misprint that did not occur in the earlier work, read "Hiang-ta". There are no historical grounds for the statement that Malacca was founded in the thirteenth century (p. 19); at any rate there is no certain mention of its existence before the early years of the fifteenth.

Majapahit, on the other hand, was founded about 1294 and during a portion of the fourteenth century it certainly exercised a general supremacy over the Archipelago, including a good part of the coast of Borneo. The account given on p. 19, and based on Chinese sources, of the repulse from Brunei<sup>1</sup> by Javanese forces of raiders (from Sulu, according to the Chinese chronicle), is worthy of credit. But it happened during the reign of the Javanese king Hayam Wuruk, not of the purely legendary Angka Wijaya. It is a great pity that,

<sup>1</sup> Assuming that Brunei is meant by the P'o-ni 浮泥 of the Chinese sources.

instead of continually citing Raffles's out-of-date *History of Java* about such matters, English readers do not refer to the reliable sources, such as the Pararaton and the Nāgarakrētāgama, which have now been accessible for many years past.

Further the statement that a few years later the Brunei king paid tribute to Mansur Shah of Malacca is patently absurd, seeing that the latter, so far from succeeding to the throne in 1374, was not even born at that date and did not in fact succeed (as reported in the *History of the Ming Dynasty*) till 1459. The old erroneous Malacca chronology was rectified thirty years ago, and it is unsatisfactory to find it restated in a work published in 1926. To make matters worse, this impossible statement has been taken over from *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo* into the official report on the Census of British Malaya of 1921, p. 3. Thus is history made. The date given on p. 23 of the work under review of the founding of Singapore by a purely legendary personage is equally baseless. It is a pity that such a good book as this contains such blemishes.

C. O. B.

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BRITISH MALAYA, 1824-67. By L. A. MILLS. (Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, vol. iii, pt. ii.) Singapore, 1925.

This is a conscientiously documented and well-written history, containing even more than its title foreshadows. Several of its chapters considerably transcend the nominal limits of the work. We get sections dealing with the English and Dutch in the East (1579-1786), Penang (1786-1830), Singapore (1819-1826), the Civil Service in the Straits Settlements (1786-1867), the Malacca Land Problem (1825-1884), and the Malayan Policy of the East India Company (1786-1867), which are very welcome, though they do not confine themselves within the period specified in the title. For the rest, the contents of the work can be best indicated by giving the remaining chapter headings, viz. the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824, the Naning War (1831-32), Anglo-Siamese Relations (1824-1867), Trade and Agriculture in British Malaya, the Chinese in British Malaya, Piracy and the Straits Settlements, Rajah Brooke and the Suppression of Piracy in Brunei, and the Transfer (of the Straits Settlements from the India Office to the Colonial Office).

Many of the above are matters of more than purely local interest, and the author's treatment is characterized by sober judgment and great fairness, though he is perhaps rather hard on the Dutch, whose

policy in those days certainly lays them open to criticism. The bibliography is very valuable, particularly as giving the unpublished sources on which Dr. Mills has mainly relied. There are unfortunately a good many misprints, due apparently to the fact that he was not given an opportunity of finally revising the proofs of his work.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

A YEAR AMONGST THE PERSIANS. By EDWARD GRANVILLE BROWNE, with a memoir by Sir E. DENISON ROSS. pp. xxii + 650. Frontispiece and 1 map. Cambridge University Press, 1926.

Few Europeans who, during the last forty or fifty years have taken the trouble to travel extensively in Persia have spared the public a recital of their experiences, their impressions, and their views, but few indeed of their works merit a permanent place on our shelves. From all such records of travel the late Professor E. G. Browne's account of a year spent by him among the Persians stands apart, and it will certainly, now that it has at length been presented to the public as the Cambridge University Press can present a book, take its place, as the author of the memoir hopes, amongst the great classics of travel.

None who knew the author will be surprised at the excellence of his work, for no European traveller in Persia has been so well equipped as he was for the task which he undertook. Starting with a warm enthusiasm for the people and the country, he sedulously prepared himself, by conscientious and laborious study of the language, the literature, the philosophy and the religion of the Persians, for his endeavour to portray them to his fellow-countrymen. Consequently his book is distinguished from the ordinary record of travel by its great value to all who would learn anything of Persia and the Persians. Such a book, for instance, as Pierre Loti's insufferable *Vers Isfahan*, with its words strung together, like onions, for sale, conveys to the reader little beyond the traveller's impressions, which are of small importance to any but the traveller himself; but of Browne's book the resident in Persia, however long he may have lived there, however closely he may have studied the people and their literature, cannot afford to skip a single page.

The book is as attractive as it is instructive, and it is largely in the author's generous enthusiasm that its attraction lies. His was, indeed, the charity which thinketh no evil, and although those who have lived long amongst the Persians may occasionally reflect that the

charity which believeth all things and hopeth all things is not always marked by discrimination, they will appreciate the author none the less. Rather will they be grateful to him for encouragement in the frequent disappointments which beset them, and for reminding them that though there may be something to deprecate there is also much to love in the Persian.

Even in those in whom he found most to condemn, the oppressive governor, the drunken libertine, the inquisitive, meddling, self-conceited bore, he finds some good. The gracious manners and fine library of the first, the readiness of the second to die for his faith, are redeeming traits, and even the last seemed, during a second visit, "less disagreeable". It may, however, be doubted whether Browne saw the bore, who in later years was known as "Hajji Excellence", from his habit of airing his French by addressing all and sundry by this honorific title, at his best. His mendacity, his garrulity, and his conceit could transcend anything recorded of him in this book. He once informed the present writer that the late Queen Victoria had, during his sojourn in Europe, offered him the Garter, and when asked why he never wore the insignia he gravely replied that he had not thought it politic to accept the Order. He was at this time the nuisance which Browne found him, but he was also the cause of much mirth.

The author is perhaps hardly fair to the Persian authorities in respect of their treatment of the Babis, the sufferers among whom are all "martyrs". The persecution of this sect was, of course, revolting, as all religious persecution must be; but the persecutors must not be judged by the standards of modern Europe. The sectaries placed themselves in opposition to the established religion of the country, the recognized punishment for apostasy from which is death, and were undoubtedly implicated both in rebellion and in attempted assassination, punished in most lands with death. It is hardly reasonable to expect an Oriental ruler to require absolute proof of the personal participation of the founder and leader of such a sect in the crimes of his followers. The sect as a whole was associated with rebellion and assassination, and the removal of its leader would be regarded in Persia as an ordinary measure of precaution. The persecution was impolitic, as all persecutions are; but it was not unnatural.

Nor do the sectaries appear to have merited the great interest which Browne displayed in them. Babi "martyrs" are bewailed, but the unedifying disputes between Shaykhis and Babis and Babis



and Bahāis, and the murderous feud between Bahāis and Ezelis are insufficiently condemned.

A minor slip which grates on the ear is the repeated description of the British Legation as the "English Embassy", but when the book was written the habit of regarding the Treaty of Union as a scrap of paper was more general than it is to-day.

All who have travelled much in Persia will endorse the author's favourable estimate of the character of its nuleteers, as a class. The *chārvādār*, exasperating at times, is always interesting, and can be a most entertaining companion on the road. Even his "grousing", if taken in the right spirit will be found to contain the element of good humour which characterizes the same failing in the British soldier.

Most of those who have visited Qum and Kāshān will envy the author his pleasant recollections of those towns and will be inclined to agree rather with the anonymous authors of the uncomplimentary verses on their inhabitants than with him. The people of Qum are usually surly and hostile, and those of Māhān are so accustomed to the fleecing of pilgrims that they are prone to regard all visitors as their prey, but Browne was evidently fortunate, as he was in his experience of servants who declined to accept vails. Such events happen in Persia, but they are rare.

The enumeration of the bridges over the Zāyanda Rūd at Isfahān is confusing. There are in fact five, not three only, but a traveller may be pardoned for disregarding one of them, which is rather an aqueduct than a bridge, though it is used by foot passengers. It is in the names of the others that the confusion occurs. The bridge of "thirty-three arches" is not given its usual name, *Allāh-Vardī*, and there is nothing to indicate that the *Pul-i-Hasanābād* mentioned on one page is identical with the *Pul-i-Khājū* (the more usual name), as it is. The *Chihil Sutūn* ("Forty Columns") palace, again, is not so called from the plane-trees in its garden, but from the twenty columns supporting its portico, doubled in number by their reflection in the water. The remarks on the virtues of the woodlouse are interesting, but the author might have added the name by which it is known in Kirmān—*gāv-i-khudā*, "the ox of God," which he must have heard while there. The *kangar*, which he compares to celery, is really a thistle, the stalks of which are eaten in the same manner as chard, the stalks of the globe-artichoke. The word *salt*, in the verses in the Kāshānī dialect, does not mean "basket", but is a

corruption of the word *satl*, "a bucket", just as *bafr* is the Kāshī corruption of *barf*. The "dismal spot" mentioned on page 462, in the description of which the present writer heartily concurs, should be *Shims*, not *Shemsh*, and *ashkalak*, not *el-chek*, is the usual name of the Persian pilniewinks. The tyrant Zakhāk is imprisoned in a cavern beneath Damāvand, not on the summit of the mountain, and it is hardly just to blame the grandees for the misery inflicted on the wretched children employed in shawl-weaving, for those who were responsible for the sufferings of these poor little drudges were their parents, whom their toil supplied with opium.

Those who wish to learn something of Persia are often advised to read Morier's delightful book, and much can be learned from it, but it must never be forgotten that it is a satire. Nobody who wishes to learn the whole truth should fail to read Browne's book. *Hajji Baba*, which has been translated, has probably given offence to many Persians; *A Year amongst the Persians* will be welcomed with gratitude by all, and a good translation would be a signal service to Persia, and also to Britain, for it would tend to promote a better understanding between the two countries. Few who know the Persians will fail to share the author's affection for them, though all will not share his leniency to their failings. These, in his view, were due to one cause, and to one cause alone, the corruption and oppression of the old *régime*. The Constitution, when it came, was to heal all and to perfect all. This was the view of many among the Persians, to whom *Mashrūṭa* was a blessed word of comfort. Most have since learned the truth embodied in Goldsmith's, or rather Johnson's, lines:—

"How small, of all that human hearts endure,  
That part which laws or Kings can cause or cure!"

There is reason to believe that Browne himself was disillusioned in his later years, and one could wish for his sake that it had not been so.

His great services to Persia, and to Oriental scholarship generally, were recognized in more quarters than one, but the recognition which he prized most came from Persia, in the form of a complimentary address with beautiful presents. Accompanying the address was an ode by a modern poet who complained that the bird who sang so sweetly was singing from a cage, in which he had been confined at the instance of the great scholar's countrymen. Browne's compassion was aroused, and his generous appeal was the cause of some embarrassment to the British Legation, for the poet's offence had been his membership of a "Committee of Reprisals", having for its object the

assassination of British and Russian officials, and of those Persians who had sympathized with the Allied cause during the war, and its labours had not been entirely fruitless.

In honouring Browne Persia honoured herself, and did much to justify the high opinion which he entertained of the Persian character.

W. H.

TAYYIBĀT, THE ODES OF SHAIKH MUSLIHU-'D-DIN SA'DĪ SHIRĀZĪ.

Translated by the late Sir LUCAS WHITE KING, Kt., C.S.I., LL.D., with an Introduction by REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON. London : Luzac & Co., 1926.

This translation of the *Tayyibāt* of Sa'dī is a worthy memorial of the scholar who died before it could be published. The translation of the Odes, which contain many obscure passages, is close and exact, and the commentary on the terminology of the Ṣūfis contained in the notes will be of much value to the student of Persian mysticism.

Opinions will always differ on the extent to which the works of Persian poets classed as Ṣūfis or mystics are to be interpreted figuratively or literally. The learned translator of these odes was of those who believe that Sa'dī, at least, was consistent, and that love and wine, drunkenness and its effects, wherever they are mentioned, are to be interpreted figuratively, and he has very successfully applied his learning to their interpretation in this sense. It was probably this insistence on the esoteric signification of the poems that led him to include in the text of his translation so much of his commentary, so many glosses and amplifications that might have been relegated to footnotes, or even omitted, for their effect is needlessly to encumber an otherwise excellent translation, and to offend a reader confident of his own ability to supply comment so obvious. For instance, in the lines :

“ I am like a harp with my head bent down ( = bowed) in (object) submission and (fervent) love, so strike up any tune Thou pleasest and play on me ”

it is difficult to justify the presence of the words in brackets which might well have been supplied by the reader.

A defect which jars on the ear is the lack of consistency in the use of the singular and the plural of the second personal pronoun. The singular is so rare in modern English that the writer was probably unequal to the strain of its sustained use and, as in the opening couplet, of the beautiful ninety-fifth ode :—

"Thy fascinating movements are symmetrical and harmonious : but the words you address to us are inconsiderate," unconsciously slips into the plural. In this matter close adherence to the original should surely be the rule, especially in translating such poems as these. In this verse, too, the point of the antithesis has been missed. Its true sense is "Thy graceful movements are for all, but it is for us, Thy lovers, that Thou reservest Thy harsh words."

Exception may also be taken to the translation of the first couplet of Ode 26. The poet describes his beloved's figure as a marvel as great as the general Resurrection. This is not fitly translated by "a nine days' wonder"—a contemptuous expression for a sight or event which sets the mob gaping until some new wonder wipes it from their minds.

No justification is apparent for the translation of the first couplet of Ode 84 : "We engaged in love, etc." for the verb is in the singular in the original, and the plural would not scan.

I would also take exception to "marsh-mallow" as a translation of *khaṭmī*, used as a simile for a beautiful face. It is true that Lane, Freytag, Steingass, and Belot give "marsh-mallow" for *khiṭmī* or *khaṭmī*, but surely no poet would compare a beautiful face to a bright yellow flower. "Marsh-mallow" might describe Majnūn's face, but not Lailā's. *Gul-i-khatmī* means, in Persia, the hollyhock, a flower, with its pink and white petals, far more likely than the marsh-mallow to be in the mind of a poet describing his mistress's face, and surely "hollyhock" is the correct translation here. In note 4 on page 115 a variant of the Zāhhāk legend is given. According to Firdawsī, and all versions of the legend which I have heard, Damāvand, not Alvand, is the mountain beneath which the tyrant is confined. It is possible that the honour is locally claimed for Alvand, but this is not the generally accepted version of the story. It is a mistake, too, to say that smoke sometimes rises from Alvand. Both Damāvand and Alvand are volcanoes, but they have long been extinct.

In a quotation from Hāfiz in note 1 on page 97, the word *taghīr* occurs. This is apparently intended for *taghyīr*, but the reading in five copies of Hāfiz which I have consulted is *tafsīr*, which is in every way preferable. I have not found *taghyīr* even as a variant.

There is no special interest, as stated in note 3 on page 160, in the fact that no chronological sequence can be observed in the arrangement of the odes, for in no *divān* are the odes arranged in chronological sequence. The principle of arrangement is the alphabetical order

of the letters with which the verses conclude. It was probably owing to Sir Lucas King's untimely and lamented death that the proofs were not more carefully corrected and that the notes are disfigured by typographical errors. *Faqūr* for *faqīr*, *nuterāb* for *mīhrāb*, *sāhib-i-nazar* (which would not scan) for *sāhib nazar*, *Ka'abah* for *Ka'ba*, *rindī o qalāshī* for *qallāshī va rindī*, *Zuleikkah* for *Zulaikhā*, *nahī munkar* for *nahy-i-munkar*, *nimak* for *namak*, *majnūn* for *majmū*, *gashabe* for *gūsha-yī*, and *Khizar* (which would not scan) for *Khizr*, are some examples. Sa'dī's verse, as quoted in note 3 on page 175 does not scan, and the quotation from the *Mathnavī* in note 1 on page 161 is not intelligible.

The translation pretends to no graces of form, but is absolutely literal. This method of treatment is undoubtedly the best in a first translation of a Persian classic. Poets and *littérateurs* may embellish as they will the master's thoughts when the scholar has rendered them intelligible, though it is to be hoped that none will emulate the impudence of the poetaster who declared that the best interpreter of a Persian poet is he who knows no Persian. The other method of rendering a Persian poet has been tried, and though Fitzgerald's beautiful paraphrase has delighted all none can contemplate without a shudder the "appalling mass of literature" which it has produced.

Sir Lucas White King has laid students both of the language and of the mysticism of the Persians under an obligation, and the minor errors and imperfections in his work which have been noticed may be easily amended in a later edition. It is for this purpose that they have been enumerated.

W. H.

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DASTŪR-I-'USHSHĀQ: "The Book of Lovers." By Muḥammad YAḤYĀ IBN SĪBAK, known as *Fattāhī* of Nishāpūr. Edited by R. S. GREENSHIELDS. London: Luzac & Co., 1926.

The works of Muḥammad Yaḥyā ibn Sībak, *Fattāhī*, "a man of learning, acquainted with most branches of knowledge," are not so well known as they deserve to be, and even in his lifetime lacked the publicity earned by the works of more courtly poets. It is well, therefore, that this elaborate allegory should have been made accessible to lovers of Persian poetry, for the only knowledge of it which European scholars have hitherto possessed is contained in a summary in rhymed prose, and this edition enables us for the first time to study the poet's development of his theme. The poem is a good

example of the more artificial school of Persian poetry in the age of the Timūrids, and, though less sophisticated than the *Shabistān-i-Khiyāl* exhibits those peculiarities of Fattāhī's style which Dawlatshāh has noticed.

The diligent student may read the whole poem from beginning to end, but the cadence of the metre will pall on many after an hour or two, and these will take it in smaller doses, for it must be confessed that the interest even of the double allegory is hardly sufficient to relieve the monotony of the rhythm. All students should, however, read the poem, for it is an excellent example of its class, and the correspondence between the lovers is itself a fairly complete treatise on Persian rhetoric.

The editing of a *mathnavī* poem of nearly 4,700 couplets is no light task, but Mr. Greenshields has performed it admirably. Of the very few misprints one occurs in a heading on page 66, and a misplaced *hamza* in the first hemistich of verse 230 mars the rhythm of the couplet. A very few of the verses halt, but the errors here are clearly due to the copyist, and are such as must always occur in an edition from a single MS. The wonder is that there are so few.

The book has an excellent preface by the editor.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

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THE ORTHODOX PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM. Report of the Commission appointed by the Government of Palestine to inquire and report upon certain controversies between the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Arab Orthodox Community. By the Commissioners: Sir ANTON BERTRAM, Chief Justice of Ceylon, sometime Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Cyprus; and J. W. A. YOUNG, sometime Financial Adviser to the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and previously Chief Inspector under the Ministry of the Interior in Egypt. Milford, 1926. 12s. 6d. net.

This book is at once a practical illustration of the difficulties attending the administration of the British mandate for Palestine, and an illuminating study in the history of the Orthodox Church.

The Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem has been an anxiety to the mandatory government from the beginning. To start with, it had got itself so deeply into debt that a financial commission of inquiry (the Bertram-Luke commission) had to be appointed—as a result of whose report the finances of the Patriarchate were placed under official control in 1921. Thereafter, the standing quarrel between

the Orthodox Christian population of the country, who are Arab in language and in national feeling, and the Patriarch and the Holy Synod, who are Greeks, came to such a pass that a second commission had to be appointed to inquire into this matter and suggest some solution. The link between the two commissions was supplied by Sir Anton Bertram, who in both cases was the senior member. The Commissioners—whose difficult task was evidently rendered still more difficult by systematic obstruction on the part of the Patriarchate—are to be congratulated on the tact with which they have conducted the practical part of their duties and upon the learning and lucidity of their historical research.

The present feud between the central ecclesiastical authorities and the rank and file of the clergy and the laity in the Jerusalem Patriarchate is a consequence of the policy inaugurated by the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II Fatih in regard to the Orthodox Church in his dominions. Sultan Mehmed's conquest of Constantinople is commonly regarded as having inflicted an almost mortal wound upon the Greek people: but the medieval Greeks had been steadily losing ground to the Franks, the Muslims and the non-Greek peoples of Orthodox Christendom for four centuries before 1453; and Mehmed's organization of the Millet-i-Rûm, after his conquest of Constantinople, really laid the foundations of a Greek revival. As is well known, Mehmed created the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople Millet-Bashî, not merely of the Orthodox Christians within the ecclesiastical domain of the Patriarchate (which corresponded approximately to the comparatively modest frontiers of the East Roman Empire as they had stood in the eighth century), but of all Orthodox Christians within the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire. In one sense, this was a continuation of the Orthodox ecclesiastical tradition, in which the Church was a department of State and every sovereign independent State containing an Orthodox population had an autocephalous church of its own whose ecclesiastical domain coincided with the state territory. In another sense, however, Mehmed's organization was an innovation in favour of the Greeks; for the Oecumenical Patriarchate at Constantinople was intrinsically a Greek national institution, and, thanks to Mehmed, it found its jurisdiction extended over the Bulgars and Serbs and Rumans—important Orthodox peoples which had only fallen fitfully under Byzantine rule and which had therefore possessed churches of their own independent of the Constantinople Patriarchate. As the dominions of the Ottoman

Pādishāh continued to expand, the ecclesiastical domain of his servant the millet-bashy of the Millet-i-Rūm expanded with them, wherever the conquered territories happened to contain Orthodox inhabitants; and the Ottoman conquest of Syria and Egypt in 1516-7 made the Oecumenical Patriarch master—not as Patriarch but as millet-bashy—of the Orthodox Christian flocks of the three older Patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria. Now these three Patriarchates, which had existed some centuries before the Oecumenical Patriarchate had been created, had not only been independent of the Oecumenical Patriarchate—as had been the Bulgarian Patriarchate, which had come into existence later—but, during the eight and a half centuries which had elapsed since the Arab conquest, Arabic had become the national language of the people, and therefore (in accordance with another Orthodox tradition) it had tended to become the ecclesiastical language of those Churches, though in the Arab Orthodox communities, unlike the Slavonic Orthodox communities, Greek was never ousted entirely. The political conquest of Syria and Egypt by the Osmanlis involved, however (owing to Mehmed Fatih's ordinance), an ecclesiastical conquest of the Orthodox Churches in these countries by the Greeks. This conquest was consummated during the Patriarchate of Germanos (1543-1579)—a Greek from the Morea—and thenceforth not only the Patriarchal office itself but the synod, organized into a fraternity, became an institution staffed with Greeks, whose policy was directed from the Phanar in Stamboul. Thus the Arab laity and parish clergy of the Jerusalem Patriarchate found themselves excluded from the government of their local Church in favour of Greeks, just as the Fallāhīn were excluded from the government of the local Vilāyets and Sanjāqs in favour of Osmanlis. Underneath, however, the Orthodox Arabs cherished their national consciousness, symbolized in their national language, as pertinaciously as the Bulgars, Serbs, Rumans and other non-Greeks over whom the Greeks exercised ecclesiastical dominion by grace of the Osmanlis; and, as soon as the Ottoman Government reversed its ecclesiastical policy, the Arabs of the Jerusalem Patriarchate raised their heads. In 1870 the Porte created the Bulgarian Exarchate, and in 1872 a synod at Constantinople excommunicated the exarchists for breaking away from the Oecumenical Patriarchate. Cyril, the reigning Patriarch of Jerusalem, “who had intimate relations with the Russian Government”, refused to join in this excommunication, and on this account he was high-handedly deposed by the Fraternity, who were Greeks of



a strongly nationalist complexion. Thereupon, the Arab flock of the Jerusalem Patriarchate, who were conscious that the cause of the Bulgarians was their own, rose in tumult, and there was something like war in heaven, until the Ottoman authorities restored order. Thus the battle was joined between Arab nationalism and Greek imperialism in the Jerusalem Patriarchate. It is still being fought, but all the omens indicate that nationalism will win the day.

ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE.

PEOPLE OF THE VEIL. Being an Account of the Habits, Organization, and History of the Wandering Tuareg Tribes which inhabit the Mountains of Aïr or Asben in the Central Sahara. By FRANCIS RENNELL RODD. 10 × 7. pp. xvi + 504. Macmillan, 1926.

We welcome any work on the Tuareg, as their mode of life attracts us all, in the same way that the life of the Red Indian appealed to us when we were younger. Mr. Rodd's book is a scholarly and sympathetic study of the Tuareg, with whom he came in contact in Aïr, and its neighbourhood. It is strange that so little serious work on the manners and customs of the Tuareg has been published. Barth is still the great authority, although his journeys took place seventy years ago; we note that the author has visited one of Barth's camps, which has never been touched, for the Tuareg have not forgotten that Barth came to them as a friend.

We hope that a British official in Nigeria may let us have some more information concerning the Tuareg, as so many are now under our rule, and we feel sure that there is still plenty of room for some French author, besides Duveyrier.

Mr. Rodd is particularly interested in the geography of the district he visited, and also in the divisions and sub-divisions of the Tuareg, most valuable work. We notice that the White People are called Ahamellen, the usual Berber word for white is from a root MLL, possibly the H is due to Arabic influence.

Mr. Rodd only touches on the origin of the Tuareg, and does not tell us whether he agrees with the fascinating theory that he is Crô-Magnon man in the flesh; and, although we have some hints of the Tuareg ability to go without food or water for long periods, we should have liked to hear more. It was Barth, we believe, who met a Tuareg who had "forgotten" when he had eaten last. We notice with much pleasure the author's account of his stay with the Tuareg as their guest, on pages 210 and 211; we wish more travellers did the same

and in the same way, particularly those of us who agree with Mr. Rodd's remarks a page later. The author is very interested in the various types of house; we think that his "Type A" may be found also amongst the Beni Mzab, where the Tizefri, or weaving room, occupies the same position as the inner room does in houses of that type.

The Tuareg measure of length, the amital, of 10 cubits, must be 16 feet, or thereabouts, this seems a long unit for a primitive people; we wonder if amital started life as metre and is considerably shorter.

Some interesting photographs, a bibliography, and a good and careful index all add to the value of the book.

P. P. H. HASLUCK.

FROM TRIBE TO EMPIRE. By A. MORET and G. DAVY. Kegan Paul, 1926. 16s. net.

This interesting and suggestive volume aims at sketching the early history of the Near East, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia. However, it goes farther than this, for it also offers a theory of the early development of eastern monarchy. About the first third of the book deals with the totemic clans of Australia and North America, seeking to trace thereby the steps by which political powers emerged in primitive societies. The theory put forth is that power, which at first was diffused through the clan, was gradually individualized, in part by the transfer of succession from the female into the male line, in part by the identification of the tribal chief thus produced with the old clan totem. This, it is suggested, is what perhaps took place in prehistoric Egypt and formed the basis from which the monarchy of the Pharaohs sprang. This theory conflicts with the views of many, though not of all, Egyptologists on the one side and anthropologists on the other. It is at all events a bold collocation; and though no one can regard it as more than a highly interesting speculation, there is a sufficient number of odd coincidences to make it alike curious and stimulating.

H. D.

THE WORSHIP OF NATURE. By Sir JAMES GEORGE FRAZER. Vol. i. Macmillan, 1926. 25s.

In this volume Sir James Frazer publishes with many additions his Gifford Lectures delivered at Edinburgh in 1924-5. He deals with the worships of the sky, the earth, and the sun—the last everywhere but in Africa and America, which he reserves with the personification

and worship of other aspects of nature for his second volume. This new work shows, as his earlier ones have done, the encyclopædic range of his knowledge and his command of a singularly attractive prose-style; and if here, as elsewhere, the general effect is somewhat misty and elusive, that is due to the nature of his subject, not to any lack of vigour or cloudiness of conception in his own mind. The work when completed will be a complete survey of the worship of natural objects and phenomena, classified by subject and geographical distribution, and ranging from savage and primitive beliefs to the elaborate ideas of the civilized peoples of the ancient and the eastern worlds. From the point of view of general interest, perhaps, something is sacrificed by the length at which Sir James Frazer dwells upon the former, for the endless variations in detail to which no special significance can be attached are fatiguing in themselves and destructive of any general conceptions. But at the present time, when there is a strong tendency at work unduly to simplify our ideas of anthropological origins, this endless diversity undoubtedly deserves to be put forward and emphasized. The professed Orientalist will find much of interest in these pages. The chapters devoted to Eastern religious ideas are necessarily secondhand, and do not carry with them much of the author's special authority; but the related chapters will be found full of parallel illustrations of great suggestive interest and value.

H. D.

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THE MIGRATION OF SYMBOLS. By DONALD A. MACKENZIE. Kegan Paul, 1926. 12s. 6d. net.

In this interesting volume Mr. Mackenzie deals with the occurrence of certain widely spread symbols, such as the swastika and the spiral, on the basis of the Diffusionist theory of a common origin, which seems to him a far more plausible hypothesis than that of the "psychic unity of man". He rejects the latter mainly, it seems, because we do not know enough about the workings of the primitive mind to justify the assumption that different tribes and races will think alike in like circumstances. His book is therefore mainly a contribution to the attractive but still very speculative theory that the Diffusionist school of anthropology has built up. He regards the "winged-disc" of the Egyptians and the "whirling-logs" of the American Indians as identical in origin, and would trace to a common source all the variations of the spiral ornament or symbol. This seems to be going far beyond what is warranted by our present state of knowledge.

But Mr. Mackenzie is on firmer ground when he argues that these and other symbols were more probably magical than artistic in origin and conception ; and that the migration of a symbol does not necessarily imply the migration of the conceptions for which it originally stood.

H. D.

RELIGION AND FOLK-LORE OF NORTHERN INDIA. BY WILLIAM CROOKE. Oxford University Press, 1926.

Ever since this work first appeared at Allahabad, over thirty years ago, it has been one of the classical manuals of North Indian Folklore ; and a second edition was soon afterwards published in London in 1896. The last years of Mr. Crooke's life were engaged in revising it for what may be called a definitive edition : and though he was not spared to see it through the press, that task has been carried out by Mr. Enthoven, whose own labours in a cognate subject admirably fitted him for the task. Since its first appearance the book has nearly doubled in size, and has moreover been enriched by wide reading which had been impossible during the author's official service in India far from the libraries of Europe. It has long been, and we think it will long remain, the standard exposition of popular religion in Northern and Central India, invaluable alike to the student of folklore and to all engaged in administrative work in that region.

H. DODWELL.

LA MAGIE DANS L'EGYPTE ANTIQUE, DE L'ANCIEN EMPIRE JUSQU'À L'ÉPOQUE COPTE. Tome I, Exposé. Tome II, Les Textes Magiques. Tome III, Atlas. Par PH. DR. FRANÇOIS LEXA, Professeur à l'Université Charles de Prague. I, 220 pp ; II, 235 ; III, 71 plates. Paris : Geuthner, 1925.

Professor Lexa's first volume gives a valuable summary of beliefs and practices connected with Egyptian magic, a subject which he considers of particular interest in view of the attention bestowed, in recent times, on all occult subjects. His point of view is neither that of Brugsch : " la non-valeur de la magie pour l'appréciation de la culture nationale " : nor that of Budge, who thinks that every Egyptian religious rite has a magical character. Under the heading " Le but de la magie ", he treats of magical practices designed (a) to supply the wants of the present earthly life, (b) to provide for the

needs of the life after death, (c) to facilitate communication with the gods or the spirits of the dead. His second chapter deals with "moyens magiques", under which are included magical formulæ (spoken incantations) in all their varieties, magical remedies, amulets, magical ritual and the "corps subsidiaire", a convenient designation for *ushabti* (here spelt *weshebt*) and all similar symbolic figures, whether painted or carved in relief or in the round.

Chapters iii and iv deal with the relations of magic to religion and of magic to science, respectively. In connexion with the former, one might have expected a reference to the work of Dr. Marett, but perhaps this lay outside the scope of the author's design. The references to magical practices contained in the scanty remnants of ancient Egyptian literature have furnished a short but interesting chapter and led the author to the following conclusions:—

"1. Comme la plupart des motifs des contes démotiques des sorciers se trouvent déjà dans les contes du nouvel empire, il faut vraisemblablement chercher dans une époque plus reculée l'origine des motifs que nous trouvons dans les contes démotiques et qui ne nous sont pas attestés par les documents provenant des temps antérieurs.

"2. Les buts et moyens des sorciers dans la littérature s'accordent avec les buts et moyens que nous connaissons de la production magique, tant laïque que religieuse; l'ancienne magie égyptienne était donc la seule source où ils ont pu puiser."

With the introduction of Christianity, during the second half of the third century, the opposition between religion and magic, which had hitherto been in alliance, began to show itself. At the same time the Coptic documents (discussed in chapter vi) exhibit a curious mixture of Christian and Pagan material—the same miraculous performances being attributed to saints which, in the older legends, had been given to sorcerers.

The second volume contains a selection of magical texts illustrating the various divisions of the subject already enumerated, while the third consists of seventy-one plates, mostly reproduced by photographic process, representing the various objects described in volume i. The last of these depicts the common hieroglyphic signs (those for a man, a lion, a crocodile, the horned viper, and other snakes, etc.) and, below, the same signs used magically, to prevent the beings in question from working mischief, i.e. the man is decapitated, the lion and the viper cut in two, the crocodile has two arrows sticking in him—and so on.

Such "truncated signs" are common in the magical papyri. In connexion with pp. 95 *et seq.* ("Les Amulettes Nouées") it is interesting to remark that a very common form of amulet in the neighbourhood of Mombasa is a black woollen cord (*kigwe cha mafundo saba*), in which seven knots have been made by a *mu'allim*, who recited the *Sura Yâ Sin* over them.

A. WERNER.

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STUDIES IN INDIAN PAINTING. A Survey of some new material ranging from the commencement of the seventh century to *circa* A.D. 1870. By NĀNĀLĀL CHAMANLĀL MEHTA, Indian Civil Service. With 17 plates in colour and 44 half-tone plates. Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., 1926.

This attractive volume is a noteworthy addition to the literature on Indian painting, and, apart from the beauty of its setting, has the merit of presenting much new and hitherto unpublished material. Mr. Mehta has had access to the private collections of the Mahārājās of Datia and Tehri-Garhwal, and on the basis of the paintings he has found there has been able to devote two interesting chapters to Bundela art of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and to the Pahāri painting of the same period. Equally new are the secular paintings of Gujarat about the middle of the fifteenth century, and the portraiture of the Jaipur school at the close of the eighteenth, together with some Vaishnava pictures illustrating the story of Krishna, which were probably produced by the same artists. The author's account of the frescoes in the temple of Sittannavāsai, though not entirely new, will probably come as a revelation to most English readers: to these frescoes, unlike most of those that have survived in India, a definite date, the early part of the seventh century, can be assigned, and Mr. Mehta gives ample reasons for his conclusion that they represent the artistic side of the Shaivite reaction against the doctrines of Jainism in Southern India during this period. Enough has been said to show the freshness and the variety of the subject-matter of Mr. Mehta's book, but his wide-flung net brings in still more treasures of a later date, to all of which it is not possible here to make special reference. A picture by Bichitr, representing the favourite subject of a hunting scene by night, is of interest in this country, since so many examples of this artist's work have recently been acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum; Mr. Mehta reckons him among the so-called Rajput painters, but, judging from the many times he

painted the portrait of Jahāngīr, he must have been one of the court-painters of that emperor, and he certainly followed the traditional methods of the Mughal painters.

The fine picture by Abul Hasan, the favourite painter of Jahāngīr, (Plate 27) deserves the special notice that Mr. Mehta devotes to it, for paintings by this famous artist are very rare. Mr. Mehta mentions two others; a third, a portrait of Jahāngīr is in the collection of Mr. Chester Beatty.

To many students of the work of Akbar's painters, Mr. Mehta's judgment will appear rather severe and unsympathetic, when he writes, "Moghul painting under Akbar remained an art of servile imitation and petty illustration; and barring some portraits and animal studies it cannot be considered as anything beyond the tentative beginning of a great revival" (p. 77). It is possible that Mr. Mehta has not seen the finest examples of the work of these painters, for Nādir Shāh appears to have carried off into Persia these treasures of the imperial library in Delhi, and these gradually drifted to Europe in the early part of the present century, particularly during the reign of Shāh Muzaffar ud-Dīn. The work of Akbar's painters was certainly unequal, but their illustrations of copies of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, *Kalilah wa Dimnah*, and the *Khamseh* of Nizāmī, which they made for their patron, are notable achievements in the history of pictorial art.

Herein lies one of the great obstacles in the way of the student of Indian painting—that his materials are so scattered and often difficult of access. Though many of these pictures have gone to Europe or America, India has still retained a large number, and such a work as Mr. Mehta's is especially valuable as drawing attention to such otherwise unknown treasures, and it is to be hoped that other lovers of this art in India will follow his example. The present volume is the finest book of the kind, in respect of paper, print, and illustrations, that has hitherto been brought out by any Indian press, and reflects great credit on the publishing firm that has produced it.

T. W. ARNOLD.

DIE SPRACHFAMILIEN UND SPRACHENKREISE DER ERDE. Von P. W. SCHMIDT, S.V.D. Mit einem Atlas von 14 Karten in Lithographie. 8 × 5½, pp. xvi + 596. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1926.

It is difficult, for several reasons, to review this work, which is really two books bound as one, besides the atlas. After a short

Preface and an Introduction dealing with language and linguistics in general, as well as with certain special problems. the first part of the work (to p. 267) consists of an encyclopædic account of the language families of the world on the basis of genealogical classification. The latest information is embodied, and the numerous bibliographical references in the text give succinct histories of the study of the several families and sub-groups. The most recent theories and speculations, so far as they deserve special mention, are also critically reviewed. But of course the extremely comprehensive nature of the subject-matter precludes the possibility of devoting much space to details. A full account of the special characteristics of individual languages or families is not within the scope of the book. Students of the Indo-European family of speech will no doubt be shocked to find only five pages allotted to their particular subject (of which two are taken up by a tabular classification of the sub-groups and languages concerned), while about the same amount of total space is given to the Austroasiatic family, a little more to the Austronesian, and rather more than double to the Ural-Altaic languages.

The whole of this part betrays extraordinarily wide reading and a comprehensive grasp of the immense and varied mass of material involved. A perusal of it leaves one amazed at the large number of facts which have been assimilated and co-ordinated by the author; and it would require an almost equally encyclopædic knowledge to deal with it adequately in a review. A few points in this part are open to criticism. In the table (p. 140) of Austroasiatic languages, *Sémang*, *Bërsisi* (or rather *Bësisi*) and *Jakun* should have been styled mixed languages (as certain other languages in that table are). *Jakun* has a mere minimum of Austroasiatic in its composition. The Austronesian table (p. 146) has gone wrong in its first section, Malagasy appearing twice over and heading both the Northern and Southern groups. This classification is mainly a geographical one, and it is difficult to understand why *Makasar*, *Bugis*, and *Balinese* should be thrown into the Western sub-group of the Southern group, while *Javanese* and *Dayak* are put into the Eastern one. If this line of demarcation is based (as I rather suspect) on the treatment of the "RGH sound", the position of *Balinese* in the Western sub-group is to me inexplicable. "*Tettun*" (for which read *Tettum*) and "*Kupong*" (read *Kupang*) are assigned to West Flores, but belong to Timor; and the languages of *Ceram* are not represented in the table at all.

The second part of the work is a bold effort to transcend



the genealogical classification of languages and proceed to a higher form of grouping based on the phenomena of phonetics, grammar, and syntax. This is then made the basis for a still bolder attempt to correlate these higher syntheses with culture areas. The idea is, I believe, a novel one, and the treatment is exceedingly ingenious. While full of admiration for the skill with which the author has presented his thesis, I cannot honestly say that I am convinced by it. There seem to me to be formidable difficulties over which he has passed rather lightly. Not feeling competent to sit in judgment on such deep matters, I will confine myself to noting down a few points that strike me. An abler *advocatus diaboli* is welcome to embody them in his brief if he has any use for them.

In the first place, the cultural side of the question is still more or less of a battlefield between different schools of anthropology, and it seems to me to be premature at present to attempt to correlate it with the linguistic data. Even to speak of any actually living stage of culture as an "Urkultur", and to equate other existing types with some of the palaeolithic cultures (p. 14) seems hardly safe. Who can say with certainty that what we find in existence is always a primary form, and not a case of degeneration? Both in this part of the discussion and in the linguistic portion leading up to it, I venture to think that the author makes rather too free play with hypotheses of diffusion, the *deus ex machina* of some anthropologists and linguists. Save for interference of this sort, he seems to consider both culture and language as being almost static entities. My own view is that both, but especially the latter, are always in process of undergoing slow and subtle changes, quite irrespective of any that are fairly attributable to outside influences. Now and then the author has a shrewd knock at the theory of evolution. From his point of view that is quite natural, but I venture to think that the theory has not yet said its last word; it is still undergoing its own evolution, and is likely to survive the impact of many such dialectic shocks. That question, however, is one which it would be out of place to discuss here, and the evolutionists may well be left to fight their own battles themselves.

My own concern is rather with the author's linguistic statements, which, according to my judgment, sometimes stand in need of some modification. In the phonetic section of his argument he speaks of the "abnormal" vowels *ö* and *ü* and their distribution as if they were always homogeneous phenomena. His definition of them (p. 275) shows that he means what we call rounded front vowels (though he

would prefer "with protruded lips" to "rounded"). But in dealing with their distribution area he includes such sounds as the Japanese *u*, which, like the corresponding sound in Siamese, is an unrounded back vowel, and the Indonesian neutral vowel, which is an unrounded vowel in a central or mid position. He is far too learned a phonetician not to be aware of these very fundamental differences of formation, and should not, in my opinion, have put such distinct sounds under the same rubric. Nor do I see how he can be justified in imputing them to any particular stage or area of cultural development; for who can say that some of them, at any rate, are not secondary and even fairly late formations, as, in fact, the real *ō* and *ü* sounds in French and German are known to be? The same difficulty is, of course, involved in all these deductions from linguistic data. Even when due weight has been given to the necessarily hypothetical conclusions of comparative philologists in reconstructing "original mother-tongues", we cannot by means of the linguistic data be sure of getting back to the probably very remote periods when the various more or less "early cultures" severally began.

How, for example, can we feel certain that a system of final sounds confined to vowels (p. 311 *seq.*), though not the most archaic system, is a very old one, and specially associated with the totemistic and hunting form of culture? Apparently we are asked to believe that at the really primitive stage of "Urkultur" there were final consonants, that they disappeared in the totemistic culture, and reappeared in the matrilineal one. But we know, for example, that in Malagasy and Bugis (p. 297) the preference for vowel endings is a secondary phenomenon, just as it is in Italian, and that in Malagasy it is an even more recent one. Bugis has dropped nearly all its former final consonants, Malagasy, on the other hand, has tacked on vowels after them. The two processes are fundamentally contrary to each other. And can either of them be really correlated with a tendency to revert to totemism or hunting? It would certainly be difficult to prove that the agricultural, seafaring, and trading Bugis are more totemistic than the Malays, any more than are the Italians as compared with their Roman predecessors.

It is hard to believe that the contact of various languages which put the genitive before the word qualified by it should give rise to the reverse position (pp. 465, 536), as is alleged to have happened in connexion with the matrilineal stage of culture. To begin with, it seems an improbable idea that men were commonly in the habit of

marrying not merely outside their clan and dialectic group, but outside their own language group as well, and so had to learn a completely foreign form of speech. Such a case can scarcely have been the normal one. But, in any event, if one fact in linguistics is more positively ascertained than another, it is that people tend to speak a newly acquired language after the manner of their own mother-tongue, particularly as regards phonetics and syntax. As, therefore, *ex hypothesi*, the languages and dialects of all these communities at first put the genitive before the word it qualified, it seems most unlikely that a man of one tribe learning the language of another would proceed to talk it in a way contrary to the received usage of both.

In regard to the whole question of the position of the genitive and such other syntactic arrangements the author does not apparently recognize the fundamental importance of the distinction between free and fixed syntactical order. In inflected languages the order can be free, and therefore I should be prepared to contend that the only relevant evidence of order is to be found in bare collocation of words and in word composition where no inflexions or particles (such as prepositions and postpositions) come into play. It may be that in the earliest Indo-European the genitive normally preceded the qualified word. But as it was an inflected genitive, it could perfectly well have its position reversed without altering the sense or giving rise to any ambiguity. In Latin, for example, the genitive occurs quite normally after the word qualified (e.g. the archaic *pater familias*) as well as before it, and such old-fashioned proper names as *Maison Dieu* and *Port Vendres* (*portus Veneris*) illustrate the fact that colloquial Latin handed down the postfixed genitive to mediæval French. The same argument, in inflected languages, applies to the accusative as object of a verb, to the nominative as subject, and to the attributive adjective; when there is no opening for ambiguity, syntactical order can afford to be free and can be modified at the taste and fancy of the speaker for reasons of emphasis, rhythm, euphony, prosody, etc. Even where there is no inflection, as in Malay, the subject can follow an intransitive verb without danger of ambiguity, for it cannot possibly be taken for the object, inasmuch as such a verb cannot have a direct object. The author suggests (p. 471) that the position of the subject pronoun before the verb in Batak, Malay, Dayak, and Javanese is to be connected with their geographical position in relation to the lesser Sunda islands ("die Kleinen Molukken"), where there are languages which put the genitive before the noun qualified. This seems highly improbable

when one considers that these Eastern islands are more than 1,500 geographical miles from the nearest extremity of Sumatra, that the historic streams of culture have been going for at least two thousand years not from them to the westward but in the opposite direction, and that the position of the genitive in the Western islands has for a thousand years or more remained firmly fixed *after* the qualified word.

There remain to be noticed a few misprints and errors of statement occurring here and there in a work which (so far as I am able to judge) is, on the whole, commendably free from them. For "Intigierung" (p. 8) read Infigierung; "for "Lingustik" (p. 28), Linguistik; for "Hindu" (p. 43), Hindi; for "Berswick" (p. 80), Berwick; for "JTAS." (p. 137), JRAS.; for "Panlohi" (p. 143), Paulohi; for "Amandanesischen" (p. 283), Andamanesischen. It is not the case, as stated on p. 284, that Burmese and Siamese have no voiced consonants. Siamese has *b* and *d*, to which Burmese adds *g* (besides two fricatives and an affricate). Surely the double initial consonants of Austroasiatic languages are due, not to a striving to maintain an ideal monosyllabism (p. 295), but to the stress accent persisting on the final root syllable and so tending to break down, by a quite unconscious process, the old system of prefixes and infixes (the growth of which in itself can hardly be considered compatible with adhesion to strict monosyllabism). The Sēnoi (or Sakai) should not have been styled pygmoids, and they do possess a word for "three" (p. 363); for "austronesischen" (p. 374) read austroasiatischen. On pp. 397, 480, 482, there are some erroneous statements with regard to the position of the accusative in certain languages: in Chinese it normally comes after the verb, and that is also the case in Siamese and Annamese, but in Burmese and other Tibeto-Chinese languages it precedes the verb. On p. 432 there is a reference to p. 432, *supra*, which must, I think, be corrected to p. 430.

The atlas accompanying the work is well designed, though some of the maps are rather overloaded with detail. On the whole they are, however, very helpful. It strikes one as a little grotesque to find (on maps I and III) the Malay Peninsula south of lat. 7° N. divided about equally between the Thai-Chinese and Austroasiatic families, seeing that the native-born population is overwhelmingly of Austronesian stock. Mon is given an extension to latitude 20° N., whereas it barely reaches 17°. Khmer is similarly and wrongly extended to the mouths of the Mekhong on the China Sea, where Annamese has now been

predominant for about two hundred years. Palaung is indicated only to the east of the Salween, but the Palaungs live largely to the west of that river, and the one surviving Palaung state is in the latter region. These points are, however, all of quite secondary importance, and do not materially affect the general utility of the atlas.

The work as a whole will remain for many years a standard book of reference on the subjects with which it deals.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

THE PHONETICS OF THE ZULU LANGUAGE. By CLEMENT M. DOKE.  
M.A., D.Litt. pp. 310. The University of the Witwatersrand  
Press, 1926. 15s. 6d.

Dr. Doke's careful and minute study of the sounds and tones of Zulu and of the part which these play in the grammar of Zulu is a very valuable contribution to the science of phonetics.

Dr. Doke has recorded his observations with the utmost precision by using an extremely "narrow" phonetic transcription throughout; and there is some justification for the adoption of such a transcription for the purpose of a detailed scientific analysis. He has described precisely and recorded unambiguously each sound of Zulu<sup>1</sup>; he has dealt with the occurrence of primary and secondary stress, of length and half-length; he has analysed the tone of each individual syllable of every Zulu word he has transcribed. He has left no aspect of the subject untouched: everything is noted and clearly labelled. There are excellent diagrams, photographs, palatograms and kymograph tracings, all of which make for the clearer understanding of the descriptions given. There are six phonetic texts of which, by the way, it would be very helpful to have gramophone records. The book is full of important matter which generously runs over into a number of interesting appendices.

It may be argued that Dr. Doke has carried his enthusiasm for precision too far. Is it really necessary even for scientific accuracy to add to an already long and difficult list of sounds the bi-labial rolled plosives **p** and **b**, the glottal nasal **ŋ**, and vowels with epiglottal friction—sounds which are all interesting but so rare in Zulu that to prove their existence the queerest examples of their use have been hunted up? Dr. Doke's passion for inventing symbols leads him to

<sup>1</sup> The symbols are those of the International Phonetic Association with the addition of several others devised by Dr. Doke.

provide for sounds which do occur frequently in certain positions, but which are not worthy of special signs. Such are the labio-dental plosives **ɸ** and **ɸ̥** (excellent symbols) occurring in the groups **ɸɸf**<sup>2</sup> and **ɸɸv**; **t** and **ɖ** in the groups **tʃ**<sup>2</sup>, **tʃh**, and **ɖʒ**; **ɭ** and **ɭ̥**, which Dr. Doke terms "lateral vowels",<sup>1</sup> and which take the place of **li** and **lu** in certain definite positions. Is there really "a sharp distinction" between the Zulu nasal consonant transcribed **ɲ** and the French palatal nasal **ɲ**? In any case, the symbol **ɲ** would represent quite adequately a sound articulated somewhat further forward. In representing the clicks Dr. Doke uses, in addition to the symbols **ɔ**, **ɕ**, and **ɕ̥**, a number of others of his own device, attractive enough in outline, but calculated to daunt the bravest inquirer into the formation of the sounds they represent.

This very minuteness is, however, in keeping with Dr. Doke's aim, which is to provide a scientific basis for all further research into the comparative study of the phonetics of Bantu languages. Serious students who recognize that this aim has been well achieved will forgive a certain over-preciseness in the process.

Dr. Doke's analysis of many sounds reveals new facts about their formation. The nature of the voiced bi-labial implosive sound **ɓ** is now determined, and much light is thrown on the nature and mechanism of clicks in the excellent chapter on that subject. The chapter on Zulu Tone shows the complicated nature of tone in Zulu and its extreme importance in the acquisition of the spoken language. Dr. Doke's careful investigations in this field and his recording of the tone of each syllable may lead to the discovery of a rather simpler tonal system than he describes.

This splendid book ought to be the forerunner of many practical and reliable works on the phonetic structure of other African languages.

LILIAS E. ARMSTRONG.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Doke suggests in Appendix III new definitions for vowel and consonant by which syllabic **m**, **n**, **ɲ**, **l** are vowels. How would he define syllabic voiceless sounds such as **s**, **ʃ**, **ç** which according to his definitions are neither vowels nor consonants?



## NOTES AND QUERIES

### KERN INSTITUTE. LEIDEN

In April, 1925, a Research Institute for the study of Indian archæology was founded at the University of Leiden, Holland. The aim of the Institute (which has been named after the great Dutch orientalist, Dr. Kern) is to promote the study of Indian archæology in its widest sense, that is, the investigation of the antiquities, not only of India proper, but of Further India, Indonesia, and Ceylon, and, in fact, of all territories influenced by Indian civilization, as well as the study of the ancient history of these countries, the history of their art, their epigraphy, iconography, and numismatics.

The Kern Institute, which is now established in one of Leiden's historical buildings, is in possession of a library and of collections of photographs, slides, casts of sculptures, rubbings of inscriptions, and other materials connected with these studies. Students from abroad who wish to avail themselves of the facilities thus offered will be cordially welcomed.

The Institute has further taken in hand the publication of an "Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology", which will contain the titles, systematically arranged, of all books and articles pertaining to the field of studies outlined above. It is also proposed, in an introductory note, to survey the chief archæological discoveries made in the course of the year, with the addition, if funds permit, of a few good illustrations. The endeavour will be to render this annual bibliography as complete as possible, especially with regard to archæological publications appearing in India, which often, owing to their being published in local periodicals, remain unnoticed by scholars in Europe and America. Students of Indian archæology and allied subjects are particularly requested to supply the Kern Institute with copies of their publications. It will be possible to send copies of the proposed "Bibliography" to members of the Institute regularly.

Those who are in sympathy with the objects of the Kern Institute are invited to give their support by becoming members. Applications and inquiries should be sent to the Honorary Secretary, The Kern Institute, Leiden, Holland. The annual subscription is 5 guilders for ordinary members and 25 guilders for patrons. The payment



of 100 guilders (or 500 guilders for patrons) will entitle one to life-membership.

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M. W. DE VISSER, Ph.D.

We have been asked by the Secretary of the Indian Institute, Oxford, to publish the following letter :—

XVIII<sup>TH</sup> INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS

SIR,—At the concluding meeting of the Sixteenth International Congress of Orientalists, held in Athens in 1912, it was agreed that the next Congress should be held in Oxford. Having obtained the assent of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, and the approval of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the leading Oriental Societies in France, Italy, Germany, Holland, and in America, the members of the Oriental Faculty of Oxford University are making arrangements for holding the Seventeenth Congress here during the week beginning Monday, 27th August, 1928.

Coming after so long an interval, it is hoped that the Seventeenth Congress may be notable not only for its truly international character, and the number of its participants, but also for the importance and originality of the communications made to it.

I am desired to say that the Oriental Faculty of Oxford University would be grateful for an assurance of public support, and for any publicity which your Society can give to the proposals now made. A Circular Bulletin with fuller information as to membership, arrangement of sections, and other matters is being prepared, and will shortly be issued.

C. N. SEDDON,  
*Secretary.*

INDIAN INSTITUTE, OXFORD.  
21st April, 1927.

## OBITUARY

### Le Professeur Maurice Delafosse

Le 13 Novembre dernier, le Professeur Maurice Delafosse est mort à Paris, après une longue maladie, à l'âge de 56 ans.

Savant ethnologue et linguiste distingué, il avait débuté en 1895 dans les Services Civils de l'Afrique Occidentale française, et terminé sa carrière administrative comme Gouverneur des Colonies. Depuis 1909 il était professeur à l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes et à l'Ecole Coloniale, Membre du Conseil Supérieur des Colonies, Membre effectif de l'Institut Colonial International de Bruxelles, Membre de la Commission de l'esclavage à Genève, Vice-Président de la Société de Linguistique de Paris.

On lui doit plusieurs travaux d'Ethnologie universellement appréciés, notamment :

Essai sur le peuple et la langue Sara ;

Un état nègre, la République de Libéria ;

Les frontières de la Côte d'Ivoire, de la Côte d'Or et du Soudan ;

Le peuple Siéna ou Sénoufo.

Haut-Sénégal-Niger (Le pays, les peuples, les langues, l'histoire, les civilisations, 3 volumes) :

Traditions historiques et légendaires du Soudan Occidental (traduites d'un manuscrit arabe inédit) :

Chronique du Fouta Sénégalais.

Tarikh el Fettâch ou Chronique du Chercheur traduite d'un manuscrit arabe inédit en collaboration avec O. Houdas.

On peut considérer ces quatre derniers ouvrages comme particulièrement importants pour l'histoire du Soudan Occidental, ils suffiraient à eux seuls à assurer à leur auteur une notoriété de bon aloi.

Mais Maurice Delafosse ne s'est pas seulement attaché à l'histoire, aux mœurs, aux coutumes des indigènes, parmi lesquels il a longtemps vécu, il s'est encore passionnément intéressé aux idiomes africains, et la partie la plus importante de son œuvre est certainement celle qui touche à la linguistique.

A peine diplômé de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes il publie en 1894 un Manuel Dahoméen consacré à la langue des Fou. Il emploie ensuite tous les instants de liberté que lui laissent ses fonctions administratives pour étudier les parlers des indigènes,

et ses investigations dans ce domaine, encore si mal connu, lui permettent bientôt de réunir le résultat de ses enquêtes dans une première série de livres d'un grand intérêt :

Essai de Manuel de la langue agni (idiome parlé par les agni-ashanti de la Côte d'Ivoire).

Manuel de Langue Haoussa.

Essai de Manuel pratique de la Langue Mandé.

Vocabulaires comparatifs de plus de 60 langues ou dialectes parlés à la Côte d'Ivoire et dans les contrées voisines.

Ce dernier ouvrage, publié en 1904, renferme tous les renseignements recueillis par Maurice Delafosse auprès des indigènes pendant neuf années. Il porte sur de nombreux parlers jusqu' alors inconnus, complète et confirme des observations faites par d'autres savants, et permet un premier groupement des familles d'après leur parenté. Le Professeur Delafosse devait travailler jusqu'à la fin de sa vie à établir une classification rationnelle des idiomes négro-africains qui n'appartiennent pas au rameau bantou.

Quelques années plus tard, en 1912, il consacre une partie de son livre sur le Haut-Sénégal-Niger à l'examen des langues en usage dans le Soudan, et après les avoir groupés suivant leurs affinités, en compare la phonétique, la morphologie et la grammaire. Il est ainsi amené à modifier son premier essai de classement. En même temps son attention est attirée par l'existence des classes nominales en peul, wolof et sérère d'une part, dans les parlers ewe étudiés par le Professeur D. Westermann d'autre part. Il fait porter alors ses recherches sur les langues voltaïques. Là encore les classes nominales sont manifestes partout mais tantôt elles ne se révèlent plus que par des suffixes de classes, qui semblent incorporés au radical sans accord entre le substantif et l'adjectif sans pronoms spéciaux : tantôt elles comportent des préfixes, tantôt à la fois préfixe et suffixe, tantôt enfin, il existe des pronoms distincts pour chaque classe, et l'indice de classe s'accôle à l'adjectif.

Affermi par ces constatations, Maurice Delafosse poursuit et étend ses investigations pendant plusieurs années. En 1924, il expose dans un ouvrage écrit en collaboration avec un groupe de linguistes,<sup>1</sup> les conclusions auxquelles il est parvenu, et dont il ne dissimule pas le caractère provisoire. Il propose de considérer les langues négro-africaines comme formant un ensemble caractérisé, dans lequel on

<sup>1</sup> Les langues du monde par un groupe de linguistes sous la direction de A. Meillet et M. Cohen. Paris, 1924.

peut distinguer la famille bantou de celle que forment les langues du Soudan et de la Guinée septentrionale et moyenne. Il considère que dans ce dernier ensemble seize groupes peuvent être identifiés, et énumère les parlers de chacun de ces groupes en analysant les phénomènes linguistiques qu'ils offrent.

Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de discuter la théorie soutenue par Maurice Delafosse, mais on peut rendre hommage à la simplicité et à la sincérité avec lesquelles il expose son point de vue en insistant sur les difficultés de la tâche assumée. Un pareil travail prouve l'érudition solide et étendue de l'auteur, il apporte une contribution précieuse pour la solution d'un problème qui préoccupe à juste titre les linguistes, et nous a déjà valu les études approfondies de R. N. Cust,<sup>1</sup> du Professeur D. Westermann,<sup>2</sup> de F. W. H. Migeod,<sup>3</sup> du Professeur Meinhof,<sup>4</sup> de A. Drexel.<sup>5</sup>

Les hautes qualités de Maurice Delafosse l'avaient fait choisir récemment pour diriger avec le Professeur D. Westermann le nouvel Institut International pour l'étude des langues et des civilisations africaines. Sa disparition affecte également les milieux coloniaux et les milieux proprement scientifiques dans lesquels il laisse le souvenir d'un esprit éminent, d'un savant érudit et modeste, d'un homme d'une grande bonté.

HENRI LABOURET.

<sup>1</sup> A sketch of the modern languages of Africa. Londres, 1883.

<sup>2</sup> Die Sudansprachen. Hambourg, 1911.

<sup>3</sup> The languages of West Africa. Londres, 1911-1913.

<sup>4</sup> An introduction to the study of African languages. Londres, 1915.

<sup>5</sup> Gliederung der Afrikanischen Sprachen (Anthropos, 1921-1922).



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#### NOTES ON JAPANESE LITERATURE

By S. YOSHITAKE

[In April, 1927, the School received from Mrs. H. de Watteville a large collection, comprising over 400 volumes, of Japanese books, mostly of the nineteenth century. This gift was made in memory of her brother, Lieut.-Col. E. F. Calthrop, who had during his residence as Military Attaché at Tokyo formed this valuable collection. At my request, Mr. Yoshitake has prepared the following description of the books.—EDITOR.]

IN the history of Japanese literature the Heian epoch and the Yedo period mark two golden ages with a comparatively dull and decadent interval of about 400 years between them.

Literature in the Heian period was patronized entirely by the upper classes of society who treated it merely as a means of beguiling leisure hours, with the result that it is lacking in variety, having developed scarcely beyond poems of thirty-one syllables and records of court life rendered in the form of novels or diaries. The “*Kokinshū*” (cf. A. Waley, *Japanese Poetry*), the “*Genji Monogatari*” (cf. A. Waley, *The Tale of Genji; The Sacred Tree*), and the “*Tosa Nikki*” (cf. W. Porter, *The Tosa Diary*) may be cited as representative masterpieces of the age.

The Yedo period (A.D. 1603–1867), on the other hand, is indeed an age of revival and innovation not only of literature, but also of art in



general. People were inebriated with the joy of peace secured by the Government of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and while the classics, both native and Chinese, were much studied in cultivated circles, the indifferently-educated masses enjoyed such popular works of art as *Kyōka* (a common and vulgar variety of thirty-one-syllable poems), *Haikai* (a seventeen-syllable poem), *Jōruri* (a sort of drama), and *Monogatari* (tales or romances).

It was, however, not until the latter part of the seventeenth century when the centre of literary culture had drifted from Kyōto to Ōsaka, that the *Jōruri* gained the popularity which it holds to this day. While admitting that the *Jōruri* owes so much to the great Chikamatsu Monzaemon (1653–1724) that the two are almost inseparable, the names of others who rendered valuable service to the same cause, such, for instance, as Takeda Idzumo (1691–1756) and Ki-no-Kaion (1663–1742), should on no account be forgotten.

We are now fortunately in a position to appreciate certain of their works which are contained in the donation, viz. :—

(1) *Chikamatsu Jidai-Jōruri*. Teikokubunko edition, dated 1905. A selection of those of Chikamatsu's dramas whose plots are taken from historical events, comprising :—

*Gaijin Yashima*, *Tōryū Oguri-hangwan*, *Ōhara-mondō Aoba-no-fue*, *Harami Tokiwa*, *Daishokkwan*, *Kokusenya Kassen*,\* *Kokusenya Gojitsu-no-kassen*, *Heike Nyōgo-ga-shima*, *Karafunebanashi Imakokusenya*, *Yukionna Gomai Hagoita*,\* and twelve others. Those marked with an asterisk are usually regarded as two of his three masterpieces, the third being *Soga Kwaikeizan* (cf. A. Miyamori, *Masterpieces of Chikamatsu*).

(2) *Ki-no-Kaion Jōrurishū*. Teikokubunko edition, dated 1899. A selection of Ki-no-Kaion's works, comprising :—

*Kamakura Sandaiki*, *Shijū Futatsu Haraobi*, *Yaoya Oshichi*, and twenty others, including his last composition entitled *Keisei Mugen-no-Kane*. Of these the first two are regarded as the most popular.

Some of these *Jōruri* were then staged both in Ōsaka and in Yedo : the *Sewamono*, "dramas of life and manners," in particular must have pleased vulgar minds immensely.

The popularity of the *Ukiyo-Sōshi*, romances which depicted freely the lower stratum of contemporary society, was but a natural trend of the times : Ihara Saikaku, the founder of this variety of fiction, is to the *Ukiyo-Sōshi* what Chikamatsu is to the *Jōruri*.

The *Ukiyo-Sōshi* were followed first by the *Hachimonjiya-bon* of

Yejima Kiseki and Hachimonjiya Jishō, thence by the appearance in Yedo of the *Kusazōshi*, books dealing with strange incidents and brave deeds, with numerous illustrations, with a view to increasing their popularity with women and children. Indeed, the value of these books is in the illustrations rather than in the writing itself.

The *Kusazōshi* appeared in three distinct forms: *Akahon* (lit. red book), *Kurohon* (lit. black book), and *Aohon* (lit. blue (or green) book, but was actually covered in yellowish green). The colour of the last named was later changed to yellow, and was called *Kibyōshi* (lit. yellow cover). This, with the *Sharebon*, another variety of *Kusazōshi*, formed a new branch of fiction, i.e. the novelettes which openly exposed the inner workings of human nature and which abound in humour and sarcasm.

At the time when the *Kusazōshi* were entertaining the populace of Yedo, the *Yomihon* made its appearance in Kyōto and in Ōsaka. The *Yomihon*, as the name suggests, is really a book to be read, and hence does not contain so many illustrations as the *Kusazōshi*. In the earliest stage of the *Yomihon* the authors copied the style of Chinese novels, as may be seen in the preface to the *Kokon Kidan Shigeshige-Yawa*, in which the author, Tsuga Teishō (also known by the name of Kinro Gyōja), one of the pioneer writers of the *Yomihon*, declares that his idea has been taken from the *Pai yüan mei ling* (白猿梅嶺) and the *Tu shih niang* (杜十娘).

(3) *Kokon Kidan Shigeshige-Yawa*, published in 1766. A collection of strange and wonderful tales, being a sequel to the *Kokon Kidan Hanabusa-zōshi*, written by the same author. Unfortunately the work in our collection consists of five volumes only, the first volume of the six, forming the complete work, being missing.

Later, with the activity of Santōan Kyōden (1761-1816) and Takizawa Bakin (1767-1848), came the most prosperous age of the *Yomihon*. Chinese novels, first introduced to the public of Japan by Tsuga Teishō and a few others, provoked general admiration for the novel ideas and extravagant language of the Chinese: contemporary scribblers able to read Chinese ventured to read and translate the fictional works of the Celestial Empire extensively as a means of profit. The two cited above, however, stand high above the common run.

Indeed, Bakin, a man of rare talents and untiring energy, is said to have written altogether no fewer than 400 distinct stories in 1,400 volumes. The fluency of his style of writing and the extent of his

power of imagination may be seen in the two works of his which we now possess.

(4) *Shinhen Kimbeibai* (*New Chin P'ing Mei*), ten chapters in twenty volumes, complete with illustrations by Kuniyasu, Kunisada, and Toyokuni, dated 1831-47. Although the general structure of the story has been modelled after the Chinese novel known as the *Chin P'ing Mei* (金瓶梅), the earlier chapters are Bakin's own composition. Throughout the work, such characters and actions as would induce morality are substituted for the lewd figures and unseemly conduct of the original.

(5) *Keisei Suikoden* (*Shui huo chuan* of Enchantresses), with illustrations by Toyokuni; dated 1825.

Bakin, again in this novel, has, for moral purposes, substituted 108 wise and brave women for the same number of bad characters of the Chinese original, the *Shui huo chuan* (水滸傳), hence the title of the story. Most unfortunately we possess only the first chapter.

These two works, along with the renowned *Hakkenden*, constitute his three masterpieces composed when he was gradually losing the sight of his eyes. In fact, the last two chapters of the *Kimbeibai* were written down by a disciple to whom the story was dictated by the blind novelist.

In addition to the above we are also in possession of the following ghost story of his.

(6) *Sesshōseki Gojitsu-no-Kwaidan*, illustrated by Eisen. Four chapters in eight books, complete; dated 1825-31.

Bakin also wrote some "Kibyōshi", of which we have one, a story of revenge, entitled:—

(7) *Kataki-uchi Zakone-monogatari*, with illustrations. Two chapters, each in three books, complete; dated 1806.

The wide spread of artistic culture compelled the writers of the *Yomihon*, books for reading containing comparatively few illustrations, to seek artistic pictures for their books in order to satisfy the trained eyes of contemporary readers. Thus Bakin, the leading light of the then literary world, joined hands with Katsushika Hokusai, a distinguished painter of Ukiyoe, while Kyōden went into partnership with Utagawa Toyokuni. The literary style of Bakin, a style half-way between the classical and the common with a well-balanced mixture of native and Chinese vocables, may well be compared with Hokusai's style of painting, which reveals his introduction of the Ming and European schools into Ukiyoe. The present donation includes:—

(8) *Hokusai Manguwa* (miscellaneous sketches), dated 1819-34. Unfortunately our collection lacks the fifth and seventh of the complete twelve volumes.

Of the contemporary literary works, we are in possession of the following three stories by Santō Kyōzan, the younger brother of Kyōden.

(9) *Ninjō-Kyōkun Chiritsuka-monogatari*, illustrated by Toyokuni; dated 1850. Our collection wants the first book of the first chapter of the three contained in the complete work.

(10) *Kikujudō Kasumi-no-Sakadzuki*, illustrated by Toyokuni; dated 1850. The plot has been taken from the stories in the *Shōkyūki*, an account of the rebellion in the *Shōkyū* period (1219-21). The collection lacks the tenth and last chapter.

(11) *Oshiyegusa Nyōbō-Katagi*, illustrated by Toyokuni and Kunisada. Twenty chapters; dated 1860. A collection of stories dealing with wise and brave women.

The humorous and satiric variety of the *Kusazōshi*, i.e. the *Kibyōshi* and the *Sharebon*, were later brought out in two bindings: one called *Chūhon* (lit. intermediate book), whose size lies between those of the *Sharebon* and the *Yomihon* (the larger of the two), and the other called *Gōkwan-mono* (lit. those which are bound together), six books of five sheets each forming two chapters bound together.

The *Chūhon*, from the point of view of subject-matter, may be divided into two classes: the first, the *Kokkeibon*, books of humour represented by the *Dōchū Hizakurige* (a journey on shanks' mare), by Jippensha Ikku, or by the *Ukiyofuro* (The World's Bath-house), by Shikitei Samba, and the next, the *Nunjōbon* (lit. sentiment book), which ventured to depict the world of dissipation without the least show of modesty.

The stories by Samba contained in the present donation, however, are of a different type, viz. :—

(12) *Kataki-uchi Yadoroku-no-Hajimari*, illustrated by Toyokuni. Ten chapters in one volume, complete; dated 1808. A story of revenge modelled after the fable known by "Kondōdon-no-Meiken".

(13) *Kyōkaku Konjin-Chōgorō Chūkō-Banashi*, illustrated by Kunisada. Complete, three chapters in one book; dated 1809?

But, on the other hand, the nature of the *Kokkeibon* may be found in the following book by Akatsuki-no-Kanenari, one of the followers of Kyōden.

(14) *Akan Sanzai Zue*. Six volumes, complete: dated 1821.

*Akan* (lit. untired), *Sanzai* (lit. spending money for pleasure), *Zue* (lit. pictures), a book of humour and satire modelled after Terajima's *Wakan* (lit. Japan and China) *Sansai* (lit. the three forces) *Zue* (lit. pictures), i.e. "Sino-Japanese encyclopædia of universal knowledge", which is an adaptation of the Chinese *San ts'ai t'u hui* (三才圖會) by Wang Ch'i (王圻).

The *Ninjōbon* attained the height of coarseness with the appearance of Tamenaga Shunsui (1789–1842), whose best-known works may be found in our present collection.

(15) *Umegoyomi*; *Harutsuge-dori*, with illustrations. Teikoku-bunko edition, dated 1906. Comprising: *Shunshoku Umegoyomi*, *Shunshoku Tatsumi-no-Sono*, *Shunshoku Eitaidango*, *Shunshoku Umemibune*, *Harutsuge-dori*, *Shunshoku Magaki-no-Ume*, *Haru-no-Wakakusa*. This almost exhausts Shunsui's popular works.

We are also in possession of the following of his minor works:—

(16) *Kwōtō Shinwa Tamausagi*, with illustrations. Complete in four books.

(17) *Wōgonsui Daijin-Sakadzuki*, illustrated by Kuniteru, Kunisada, Kuniyoshi, and Yoshiiku. First seventeen chapters; dated 1866. A biography of Kinokuniya Bunzaemon (1669–1734), a man of speculative disposition, who is said to have made a large fortune by first transporting the Kishū Mikan (tangerines produced in his native province, Kii-no-kuni) to Yedo.

(18) *Usu-omokage Maboroshi Nikki*, illustrated by Kunisada. Chapters i and ii only of thirty chapters; dated 1864.

The *Gōkwan-mono*, of which Samba is the founder, differ from the *Kibyōshi* in that they are instructive and dramatic rather than humorous and satirical like the *Kibyōshi*. Consequently, for the plot historical events are preferred to domestic affairs. The dramatic touch with which the story was written made these contemporary novels full of variety. Moreover, as might be expected from something which was evolved from the *Ezōshi* (picture books), the *Gōkwan-mono* are much more beautifully got-up than the *Yomihon*, and are provided with excellent illustrations. An easy but elaborate style of writing was sought in order to make the book attractive for the women of the time.

All these qualities are best exhibited by Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783–1842), the author of the famous *Nisemurasaki Inaka-Genji*, an adaptation of the *Genji Monogatari*. We possess the following works of his, the first being one of his masterpieces.

(19) *Kantan Shokoku Monogatari*: dated 1849-57. An adaptation of dramas, consisting of *Ōmi-no-maki*, *Dewa-no-maki* (in four books), *Yamato-no-maki* (in six books), *Harima-no-maki* (in six books), illustrated by Kunisada; continued by Rittei Senkwa: *Ise-no-maki*, *Tōtōmi-no-maki* (in six books), illustrated by Toyokuni; *Settsu-no-maki* (in ten books), illustrated by Sadahide. A sequel to the above in six books, illustrated by Kunisada.

(20) *Midzuki-no-mai Ōgi-no-Nekobone*, illustrated by Kunisada. Two chapters complete in one volume; dated 1823. The plot is taken from the "Nekomata", one of the older "Jōruri".

(21) *Fude-no-Umi Shikoku-no-Kikigaki*, illustrated by Kunisada. Chapters i-x of the fifteen chapters forming the complete work; dated 1866. An adaptation of stories told by a party of pilgrims who made a tour round the island of Shikoku.

(22) *Warabe-Uta Myōmyōguruma*, illustrated by Kunisada. Chapters i-xv of the thirty chapters forming the complete work; dated 1862. A book, written for young people, in which an endeavour is made to expound the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul and the certainty of retribution.

(23) *Nedzumi-no-Hokora Tsuga-monogatari*, illustrated by Kunisada. Chapters i-v of ten forming the whole; dated 1874. An adaptation of a strange tale told by a pilgrim.

We also have a collection of Tanehiko's short stories, entitled:—

(24) *Tanehiko Tampen Kessaku-shū*, Teikokubunko edition, dated 1902, comprising:—

"Onna-Gappō Tsujidangi," "Onna-Moyō Inadzuma-zome," "Ukiyogata Rokumai-byōbu," and twenty-seven others.

It is well to note here that the publication of the Teikokubunko edition has long since come to an end, hence even second-hand copies are not available now without difficulty.

Tanehiko also took over a number of works started by other writers, and brought some of them to completion, as will be seen from the following we now possess.

(25) *Musume-Teikin Kogane-no-Niwatori*, complete in five chapters, of which chapters i-iii were written by Kyōzan, chapter iv by Senkwa, and chapter v by Tanehiko. The book is illustrated throughout by Kunisada; dated 1861. It is a story of a love affair between the only son of a rich father and a geisha girl. Santō Kyōzan wrote the first chapter of this story when he was 88 and the third chapter at the age of 91.

(26) *Akegarasu Sumie-no-Uchikake*; dated 1861-8. Chapters i-iii were written by Santei Shumba, and chapters iv-xii were written by Tanehiko. The book is illustrated throughout by Kunisada. Owing to the incompleteness of the work in our collection we cannot be certain whether Tanehiko continued it further or not.

(27) *Hanafūji Tsubomi-no-Tamadzusa*, complete. Chapters i-v by Santei Shumba, chapters vi-x by Tanehiko. The book is illustrated throughout by Kunisada; dated 1874.

As will be seen from the above, Tanehiko joined hands with Utagawa Kunisada, a pupil of Toyokuni.

Of all the followers of Tanehiko the most illustrious figure is unquestionably Rittei Senkwa, the originator of the *Shiranui Monogatari*.

(28) *Shiranui Monogatari*. The work was first taken over by Tanekazu and then by Tanehiko and others, and it was not until 1883 that the book, consisting of ninety chapters, was brought to completion. The present donation contains chapters i-xxvii, xxx-part of xxxvi, xxxviii-xlii, and xlix-li; dated 1852-62. The illustrations are those of Toyokuni, Kunisada, and Yoshiiku.

The plot has been taken from two historical events; one the Amakusa rising of the Catholic propagandists (1802-3), and the other the strife of the Kuroda family.

(29) *Makuragoto Yume-no-Kayoi*, illustrated by Sadahide. Three chapters complete; dated 1835. A moral story whose plot is taken from the traditions of China and Japan.

(30) *Imose-no-Tsukiyama Nanatsugumi Ireko-makura*, illustrated by Ichiyōsai Kuniyoshi. First six chapters; dated 1853. This is a moral tale of love.

(31) *Shionoya Bunshō Kokon Sōshiawase*, illustrated by Toyokuni, Sadahide, Kuniteru, and Kunisada. First thirteen chapters; dated 1856. The plot has been taken from the Bunshō, one of the tales contained in the Otogisōshi (fairy tales).

Next come Ryūkatei Tanekazu and Nisei Tamenaga Shunsui. Of the former's works we possess:—

(32) *Kana-hōgo Ikkyū-Sōshi*, illustrated by Kuniteru and Kunisada. First twelve chapters only; dated 1852-7. The excentric exploits of Ikkyū, a Zen priest, told in the form of a romance.

(33) *Sono-Yukari Hina-no-Omokage*; dated 1851-5. Chapters i-vi, written by Ippitsuan Shujin and illustrated by Toyokuni;

chapters vii-xi, written by Tanekazu; chapters xii-xiv, written by Senkwa, illustrated by Kunisada. A moral tale.

Of the Nisei Shunsui's works we have the following two :—

(34) *Shin-zōho Saikoku-Kidan*, illustrated by Kunisada and Yoshitora. Complete in twenty chapters; dated 1867-75.

(35) *Hokusetsu-Bidan Jidai-kagami*, illustrated by Kunisada. First twenty-nine chapters; dated 1863. A collection of moral tales for women and children.

We also have in our collection several of the contemporary minor works, viz. :—

(36) *Koiguruma Yodo-no-Kawasemi*, by Ryūsutei Tanekiyo, illustrated by Kunisada and Kunitsuna. First six chapters; dated 1861.

(37) *Kanadehon Chūshingura*, by Santei Shumba, illustrated by Kunisada. Complete in one book; dated 1862.

(38) *Takejo Ichidaiki (Kogane-no-Hana Sakuragi Sōshi)*, by Gyokuransai Shujin, illustrated by Sadahide. Four chapters, each in two books, complete; dated 1848. A biography of a woman named Take of the latter part of the sixteenth century, who was a devout believer in Buddhism.

(39) *Yumiharidzuki Haru-no-Yūbae*, by Rakutei Seiba, illustrated by Kuniteru and Yoshitora. Twenty-four chapters, complete; dated 1847-67. An adaptation of Bakin's *Yumiharidzuki*.

(40) *Gosho-zakura Baishōroku*, by Kwakutei Shūga, illustrated by Kunisada and Yoshitora. First eleven chapters; dated 1866. A life of Sugawara Michizane, a loyalist and scholar of the ninth century, told in the form of a romance.

(41) *Kinkwa Shichi-henge*, by Kwakutei Shūga, illustrated by Kunisada and Toyokuni. First thirty-one chapters; dated 1870.

It will be seen from the above that the present donation comprises almost all varieties of the popular literature of the Yedo period. Popular as their nature is, the books mentioned above are more or less valuable in view of the fact that millions of such works of literature, if not the original wood-blocks, were undoubtedly destroyed by the recent earthquake.

Besides those quoted above, we also have some interesting pieces of literature, of which we may mention the following :—

(42) *Tsuredzure-gusa*, with illustrations. Complete in two volumes; dated 1703. The famous work of the hermit Yoshida Kenkō (1283-1350); a confession of his pessimistic view of life.



(43) *Tsuredzure-gusa Bundanshō*, by Kitamura Kigin, revised by Suzuki Kōkyō. Complete in three volumes. A well-known commentary on the *Tsuredzure-gusa*.

(44) *Jokun Hyakunin-Isshu Kikan* with *Onna Daigaku* and *Onna Imagawa*: dated 1844. These are three important books on culture for women of the last century: *Hyakunin Isshu*, "100 poems by 100 poets," said to have been selected by Fujiwara Teika (807-86); *Onna Daigaku*, a book that teaches women manners and etiquette; and *Onna Imagawa*, a composition prepared for practice in hand-writing.

(45) *Hyakunin Isshu* with *Onna Imagawa* and letter-writer for women, dated 1850. A similar work to the above.

(46) *Jōzan Kidan*, including *Amayo-no-Tomoshihi*, by Yuasa Jōzan. Complete in thirty volumes. A collection of anecdotes of warriors in the period of the civil wars (*circa* 1490-1600).

(47) *Shikigusa*, by Ise Teijō. Complete in seven volumes. A description of the manners and ancient practices of the older military families.

(48) *Nihon Gwaishi*, by Rai Sanyō. Complete in six volumes; dated 1864. Sanyō's famous history of Japan, written in Chinese.

(49) *Shichisho Seigi*, by Seki Shigehide. Complete in four volumes; dated 1842. Seven military works of China.

(50) *Shōgaku*. Complete in two volumes; dated 1881. The lesser learning (小學).

I am indebted to Mr. H. J. Cant for his kind assistance in the above investigation.

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## SOME MONGOLIAN MAXIMS

By S. YOSHITAKE

OF all the literary languages of Asia, the one to which in this country least attention has been paid is perhaps the language of the Mongols. No grammar or dictionary of any importance has ever been compiled in English; the study of the Mongolian language has in fact been almost monopolized by Russian and Scandinavian scholars, although some valuable contributions to the same cause have been made also by French, German, and Japanese scholars, published, however, in their own languages.

This is to be greatly regretted, for the Mongolian literature which dates from the fourteenth century is not only invaluable from the philological point of view, but is also full of literary interest.

With a view to fostering the study of the Mongolian language in this country I here give a translation and transliteration of the opening chapter of the first volume of J. S. Kowalewski's *Chrestomathy*,<sup>1</sup> with a brief explanation of the words contained in the text. In dealing with the grammar, I have for the most part followed Schmidt<sup>2</sup> and Kowalewski.<sup>3</sup>

### § 1. TRANSCRIPTION

We have as yet no accurate knowledge of the sounds of the letters of the Mongol alphabet, and each scholar uses his own system of transcription.<sup>4</sup>

In the present paper I have followed mainly the transcription adopted by Dr. Ramstedt,<sup>5</sup> one of the foremost authorities on the Altaic languages. It must, however, be remembered that Dr. Ramstedt is in no way responsible for any inaccuracy found in the phonetic equivalents to the transcription which I give below as a provisional guidance.

<sup>1</sup> О. Ковалевскій : Монгольскій хрестоматія. Томъ 1. Казань, 1836

<sup>2</sup> I. J. Schmidt, *Grammatik der mongolischen Sprache*, St Petersburg, 1831

<sup>3</sup> О. Ковалевскій : Краткая грамматика монгольскаго книжнаго языка. Казань, 1835.

<sup>4</sup> G. J. Ramstedt, "Das Schriftmongolische und die Urgamundart," § 18. *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, xxi, 2. Helsingfors, 1902.

<sup>5</sup> The relation between this system of transcription and the modern pronunciation in the eastern Khalkha dialect will be found throughout his paper "Das Schriftmongolische".

- a** = vowel sound heard in *cart*, *heart*.  
**e** = initial vowel sound heard in *there*, *air*.  
**i** = initial vowel sound heard in *queen*, *meat*.  
**o** = vowel sound heard in *all*, *board*.  
**u** = vowel sound heard in *food*, *boot*; but pronounced with less rounding of lips.  
**ö** = sound of *ö* in German, *schön*, *Höhe*.  
**ü** = sound of *ü* in German, *über*, *Bücher*.  
**q** = sound of *c* in *cool*, but with stronger aspiration.  
**g** = North German pronunciation of *g* in *Lage*, *Tage*.  
**k** = sound of *k* in *king*, *kid*.  
**g** = sound of *g* in *gift*, *give*.  
**ŋ** = sound of *ng* in *sing*, *long*.  
**č** = sound of *ch* in *cheap*, *charge*.  
**ĵ** = sound of *j* in *joy*, *jar*.  
**y** = sound of *y* in *yet*, *young*.  
**t** = sound of *t* in *table*, *talk*.  
**d** = sound of *d* in *dark*, *door*.  
**n** = sound of *n* in *nail*, *night*.  
**l** = sound of *l* in *low*, *leak*.  
**r** = Scottish trilled *r*.  
**s** = sound of *s* in *sit*, *sell*.  
**b** = sound of *b* in *bargain*, *beat*.  
**m** = sound of *m* in *men*, *mist*.

In the present transliteration :—

(1) The final vowel **a** or **e** written separate from the main part of a word is indicated by means of a dot placed before it.

(2) Particles are joined by means of a hyphen to the words whose grammatical relations with other words they serve to show, as the pronunciation of the former depends on Vowel Harmony<sup>1</sup> with the latter.

<sup>1</sup> In the Mongolian language words may be divided into two classes : front-vocalic words and back-vocalic words. To the latter belong the words which contain one at least of the vowels, **a**, **o**, and **u**, and to the former all the remaining words. This is equivalent to saying that the front vowels **e**, **ö**, and **ü**, never appear with the back vowels **a**, **o**, and **u**, in the same word. The consonants **q** and **g** are found only in the back-vocalic words.

*The accent*—According to I. J. Schmidt the accent falls in general on the first syllable of a word of two or three syllables (*Grammatik*, §§ 26, 27). This theory has been opposed by J. S. Kowalewski (Краткая грамматика, §§ 27, 28), A. Bobrovnikov (А. Бобровниковъ : Грамматика монгольского языка, §§ 20, 21, 22, СПб. 1835), and others (Ramstedt, *Das Schriftmongolische*, § 59), who maintain that it is usually the

## § 2. TRANSLATION AND TRANSLITERATION

1. *ejen-ü jarlig-i buu daba.*  
Thou shalt not disobey the command of thy master.
2. *ai jalagus buu üsü čayigsan ötegüs-i eleglegtün.*  
Do not, young people, ridicule white-haired old men.
3. *qamug čag-tur jirgagulqu masi berge buyu.*  
Always to please a person is extremely difficult.
4. *qagan-u sakiq anu albatu irgen бүлүге, albatu irgen-ü sakiq anu qagan-u čagača бүлүге.*  
The protector of the king was his taxed subject, while that of the subject was the law granted by the king.
5. *buyan kilinče qoyar-un üiles-iyer sayin magu töröl-dür törömüi.*  
Man is endowed with rebirth of bliss or of retribution according to his actions, virtuous or sinful, in a previous life.
6. *öber-i sayin kümün kemejü eremsigčin-lüge buu nöküče.*  
Refrain thou from associating with a conceited man who pretends to self-righteousness.
7. *busu yara mergen emči jasabasu anamui, magu üge-yin yara inu ogta üli бүтүмüi.*  
Injury inflicted by a slanderous tongue will never be completely righted, while that sustained otherwise can be healed, if treated by an able surgeon.
8. *olan kümün nigen oyon neyilelčebesü, küčün mektüs бүgesü-ber yeke kereg бүтүгөм.*  
Many men, though impotent as individuals, if brought to one mind, can accomplish a thing of great importance.
9. *uqagatai бүгөд surqui-dur duratai anu douratus-ača asaguqui-ban ičikü ügei.*  
A man who has thirst for knowledge and learning is not ashamed to ask questions of his subordinates.

last syllable of the word that carries the accent. This offers us a very interesting problem, particularly when we reflect upon Dr. Ramstedt's remark that there is hardly another language in which the first syllable is so strongly accented as present-day Eastern Mongolian (*Das Schriftmongolische*, § 59). With him M. Rudnev is in entire agreement (А. Д. Руднев: *Лекции по грамматике монгольского письменного языка, читанные в 1903-4 академическом году. Выпуск 1*, стр. 23, СПб. 1905; also А. Д. Руднев: *Материалы по говорам восточной монголии*, § 51, стр. 197, СПб. 1911).

While the first syllable seems to have always been accented as it is to-day, I would reserve this question of the accent as open to further study.

10. keger-e-yin galagu nisjü ülü kürkü gajar-tur kümün ner-e ba  
asig-un tula odumui.  
For fame and profit one rushes to a land which even wild-geese  
do not visit.
11. örüsiyel bolsugai kemebesü bayan bolun ülü çidamui, bayan  
bolsugai kemebestü örüsiyel bolun ülü çidamui.  
If one wishes to be compassionate, one cannot remain rich,  
and if one desires to become wealthy, one cannot remain  
sympathetic.
12. arilugsan edür-e usu urusqu jubag nüken-i selbin jasaju,  
qorjikinaju oroqu çag-tur beledtügei.  
Let us clear, while the weather is fine, the outfall of the  
gutter, which carries the water so as to be ready for the  
arrival of a heavy downpour of rain.
13. ebesü kiragun-dur darugdaqu, kiragu naran-dur darugdaqu-lug-a  
adali, magu kümün öbesüben magu kümün-dür abtagdamui.  
Just as the grass yields to the frost, and the frost to the sun,  
so is a bad man himself beaten by a bad man.
14. kümün ügekürebesü oyon inu oqor bolumui, mori eçingerebesü  
üsün inu urtu bolumui.  
When a man is impoverished his understanding fails him, when  
a horse is emaciated its hair grows long.
15. tusatan-i dayisun agsan bügesü-ber sitügdeküi, sadun agsan  
bügesü-ber qourlabasu tebçigdeküi.  
Confide in those who are useful even though they be your  
enemies, but forsake even a kinsman if he is harmful to you.
16. onça gagça qudal üge ögüleksen kümün inu, ünün üge kelebeçü  
sejig sedkil törömüi.  
A man who has but once lied raises suspicion even when he  
speaks the truth.
17. sijir altan kedüi kerçin sitagaqu bolbaçu, mön kü tere önge inu  
ebderekü ügei bui.  
No matter how one may cut a plate of rolled gold or throw it  
into the fire its natural colour is never destroyed.
18. ganga müren usun inu amta sayitu atala, dalai-dur kürçü  
çidqubasu dabusutu bolumui.  
The water of the river Ganges is sweet and delicious, but once  
it reaches and empties itself into the sea it becomes salty.

19. **galtu qoroqai-yin gerel-iyer yeke qaragğus-i geyigültküi-yi buu sedki.**

Do not attempt to illuminate black darkness with the glimmer of a glow-worm.

20. **er-e kümün bei-e-ben ed-iyer çimegsen-eçe erdem-iyer çimegsen degere bui.**

It is greater for a man to adorn himself with virtue than to bedeck his own body with riches.

21. **sine debel-i küjitü saba-dur talbibasu, tere debel-eçe küjis-ün ünür ünüstemüi.**

If a new skin-coat be kept in a scented coffer, it gives out not the smell of the coat, but the odour of the scent.

22. **jügelen usun-u urusqal anu nasuda bagubasu, çag-tagan qabtagai çilagun-i nükelen çidayu, sirgün sirgütele modun-aça gal garqu bolugad, maltan maltatala gajar-aça usun garqu boluyu, kümün kiçiyegsen-iyer ülü bütükü yagum-a ügei, kiçiyekü-yin jüil-iyer tugurbıgısan bügüde ür-e-tü boluyu.**

If water runs softly but continuously, it will in course of time make a hole in a flat stone. A piece of wood, if rubbed repeatedly, will eventually catch fire. Further, if ground be dug deeper and deeper, water will finally issue forth from the earth. So also with man's work. There is nothing that cannot be accomplished with untiring labour. All the doings of man are rewarded in proportion to his efforts.

23. **dabasi ügei dabagan bui kemen sonustamui, ker dabaqu kemen buu sedki, dabai-a kemen sedkibesü dabayu. getülüsi ügei müren bui kemen sonustamui, ker getülkü kemen buu sedki, getülüi-e kemebesü getülüyi.**

When you hear of the existence of an uncrossable mountain, do not be lost in thinking how to go over it. You will succeed, if you are determined to accomplish. When you hear of the existence of an unfordable river, do not be lost in thinking how to cross it. You will succeed, if you are determined to accomplish.

24. **modun-aça unagsan nabçi qarin ülü buçayu, yeke usu-u urusqal kiged, salkin-u jalgal çu anqan-u orun-dagan ülü buçayu, tere üliger metü ükügsen amitan nugud çu urida-yin gajar-tagan toq ülü ergikü bülüge.**

Fallen leaves will not return to the tree on which they grew.

Running water and blowing wind will not return to their sources. So will the dead never return to life.

25. *jun-u čag-tur agulan-du mal-ıyan otorlagčın nugud бүгүн, tende nigen kedün qunug nara qora-yi qalqalaqu-yin tedüyiken nigen čačar bariqui-ača busu-yi ülü üiledkü inu, tegün-dür asida saguqu sanag-a ügei-yin tula, olan tübeg-ıyer sayın bayısın üli bariqu bolai, tegünčilen bide ču ab ali gajar-tur ču asida saguqui-yi sanal ügei jıl sar-a-yin qagas-tur üküküi-dür tusatu nom-i üiledkü kereg-tei.*

The herdsmen who in summer tend their cattle on the mountain each set up a tent which only suffices for a few days' shelter from sun and rain. The reason why they do not build a substantial house with greater pains is that they have no intention of living there permanently. We, likewise, without hoping to enjoy eternal life in any part of the present world, must dedicate the half of our lives to the observance of Divine teaching which brings us a great relief when we die.

### § 3. NOTES

(1) *ejen*, *master*, *owner*, *lord*, is here used in the genitive case, marked by the particle *ü*. *jarlig*, *the words of one's superior*, *command*, is in the accusative case, indicated by the particle *i*. *buu*, negative particle meaning *lest*, *that . . . not*, is used only in such context as implies command or desire. *daba*<sup>1</sup> the imperative mood, 2nd person singular, of the verb *dabaqu*, *to go beyond*, *to go over* (a mountain, etc.).

(2) *ai*, interjection, *Oh! Ah!* is often used, as in the present case, before a noun in the vocative case. *jalagus*, plural of *jalagu*, *youth*, *youthfulness*, is in the vocative case, the case particle being suppressed. *üsü*, also written *üsün*, *hair*, is here in the genitive case, the case particle being left out. *čayıgsan*, the past participle of the verb *čayıqu* *to become white*, *to turn grey* (of hair), is used as an adjective, qualifying the noun *ötegüs*. *ötegüs*, plural of *ötegi*, *old man*, is the grammatical object of *eleglegtün*, the imperative mood, 2nd person plural, of *eleglekü*, *to laugh at*, *to mock*. Notice that the negative particle *buu* is, in the present construction, placed away from the verb which it negates. Such separation, as found here, of the particle

<sup>1</sup> According to Dr. Ramstedt this imperative form is also used for a command given to more than one person (G. J. Ramstedt: "Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-mongolischen," S 61. *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, xix. Helsingfors, 1903).

# CORRECTION

For gangga, p. 692, l. 4 (from bottom), p. 699, l. 7, read ganga.



buu is often met with in later compositions, particularly in translation works from Manchu.

(3) **qamug**, *all*. **čag**, *time, season*, is in the dative case marked by the particle **tur**; thus **qamug čag-tur** means *at all times*, hence *always*. **jirgagulqu**, *to please some one*, the infinitive of the causative form of **jirgaqu** *to rejoice, to be glad*, is used here as a noun in the nominative case. **masi**, *very, very much*. **berge**, *difficult*. **buyu**, the indicative present, 3rd person singular or plural, of the substantive verb **bükü**, *to be*.

(4) **qagan**, *king, Khan*, used in the genitive case marked by the particle **u**, serves here to qualify **sakiqu**, *to defend, to protect*, the infinitive mood used as a noun in the nominative case, indicated by the particle **anu**, with the meaning *protection, protector*. **albatu**, an adjective derived from the noun **alba** or **alban**, *duty, tax, tribute*, is here made to modify the noun **irgen**, *people, subject*. **bülüge** is the indicative perfect of **bükü**, *to be*, for which see also (3). **čagaža**, *law, rule, right*.

(5) **buyan**, *virtue, good turn, meritorious deeds*, is contrasted with **kilinče**,<sup>1</sup> *sin, trespass*, the conjunction *and* being understood between the two nouns. **qoyar**, *two*, is here treated as a noun and is put, together with the preceding nouns, in the genitive case marked by the particle **un**. **üiles**, the plural form of **üile**, *action, conduct, work*, is in the instrumental case indicated by the particle **iyer**, *by, with, according to*. Thus **buyan . . üiles-iyer** means literally *in accordance with the actions, both virtuous and sinful*. **sayin**, *good*, and its antonym **magu**, *bad*, correspond to the foregoing nouns, **buyan** and **kilinče**. **töröl**, *birth, revival*, used here in the dative case marked by the particle **dür**, is a verbal noun derived from the verb **törökü**, *to be born, to give birth to, to generate*, whose indicative present is **törömüi**, *is (am, art, are) born*. After **sayin** is understood the word **töröl**.

(6) **öber**,<sup>2</sup> *self, oneself*. **kümün**, *person, man*. **kemejü**, *saying, calling*, is one form of the gerund imperfective of the verb **kemekü**,<sup>3</sup> *to say, to call, to mean*. **eremsigčün**, *boaster*, a noun derived from the present participle **eremsigči**, *boasting, boaster*, of the verb **eremsikü**, *to rely upon, to boast*, is here in the co-operative (or sociative) case

<sup>1</sup> For the final vowel of this word Kowalewski gives **a**, but I have here followed Schmidt and Dr Ramstedt (G J Ramstedt, "Zur Verbstammbildungslehre der mongolisch-türkischen Sprachen," S. 65 *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, xxviii. Helsingfors, 1912).

<sup>2</sup> This may be read **über** (Paul Pelliot: "Les mots à H initiale, aujourd'hui amuie, dans le mongol des xiii<sup>e</sup> et xiv<sup>e</sup> siècles," p. 231. *Journal Asiatique*, tome ccvi, 2. avril-juin, 1925. Paris; also A. I. Рудневъ: Материалы, стр. 117).

<sup>3</sup> This may be read **gemekü** (*Zur Verbstammbildungslehre*, S. 32. 55)

marked by the particle *lüge* (together) with. *nöküče*, the stem of the verb *nöküčekü*, to be united, to be in friendship, to accompany, is the imperative mood, for which see (1).

(7) *busu*, other, otherwise, not. *yara*, strictly ulcer, is used here in the sense of wound, injury. *mergen*, able, skilled, and *emči*, physician. *jasabasu*, the conditional imperfect of the verb *jasaqu*, to correct, to take care of, to treat (disease). *anamui*, the indicative present of *anaqu*, to be cured. *üge*, word, is in the genitive case marked by the particle *yin*, qualifying the noun *yara* which is in the nominative case indicated by the particle *inu*. *ogta* signifies quite, entirely, but with the following word *ülü*, not, acquires the meaning not at all, by no means. *bütümüi*, the indicative present of the verb *bütükü*, to be completed, is used here in the sense of is healed, is cured.

(8) *olan*, many, several. *nigen*, one. *oyon*, understanding, mind. *neyilečebesü*, the conditional imperfect of *neyilečeki*, to be joined together, to agree mutually, which is in its turn the co-operative form of the verb *neyilekü*, to be joined, to agree. *küčün*, power, strength. *meküs*, poor, needy, but in combination with *küčün* means weak, impotent. *bügesü*, the conditional imperfect of the verb *bükü*, to be, ber, the instrumental case particle used with a noun ending in a vowel, serves also, as in the present case, to impart the concessive signification, though, to a verb in the conditional mood. *yeke*, great. *kereg*, need, want, absolute necessity, means, with the preceding adjective *yeke*, a thing of great importance. *bütügem*, a contracted form of *bütügemüi*, the indicative present of *bütügekü*, to accomplish, to prepare, which is in its turn the causative form of the verb *bütükü*, to be accomplished, to be prepared: cf. also (7).

(9) *uqagatai*, intelligent, sensible, is an adjective derived from the noun *uqagan*, intellect, understanding, reason, knowledge. *büged*, being, having been, is in the gerund of *bükü*, to be, but is used here in place of the conjunction and. *surqui*, learning, is a noun derived from the verb *surqu*, to learn, to study, used here in the dative case marked by the particle *dur*, since the following word *duratai* governs the dative. *duratai*,<sup>1</sup> wishing, desirous of, hoping, is an adjectival counterpart of the noun *durasil*, desire, wish, will, but is here used in the sense of one who has a wish. *douratus*, the plural form of *douratu*, lower, insignificant, which is an adjective derived from *doura*,<sup>2</sup> lower part,

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt reads this word *duratai*. I have here followed Kowalewski.

<sup>2</sup> Kowalewski reads the diphthong in this word *oo*, but Dr Ramstedt is in favour of *ou* (*Das Schriftmongolische*, § 58)

*below, under*, is used here as a noun meaning *inferiors, subordinates*, and is in the ablative case indicated by the particle *āa*. *asaguqui*, *act of asking*, a noun derived from the verb *asaguqu*, *to ask, to inquire*, is here in the possessive-accusative case; thus *asaguqui-ban* means *one's own act of asking questions* (accusative). *iïkü*, also *ičekü*, *to be ashamed*. *ügei*, *no, not. without*, is a negative adverb and is used always after a verb or a noun.

(10) *keger-e*, *wilderness, desert*, is here in the genitive case. *galagu*, *goose*. Hence *keger-e-yin galagu* means *a wild-goose*. *nisju* *flying*, is the gerund imperfective of the verb *niskü*, *to fly*. *kürkü*, *to reach, to arrive*, here together with *ülü* means *does not reach*. *gajar*, *ground, land, place, province*, is in the dative case and is modified by the adjectival-clause *keger-e-yin . . . kürkü*. *ner-e*, *name*. *ba*, *and*. *asig*, *gain, advantage*. *tula*, *by reason of, for the sake of*, requires the genitive case before it. Thus *ner-e ba asig-un tula* means *for the sake of name and profit*. *odumui*, the indicative present of *odqu*, *to go (on a journey)*.

(11) *örüsiyel*, *mercy, compassion, affection*, is a noun derived from the verb *örüsiyekü*, *to take pity on, to have mercy on*. *bolsugai*, also *bolusugai*, the indicative future, 1st pers. sing., of the verb *bolqu*, also *boluqu*, *to be, to become, to be possible*, stands also for the optative mood, as in the present case. *kemebesü*, the conditional imperfect of the verb *kemekü*, for which see (6). Thus *örüsiyel . . . kemebesü*, literally means *if one wishes that one would like to be compassionate*. *bayan*, *rich*. *bolun*, *being*, is the gerund imperfective of *bolqu*, for which see above. *čidamui*, the indicative present of *čidaqu*, *to be able to. can*, always follows the gerundial form of a verb.

(12) *arilugsan*, the past participle of the verb *arilqu*, *to be clear, to be clean, to clear off* (of weather). *edür*, *day*, is here in the dative case marked by the particle *e*. Thus *arilugsan edür-e* means *on a fine and cloudless day*. *usu*, also *usun*, *water*. *urusqu*, *to flow*. *jubag*, *gutter, conduit*. *nüke*, also *nüken*, *hole, aperture*. *selbin* and *jasaju*, *repairing*, are the gerund imperfective of *selbikü* and *jasaqu* respectively, both meaning *to repair, to improve*. The gerund in Mongolian, as in Japanese, often serves to replace the conjunction *and*, when it is followed, as in the present case, by another verb. Hence *selbin jasaju* means *repair and put in order, and*. *qorjikinaju*, or correctly (?) *qorčikinaju*, the gerund imperfective of *qorčikinaqu*, *to make a noise, to rattle*, signifies here *pattering* (of rain). *oroqu*, *to enter (upon), to exchange blows*. Thus *qorjikinaju oroqu čag-tur* means *for the*

time when (the rain) comes down pattering. *beledtügei*, may you be prepared! is the optative mood, used for all persons, sing. or plur., of the verb *beledkü*, to prepare.

(13) *ebesü*, also *ebesün*, grass, herb. *kiragun-dur*, by the frost, the dative case of *kiragun*, also *kiragu*, frost, denotes the agent of the passive verb *darugdaq*, to be oppressed, which is derived from *daruqu*, to press, to oppress, to vanquish. *naran*, also *nara*, sun. *lug-a*, with, as, another form of *lüge* explained in (6), is here used in a comparative sense with the following word *adali*, same, similar, in the same manner. *öbesüben*,<sup>1</sup> self, of itself, willingly; cf. also *öber* (6). *abtagdamui*, the indicative passive present of *abqu*, to take, to seize, to take away, to bring. The usual passive form of this verb is *abtaqu* or *abugdaq*.

(14) *ügekürebesü*, the conditional imperfect of *ügekürekü*, to become poor. *oqor*, also *aqor*, short. *bolumui*, the indicative present of *bolqu*, for which see (11). Thus *oyon . . . bolumui* literally means the understanding becomes insufficient. *mori*, also *morin*, horse. *ečingerebesü*, the conditional imperfect of *ečingerekü*, correctly (?) *ečengirekü* or *ečingirekü*, to be exhausted, to waste, to grow thin. *urtu*, long, should be distinguished from *ordu*, palace, camp, the two words assuming the same form in Mongol writing. Observe the word-play on *oyon*; *üsün* and *oqor*; *urtu*.

(15) *tusatan* is the plural form of the adjective *tusatu*, advantageous (one), beneficial (one), used as a noun. This adjective is derived from the noun *tusa*, utility, advantage, benefit. *dayisun*, enemy, hostility. *agsan*, been, the past participle of the substantive verb *aqu*, to be, forms with the following word *bügesü* the conditional perfect of the same verb. For the use of *ber* after the conditional, see (8). *sitügedküi*, the imperative mood, 2nd pers. plur. of *sitükü*, to support, to depend upon, to trust. *sadun*, kinsman. *qourlabasu*, the conditional imperfect of *qourlaqu*, to do harm. *tebčigdeküi*, the imperative mood, 2nd pers. plur. of *tebčikü*, to let go, to abandon.

(16) Both *onča* and *gagča* mean single, sole, only. *qudal*, lie, false. *ögülegsen*, the past participle of *ögülekü*, to speak, to talk. *ünen*, truth, true. *kelebečü*,<sup>1</sup> even if one speaks, the concessive gerund of *kelekü*, to speak. *sejig*, doubt, suspicion. *sedkil*, thought, mind, opinion, is a verbal noun derived from *sedkikü*, to think.

(17) *sijir*, gold-leaf. *altan*, gold. *kedüi*, also *kedü*; *kedün*, how much (many), as much (many) as. *kerčün*, cut up and, the gerund of *kerčikü*,

<sup>1</sup> This may be read *übesüben*.

to cut into pieces ; cf. also (12). *sitagaqu*, to set fire to, to consume (by fire), is the causative form of *sitaqu*, to burn, to be burnt. *bolbaču*,<sup>1</sup> the concessive gerund of *bolqu*, to be, to become ; cf. also *kelebeču* (16). *mön kü*,<sup>2</sup> the same, also, so, like. *tere*, the demonstrative, that. *önge*, colour. *ebderekü*, to fall to pieces, to perish, to be spoiled. *bui*, or *büi*, is the indicative present of *bükü*, to be.

(18) *ganga müren*, the river Ganges, is here in the genitive case, the particle *ü* being understood after *müren*, river. *amta*, also *amtan*, taste, savour. *sayitu*, and *sayitai*, good, fine, are cognate with *sayin*, for which see (5). *atala* is one of the gerundive forms of *aqu*, to be, and has the meaning while . . . is, while. *dalai*, sea. *kürčü*, the gerund imperfective of *kürkü* ; cf. (10) and (12). *čidqubasu* is the conditional imperfect of *čidququ*, to pour in. *dabusutu*, salted. *salty*, is an adjective derived from the noun *dabusun*, salt.

(19) *galtu*, of fire, burning, glowing, ardent, is an adjective derived from the noun *gal*, fire. *qoroqai*, worm, insect. Thus *galtu qoroqai* means a glow-worm. *gerel*, brightness, light, is here used in the instrumental case. *qaraṅṅus*, the plural form of *qaraṅṅu*, or *qaraṅṅui*, obscurity, darkness. *geyigülküi*, the infinitive-noun derived from the verb *geyigülkü*, to illuminate, to lighten, is here in the accusative case marked by the particle *yi*. *sedki*, the imperative mood of the verb *sedkikü*, to think ; cf. also (1) and (16).

(20) *er·e*, male, man. *bei·e*,<sup>3</sup> body, self, is in the possessive-accusative case marked by the particle *ben* ; thus *bei·e-ben* means one's own body (accusative case). *ed*, thing, goods, riches. *čimegsen*, the past participle of *čimekü*, to adorn. The particle *eče* here denotes comparison, with the meaning than. *erdem*, virtue, ability, knowledge. *degere*, above, upon, beyond, superior.

<sup>1</sup> No mention is made of this verb form either by Schmidt or by Kowalewski, but A. Bobrovnikov treats it, together with the *-basu*-form and several others, under the "subjunctive mood" (Грамматика, § 65, 5, стр. 62). While giving it the name the "concessive gerund", M. Rudnev is of opinion that one should not regard it as an individual and independent verb form (Материалы, стр. 223), since it also appears in the unconnected form *-ba* (or *-be*) *ču*, which serves to show that the form in question is nothing other than the indicative preterite in *-ba* (or *-be*) followed by the particle *ču*. He also gives an example in which *ču* precedes the *-ba*-preterite (Текст, стр. 49).

<sup>2</sup> Following Kowalewski (Краткая грамматика, стр. 20) M. Rudnev reads this *mün kü* (Текст, стр. 73), but Dr. Ramstedt prefers *mön* to *mün* (G. J. Ramstedt: "Mogholica. Beiträge zur kenntnis der Moghol-sprache in Afghanistan," S. 34. Journal de la Société-Finno-ougrienne, xxiii, 4. Helsingfors, 1905).

<sup>3</sup> The usual transliteration of this word is *beye*, but the form *bei·e* is here used to show how the word is written.

(21) *sine*, *new*. *debel*, *skin-coat, garment*. *küjitü*, *odorous*, is an adjective derived from *küji*, *scent, odour*. *saba*, *vase, receptacle*. *talbibasu*, the conditional imperfect of *talbiqu*, *to put, to leave*. *debel-eče*<sup>1</sup> means here *debel-ün ünür-eče* (*more*) *than the smell of the coat*. *küjis*, the plural form of *küji*, see above. *ünür*, *smell, odour*. *ünüstemüi*, *is smelt*, is the indicative passive present of *ünüskü*, *to smell*.

(22) *jügelen*, *soft, mild, tranquil*. *urusqal*, *current, stream*. *nasuda*, *during one's life, incessantly*. *bagubasu*, the conditional imperfect of *baguqu*, *to descend, to run* (of fluid, time). *čag*, *time*, is in the possessive-dative case indicated by the particle *tagan*; thus *čag-tagan* means *in due time*. *qabtagai*, *plain, flat*. *čilagun*, *stone*. *nükelen*, the gerund imperfective of *nükelekü*, *to make a hole, to pierce through*; cf. *nüken* (12). *čidayu* is the indicative future, 3rd person, of *cidaqu*, for which see (11). *sirgün* and *sirgütele* are the gerundive forms of *sirgükü*, *to rub* (intr.); thus *sirgün sirgütele* means *while it is being rubbed*; cf. also *selbin* (12) and *atala* (18). *modun*, *tree, wood*, is here in the ablative case; meaning *from* (a piece of) *wood*. *garqu*, *to walk out, to sprout*. *bolugad*, the gerund perfective of *bolqu*, *to become*. *maltan*, *maltatala* are both the gerund imperfective of *maltaqu*, *to dig*; compare this phrase with *sirgün sirgütele* explained above. *boluyu* is the indicative future, 3rd person, of *bolqu*, *to become, to be possible*. *kičiyegsen*, the past participle of *kičiyekü*, *to be zealous, to take to*, is used here as a noun, with the meaning *toil, effort*, in the instrumental case. Thus *kümün kičiyegsen-iyer* means *with a man's toil*. *bütükü*, *to be accomplished*; but with the preceding word *ülü* it means *not to be accomplished*. *yagum-a*, *something, fact*, means, in combination with the following word *ügei*, *nothing, there is nothing*. *jüil*, *sort, quality, category*. *tugurbigsan*, the past participle of *tugurbiqu*,<sup>2</sup> *to plan, to undertake, to produce*. *bügüde*, *all*. *ür-e-tü*, *fruitful*, is an adjective derived from *ür-e*, *fruit, posterity, result*.

(23) *dabasi ügei*, *impracticable*, is a negative adjective derived from *dabaqu*, *to go over* (a mountain), with which the following word *dabagan*, *mountain*, is cognate. *kemen*, *saying*, the gerund imperfective of *kemekü*, *to say*, is here used in place of the conjunction *that*. *sonus-*

<sup>1</sup> I do not agree with Kowalewski's interpretation of this phrase, viz. "отъ щатъ," *from the garment* (Хрестоматія, приобщанія, стр. 259). This would make the word *sine* lose its force, for even an old coat, if kept in a scented box, would equally give out the odour of the scent.

<sup>2</sup> Kowalewski reads this word *togor-*, but I have here followed Dr. Ramstedt (*Zur Verbstammbildungslehre*, S. 25, 69).

**tamui**<sup>1</sup> is the indicative passive present of **sonusqu**, *to hear, to listen*. **ker**, *how*, is to be distinguished from **ger**, *house*, with which it is identical in Mongol writing. **dabai-a**,<sup>2</sup> the indicative future, 1st pers. plur., of the verb **dabaqu**, see above. **sedkibesü** is the conditional imperfect of **sedkikü**, *to think*. **dabayu**<sup>2</sup> is the indicative future, 3rd pers. sing. or plur., of **dabaqu**, see above. **getülüsi ügei**, *impracticable*, is a negative adjective derived from **getülkü**, *to wade, to cross*. The indicative future of the same verb is found here in two forms, **getülüi-e**<sup>2</sup> and **getülüyü**,<sup>2</sup> the former being used for the 1st person plural and the latter for the 3rd person singular or plural. **kemebesü** is the conditional imperfect of **kemekü**, *to say, to mean, hence to think, to intend*.

(24) **unagsan**, the past participle of **unaqu**, *to fall*. **nabči**, also **nabčín**, *leaf*. **qarin**, the gerund imperfective of **qariqu**, *to go (or come) back*. **bučayu** is the indicative future, 3rd person, of **bučaqu**, which has the same meaning as **qariqu**. **kiged**, the gerund perfective of **kikü**, *to make, to do*, is here used in place of the conjunction *and*; compare this with Japanese *shite, doing, and*. **salkin**, *wind*. **jalgal**, strictly *row, range, succession*, means here with the preceding word **salkin-u** *blowing of the wind*. **ču**, also, *likewise*. **aŋqan**, *the beginning, initial*. **orun**, *place, province*, is here in the possessive-dative case marked by the particle **dagan**. Thus **aŋqan-u orun-dagan** means *to its original place*. **üliger**, *comparison, example, parable, proverb, tale*. **metü**, *as, like*. Hence **tere üliġer metü** means *similarly*. **üktigsen**, the past participle of **ükükü**, *to die*. **amitan**, *the living being*. **nugud**, a plural particle. **urida**, *before, former*. **toŋ**, *completely, entirely*, but in combination with **ülü** it means *not at all, by no means*. **ergikü**, *to turn (intrans.), to turn round, hence to come back*. **büllige**, the indicative perfect of the substantive verb **bükü**, *to be*, serves, as in the present case, to form the subjunctive imperfect of a verb, when the latter is put in the infinitive mood. Thus **ergikü büllige** means *they would come back (to live)*.

<sup>1</sup> According to Kowalewski the first sentence ends with this word which he considers to mean слышно : говорить, *it is said, they say* (Хресоматія, примѣчания, стр. 261), and rightly it should be so treated. But I venture to regard the word **sonustamui** in the present context as a sort of gerund hanging on the following passage **ker . . . sedki**. An interesting observation by Dr. Ramstedt bearing on the **-mui**-ending will be found in his paper "Über die Konjugation", pp. 76, 77.

<sup>2</sup> The verb endings **-yu** (or **-yü**) and **-ya** (or **-ye**) (in the present transliteration **-i-a** (**-i-e**), see (20)) have been considered by most grammarians as independent forms, but Dr. Ramstedt feels inclined to treat them as one, under the name of "Voluntativ", their primary meaning being that of the German auxiliary verb "sollen" (Über die Konjugation, S. 73).

(25) *jun*, *summer* ; hence *jun-u čag-tur*, *in summer time, in summer*. *agulan*, also *agula*, *mountain*, is here in the dative case marked by the particle *du*, which is an abbreviated form of *dur*. *mal*, *cattle*, is in the possessive-accusative case indicated by the particle *ıyan*. *otorlagcin*, *hunter*, a verbal noun derived from *otorlaqu*, *to go a hunting* (on a small scale), is used here in the sense of *herdsman*. *bügün*, *all*. *tende*, *there*. *nigen kedün*, *a little, a few, some*. *qunug*, *sitting up all night, a day and a night*. *nara*, usually *naran*, *sun*. *qora*, *rain*. *qalqalaqu*, *to protect, to defend*, is here treated as a noun and is used in the genitive case, followed by *tedüyiken*, *only so much*, which is a diminutive form of *tedüi*, *so much, as much*. Thus *qalqalaqu-yin tedüyiken* means *just enough to protect*. *čaçar*, *tent*. *barıqui*, *setting up*, a noun derived from *barıqu*, *to hold, to set up a tent, to build*, is here used in the ablative case with the signification of comparison. *üiledkü*, *to do*, is used as a noun in the nominative case ; thus *nigen čaçar . . . üiledkü inu* means *that they do not do anything but to set up a tent*. *tegün-dür*, *in that*, is the dative case of the demonstrative *tere*, *that*. *asida*, *always* ; compare this with *nasuda* (22). *saguqu*, *to sit, to dwell*. *sanag-a*, also *sanagan*, *thought, intention*. Thus *tegün-dür . . . tigei-yin tula* means *because they have no intention of living there permanently*. *olan tübeg-ıyer* means literally *with much agitation* (or *embarrassment*). *bayısıq*, *a building, house*. *bolai* is the indicative imperfect of *bükü*, *to be*. *tegünčilen*, *in that manner, thus*. *bide*, *we*. *ab ali*, *whosoever it be, every one, wherever it be, anywhere*. *saguqui*, the infinitive-noun derived from *saguqu* ; see above. *sanal*, *act of thinking*, a verbal noun derived from the verb *sanaqu*, *to think*, is cognate with *sanagan*, for which see above. *jıl sar-a-yin*, *year (and) month* (the accusative case). *qagas*, *half*. *üküküi* is the infinitive-noun derived from *ükükü*, *to die*. *nom*, *teaching, doctrine, law*, hence *tusatu nom*, *comforting law*. *kereg-tei*, also *keregtei* ; *keregtü*, *necessary, it is necessary*, is an adjectival form of *kereg*, *need, want*.



## YAMA, GANDHARVA, AND GLAUCUS

By L. D. BARNETT

THE purpose of these notes is to review the Vedic and Avestic data relating to Yama and the Gandharva and to consider the possibility of connecting them with the Glaucus-saga. Without neglecting the works of predecessors in this field, I have re-examined to the best of my ability the Vedic and Avestic material, but have abstained from drawing to any great extent upon the later literatures.

### A. THE RĠ-VĒDA

I. *Yama*. The main facts are well known. The father of Y. is Vivasvant (Vālah. iv. 1, IX. cxiii. 8, cxiv. 1, X. xiv. 1, xvii. 1, lviii. 1, lx. 10, clxiv. 2), an Āditya, who is also father of the Ásvins and Manu, and thus ancestor of mankind (and of gods also, in one passage, X. lxiii. 1). Vivasvant is especially connected with the rituals of fire and Sōma, and Agni is his messenger (I. lviii. 1, IV. vii. 4, VIII. xxxix. 3, X. xxi. 5). In post-Vedic times he was regarded as the sun, and this identification may have begun even before the end of the Vedic age. RV. I. lxxxiii. 4 says: "Atharvan (the mythical fire-priest) first with sacrifices laid out the ways; then was born Sūrya Vēna; Uśanā Kāvya drave home the kine; we worship Yama's immortal birth." This passage seemingly represents Sūrya Vēna, the "Watcher Sun", as Yama's father; we shall speak of Vēna again, in connexion with RV. IX. lxxxv. 9-12 and X. cxxiii. On the other hand, X. x. 4 definitely states that Yama's parents were the Gandharva in the Waters and the Water-Lady (*gandharvó apsv ápyā ca yóṣā śá nō nábhīḥ paramám jāmí tán nāu*). The Gandharva, from his association with the celestial Sōma, and perhaps for some other reasons (e.g. he travels through space, dwells in the heaven, and is "sun-skinned", *sūryatvac*, in AV. II. ii. 2), is sometimes connected with the sun (Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 136), and perhaps may have even been provisionally identified with it by some poets. Thus the tendency to find a solar meaning for Vivasvant is perhaps Vedic. There is, however, no reason to believe that this conception goes back to Indo-Iranian times. As the Avesta shows, he was originally a godly king and teacher of primitive mankind, traditionally connected with the cult of the sun, fire, and Sōma, who in course of time was identified by Indian priests with the sun-god, and perhaps in a few cases also with the Gandharva.

Yama in RV. is chiefly worshipped as the king of the blessed dead, who led the souls of the Fathers into Paradise (for details see Macdonell, *V.M.*, pp. 167, 171), where he reigns in bliss among them. together with Varuṇa (of whom we shall speak later), Agni. and other gods, the company including Vivasvant. This paradise of Yama is the third and highest heaven, a place of unfading light and unfailing waters (I. xxxv. 6, IX. cxiii. 7-9, X. xiv. 8, etc.), which seems to be identical with the third abode of Viṣṇu "where godly men revel, for there. akin (*bāndhu*) to the Wide-Strider, is a spring of honey [the celestial Sōma] in Viṣṇu's highest realm" (I. cliv. 5; cf. X. xv. 3).<sup>1</sup> This localisation, however, is not primitive: originally Yama's realm lay outside heaven, though not very far, as we shall see.

The later hymns of RV. show Yama's character in course of change to his post-Vedic rôle as the horrific judge of the dead; but with this we are not now concerned.

Primarily, then, Yama was a legendary king, who by his holiness was enabled to establish a realm of immortal life and bliss for the righteous of olden time, to which good men of all generations have the right of entry. The outlines of this Indo-Iranian myth have been ably sketched by Hertel in *Die Himmelstore*; we shall return to it anon. The immortality thus won was believed to be due to the magic powers of the Sōma, according to RV. I. xci. 1, 6, VIII. xlviii. 3, IX. xevi. 11, xevii. 39, cvi. 8, cviii. 3, cxiii. 7 f., etc.: and this idea was probably Indo-Iranian.

II. *Gandharva*. The Gandharva in RV. is a primitive sort of Eros, a spirit of generation, *res venerea*, and fertility, and chiefly connected with waters and Sōma.<sup>2</sup> Originally there was but one Gandharva: the plural is a later development, like the Greek Erotes. He is a mighty and mysterious being (AV. II. i. 1-2). He is mated with an Apsaras, the Water-Lady or *ápyā yōṣā* (RV. X. x. 4), and they dwell in heaven with Yama and the blessed dead (AV. IV. xxxiv. 3; cf. below); once, as we saw, they are said to be the parents

<sup>1</sup> With this compare the phrase *bradhñāsya viṣṭāpam* (IX. cxiii. 10) applied to Yama's realm; *bradhñā* may equally denote the sun and the Sōma; cf. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I. pp. 322 ff., 394 ff., III. 417

<sup>2</sup> This ancient conception seems to have survived oddly in the name *Kandarpa*, a classical title of the god of love, Kāma. I would explain *Kandarpa* as a Prakrit form of *Gandharva*. In some of the vernaculars classed together by the grammarian as "Pāṣācī", particularly the Drāviḍī, the word *gandharva* might either become directly *kandarpa*, or first change to *kandappa* and thence by a false etymology from *darpa* be sanskritised into *kandarpa*.

of Yama, but this affiliation does not seem to be originally Indo-Iranian.

The Gandharva in RV. is the guardian of the Sōma in heaven (IX. lxxxiii. 4. lxxxv. 12, cxiii. 3 : cf. AV. VII. lxxiii. 3. ŚBr. III. vi. 2, 9, etc.). To the ancient Aryans "heaven" was a dome or vault, *nāka*. As Hertel has shown, this *nāka* was primitively conceived as a vast mountain, within which the gods dwelt ; it may be added in support of this view that *nāka* seems to have originally meant "mountain", and to be connected with *nāku* "a hill" (particularly an anthill). In classical literature it appears as Mount Mēru, the residence of the gods, *surālaya* (Amara-k. I. i. 1, v. 45). Even in Vedic times this conception is still to some degree preserved in phrases such as *nākasya prṣṭhē*, "on the back (i.e. ridge) of heaven", and *ṛtāsya sánāu* "on the ridge of holiness", i.e. of the heavenly world. Here, or close by, was the fountain of the celestial Sōma watched by the Gandharva<sup>1</sup>; and hither came the Eagle (*śyēná*), or in other versions Indra himself, to carry away Sōma (IV. xxvii. 3. etc. ; cf. Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 136 f., Hillebrandt, *V.M.*, I. p. 278 f.). Borrowing imagery from this legend, the poets represent Vēna, the Watcher (i.e. the sun, who as it were brings the Sōma to the earthly sacrifice : cf. *vēnāḥ* IX. lxxxv. 10, *vēnānām* ib. 11), as a golden bird, Varuṇa's messenger, flying up to the ridge of heaven, *ṛtāsya sánau* (X. cxxiii. 1 f.), to fetch the immortal waters, i.e. the Sōma, which the Gandharva found (ib. 4.) ; here, in highest heaven, *paramē vyōman*, the home of Yama, *yamāsya yónih*, where the Apsaras and her gallant (scil. the *ápyā yíṣā* and Gandharva) embrace, Vēna rests, a friend in a friend's home (ib. 5-6) ; and the Gandharva rises up on the heavenly vault, *nāka*, bearing weapons diverse of hue, etc. (ib. 7 ; cf. IX. lxxxv. 12).<sup>2</sup> The pith of this is that the Sōma used in daily sacrifice is

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed that in RV. the celestial Sōma is imagined (a) sometimes, and most commonly, as a spring or stream, on which cf. above, p. 704, and Hillebrandt, *V.M.* I. p. 319 ff., (b) sometimes as a plant of paradise, and (c) perhaps in some places of RV., and usually in later Vedic and post-Vedic writings, as being contained in a bowl or pitcher. But even in the tale of the Rape of Sōma in Mahābh. I the ideas seem confused : Garuḍa is said to pluck it up, *samutpāṭya*, as if it were a plant, xxxiii. 10 (cf. Charpentier, *Die Suparnasage*, p. 182, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Verse 8 refers to Sōma descending into the water in the earthly vat. "Gazing with a vulture's eye," *páśyan gádhṛasya cákṣasā*, is a proverbial phrase for keen sight : cf. *sāuparnam cakṣuḥ* in *Suparnādhyāya* III. 5 ; for the thought cf. X. xxx. 2, where the priests are bidden to come to the waters (in the Sōma-vats) upon which the ruddy Bird (the spirit of Sōma) is gazing. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I. p. 430 ff., interprets this hymn as a Moon-psalm.

freely granted by Yama and the gods to men. and the Gandharva does not fight to retain it.

The connexion with *waters* is fundamental (RV. I. xxii. 14: *gandharvó apsú*, X. x. 4, ut sup.; *apām g.* IX. lxxxvi. 36. applied to Sōma; cf. X. cxxxix. 4, AV. II. i. 3). The Gandharvas are the folk of Varuṇa (ŚBr. XIII. iv. 3, 7); the relation is again obscurely indicated in Kāṭha Up. II. vi. 5, *yathāpsu pariva dadṛśē tathā gandharvalōkē*. Water to the ancient Hindu represented life, animal and vegetable, fertility, health, generative power; Sōma was its quintessence, the elixir of immortal life and vigour.<sup>1</sup> Both the waters and the Sōma are in the highest heaven, the dwelling of Yama; and thence the waters, divine life-saps, are brought to earth by Gandharvas and Apsarasas. who therewith impregnate men, animals, and vegetation.<sup>2</sup> The Gandharva was thus constantly travelling from heaven to earth (*rājasō vimānaḥ*, RV. X. cxxxix. 5) for the benefit of the world; and this trait of wandering has persisted in his tribe even into modern times.

Equally important is the association with *Sōma*. The Gandharva is the guardian of the Sōma in heaven, and vainly strove to prevent Indra or Indra's messenger-bird from carrying away Sōma. From this attitude towards Indra, the popular national god, the Gandharvas

Waters are the foundations of the whole world, ŚBr. VI. viii. 2, 2, XII. v. 2, 14: Hiranyakēśighrya-s. II. iv. 10, 7; they are the elixir of immortality, ŚBr. IV. iv. 3, 15, XIII. viii. 1, 9; they are the same as *amṛta*, ib. I. ix. 3, 7, XI. v. 4, 5; the wives of Amṛta (= Sōma), *amṛtasya pātnīḥ*, ib. III. ix. 4, 16. They are the body of Viṣṇu, in Smṛti quoted in Śribhāṣya on Vēdāntasūtra II. i. 9; their presiding deity is Sōma, Mahābhār. XIV. xlii. 22 (Anugītā). They form the essence of vegetation, ŚBr. III. vi. 1, 7. They are the healing principle in nature, and give long life and generative power, RV. I. xxiii. 19 ff., X. ix. 1 ff (where note 3, *janāyathā ca naḥ*, "give us generative power," and 6, an allusion to Sōma), AV. VI. xci. 3; Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 85; Bloomfield, *Ath. Veda*, p. 62, etc.

<sup>2</sup> This is the meaning of the prayer for offspring addressed to G. and A. in Pañcav. Br. XIX. iii. 2, and the belief that every bride belonged first to Sōma, next to the G. Viśvāvasu, and next to Agni, and that in the early days of marriage the G. was a rival of the husband, RV. X. lxxxv. 22, 40 ff. (cf. AV. XIV. ii. 3 f.): Sōma is the prime spirit and source of life, the G. his minister who brings the life to earth, and Agni the ministering god by whose agency the marriage is solemnised (cf. *gāndharvīm pathyām*, RV. X. lxxx. 6), and each of the three gods claims a *droit de seigneur*. The Buddhists have preserved a popular belief (perhaps already hinted at in RV. X. clxxvii. 2) that every soul (or what corresponds to a soul in Buddhism) is conveyed into its mother's womb as a Gandharva: cf. La Vallée Poussin, *Deux Notes sur le Pratītyasamutpāda*, *Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> Congrès Intern. d. Oriental.*, tom. I, p. 200, and A. Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.*, I. p. 426, and id. *Zur Bedeutung v. Gandharva*, *Jahresber. d. Schles. Gesellsch. f. vaterland. Cultur*, IV. Abteil, 1906 (the latter two articles unconvincing). The G. digs up for Varuṇa an aphrodisiac plant, AV. IV. iv. 1. On the residence of G. and A. in trees see Macdonell, *V.M.*, p. 134.

began later to fall into some disrepute, and in some quarters to be classed among noxious demons (AV. IV. xxxvii. 8 ff., XII. i. 50, etc.) ; and this is perhaps the reason for the tales of the G. Viśvāvasu *stealing* the Sōma from Gāyatrī (TS. VI. i. 6, 5. MS. III. vii. 3, Kāth. XXIII. 10, ŚBr. III. ii. 4, 1 f., vi. 2, 2 f., etc.). In general belief, however, they became amorous and graceful demigods of no particular importance, inhabiting a world of their own, and noteworthy only because of their practice of music, a trait derived from the Vedic conception of Yama's world (RV. X. cxxxv. 7).

## B. THE AVESTA

I. *Yima*. In Avesta and post-Avestic literature Yima (Yima Xšaēta, later Jam, Jamshēd) has stubbornly preserved the heroic character which he has lost in RV. He is the second or third king of the Pēšdātian dynasty, of which the first monarchs are given in Yašts XV and XIX as successively Haošyanha, Taxma Urupa, and Yima, Yašt XIII omitting Taxma Urupa.<sup>1</sup> His father is Vīvahvant (the Vedic Vivasvant), who was the first *mortal* (*mašya*) that pressed the Haoma (= Sōma), as a reward for which a son was born to him, Yima Xšaēta, the man of goodly herds (*hvaθwa*, a standing epithet of Y.), most glorious of them that are born, radiant with heavenly light (*hvarədarəsa* : cf. Hertel, *Die Arische Feuerlehre*, I, p. 32 f.), who by his rule on earth made men and cattle undying, waters and meadows undrying, so that there was unfailing food to eat, and in whose reign there was not cold or heat, nor age or death, nor envy demon-wrought, so that fathers and sons walked together as fifteen-yearlings (Yasna IX. §§ 4-5). The same idyllic picture of Yima's reign is painted in other texts. Yašt V. § 25 f. relates that he sacrificed to the goddess Arədvī Sūrā Anāhitā on Hukairya,<sup>2</sup> the peak of the mountain Harā or Haraitī from which the waters sent by her flow down into the lake Vourukaša, whence they fertilise the whole earth (cf. Yašt XII. § 24), and that he prayed that he might become sovereign lord over all countries, over *daēvas* and men, sorcerers (*yatu*) and witches (*pairikā*), rulers, *kavis*, and *karapans*, and that he might take from the *daēvas* wealth and welfare, riches and flocks, comfort and fame ; and the goddess granted his request (cf. Yašt XIX. § 31 f.). Similarly

<sup>1</sup> Tradition has been very tenacious of this succession, which is preserved even in Firdausī and subsequent literature. Cf. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien* (Berlin, 1863), pp. 32 ff., 190, 197.

<sup>2</sup> *Hukairyāt paiti barəzarəhač*, lit. "from the mountain H." : Y. stood on or beside the mountain and invoked the goddess within it.

Yast IX. 8 f. tells that he sacrificed on Hukairya to Drvāspā with the prayer that he might bring prosperity, wealth of cattle, and freedom from death into the world, and remove thence hunger and thirst, age and death, hot and cold winds, for a thousand years; and his prayer was fulfilled (cf. Yast XIII. § 130). The same prayer was offered by him to Aši Vanuhi, Yast XVII. 28 f. Yast XV. § 15 f. (modelled apparently on Yasna IX) records his prayer to Vayu that he might become most glorious and make men and cattle undying, waters and plants undrying, and food unfailing, with the same result as in Yasna IX.

It may here be remarked that the mountain Harā or Haraitī, from whose peak Hukairya the heavenly river descends into the lake Vourukaša,<sup>1</sup> seems to correspond to the celestial "mountain", *nāka*, of the Vēda, beside or upon which the poets locate the realm of Yama, with its abounding streams of water and its fountain of Sōma. Yast VIII. § 32, which speaks of a "mountain beyond India" (or perhaps "north of India"), *ushandavat paiti garōit*, as lying in the midst of Vourukaša, suggests that popular imagination assigned to it a southerly location; but originally both lake and mountain were probably mythical.<sup>2</sup>

Yasna X, after referring in §§ 3-4 to the earthly Haoma that grows on the mountains, states that the God originally placed it on or beside Mount Haraitī, *baγō nidaḅat haraiθyō paiti barəzayā* (§ 10), and thence sacred birds taught for the purpose carried it to various mountains of the earth (§ 11). This version seemingly regards the celestial Haoma placed on Mount Haraitī as a *plant*; but we may perhaps see a trace of an earlier conception of it as a *fountain* in the words of § 4, "and verily thou art a fountain of holiness," *haiθimca āsahe xā ahi*. This phrase is too striking to be merely figurative: in origin at any rate it may well have been meant to be taken literally, if, as I believe, the celestial Haoma was in the first instance regarded as a fountain. Exactly the same phrase occurs in RV. II. xxviii. 5, which prays to Varuṇa for pardon of sin and attainment of length of life, and in this connexion says *rdhyāma tē varuṇa khām itāsya* "may we succeed in winning<sup>3</sup> thy fount of holiness, O Varuṇa!" We may most

<sup>1</sup> The attempts to identify this lake with the Sea of Aral or the Caspian seem to be futile.

<sup>2</sup> The sun, moon, and stars are said to circle around Haraitī (Yast XII. § 25; cf. Vend. XXI. § 5 ff.). Yast XIX. § 1 wildly describes it as surrounding both the western and the eastern lands (like the *Jabal Kāf* of the Arabs).

<sup>3</sup> For this sense of *rdh* cf. ŚBr. I. ix. 1, 16, *tad aśyāt tad rdhyāt*.

naturally explain this *khá rtasya* of Varuṇa as the Sōma, and primarily the celestial Sōma, the fount of life, comparing passages like RV. IX. viii. 9 and xcviii. 12. For as god of the cosmic waters Varuṇa also is connected with the Sōma: its heavenly fount is, as we saw, in the Paradise where he dwells with Yama (X. xiv. 7; cf. X. cxxiii. 6), and it was he who "placed it on (or in) the Mountain", *adhāt sōmam ádrāu* (V. lxxxv. 2), precisely as the Avesta tells us that "the God", *bayō*, placed it on Mount Haraitī. In this last passage of RV. the context ("Varuṇa hath spread the air amidst the trees, placed speed in horses, milk in kine, wisdom in hearts, fire in the waters, the sun in the heaven. Sōma . . .") suggests that the poet here conceived the Sōma rather as a spring than as a plant, while on the other hand the statement of Yasna X. § 11 that sacred birds carried away the Haoma from Haraitī to the mountains of the earth looks like a rather dull modification of the old Indo-Iranian myth of the Rape of the Sōma by Garuḍa. We may then tentatively conjecture that the latter legend in its oldest form ran somewhat as follows: The Great God created a fount of Sōma, the Water of Immortal Life, for his own use, on or beside the Heavenly Mountain, and a Good Spirit—the Vedic Viṣṇu, the Spirit of Sacrifice<sup>1</sup>—wishing to get a share thereof for other gods and mankind, sent thither his eagle, who carried away some of the Sōma in a jar, and by this celestial liquor were fertilised plants on divers mountains of the earth, which thus became the Sōma-plants used by men in their rites.

A question now arises: was the immunity from death which was gained by Yima and his subjects conceived in the original version of the legend as being directly due to Haoma as elixir of immortality? The Avesta does not say so much; but its references to the White Haoma distinctly suggest this belief. It distinguishes the yellow Haoma known on earth from the celestial H. or *gaokərəna*, a tree which, according to Mazdayasnian tradition, gives immortality; the *gaokərəna* grows at the source of the waters of Arədvī Sūrā, on an island in lake Vourukaša, amidst myriads of healing plants (Vend. XX. § 4, Bundahišn XXVII. § 4: SBE. IV. p. 227, V. p. 100), and when the world is renewed it will be used to make the elixir which is to give eternal life to living beings (Bund. XXIV. § 27, XXVII. § 4, XXX. 25, Zādsparam VIII. § 5, Dādistān-i Dīnik XXXVII. § 101; SBE. V. p. 100,

<sup>1</sup> I have touched on this fundamental feature of Viṣṇu's character in *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, p. 37 ff., and must refrain from enlarging on the point here.

126, 176 f., VIII, p. 112).<sup>1</sup> Here we see the operation of the same mythopœic fancy which in India has planted in heaven the earthly vegetable Sōma, and forgotten its old tradition of the celestial fountain. Zarathustrianism similarly gives us instead of the celestial fountain a celestial tree, the glorified *παράδειγμα ἐν οὐρανῷ* of the earthly Sōma-plant, and places it in the midst of the lake Vourukaša.<sup>2</sup> True. Zarathustrianism did not directly associate the *gaokərəna* with Yima; but it had its reasons for leaving him out of the picture, of which we shall speak anon; and it is significant that the Shāhnāmāh, representing popular tradition, makes Jamshēd (i.e. Yima Xšaēta) boast: "By medicines and remedies I have saved the world, so that sickness and death have fallen upon none; except me, who of all kings that be on earth could remove death from any?" (I. xxi., ed. Vullers).

بدارو ودرمان جهان گشت راست که بیماری و مرگ کسرا نکاست  
جزاز من که برداشت مرگ از کسی وگر برزمین شاه باشد بسی

As Haoma is said to be pre-eminently medicinal, *baēšazyā* (Yasna IX. § 16, etc.), and the White Haoma is said to give immortality, it may be inferred that in popular legend it was by means of Haoma that Yima freed himself and others from death—for a time.

The next feature in the saga is the legend of Yima's Close, the *Vara*, narrated in Vend. II. §§ 1–43. It may be thus summarised.

Yima, the man of goodly herds (*hvyθwa*), Vivahvant's son, was the first mortal with whom Ahura Mazdāh held converse. Ahura urged Yima to bear in mind and support the Faith (*mərətō bərətaca daēnayāi*); but he declined, saying that he was not made or trained for that part. Ahura then bade him make his world thrive by his rule over it. Yima assented, promising that under his rule there should be no cold or hot winds, no sickness, and no death. Ahura gave him as tokens a golden *suwra* (arrow?) and a gold-inlaid *aštrā* (whip or goad). For 300 winters Yima reigned, and the earth grew full, and Ahura warned him that there was no more room to move about (*gātu*) on it. Then Yima stepped forward, radiant, towards the south (lit. towards midday, *ā upa rapithwam*) on the way of the sun (*hū paiti adwanəm*); he

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, pp. 166. 171 f. It is possible that the "Eagle's Tree" of Yašt XII. § 17 is the *gaokərəna*.

<sup>2</sup> It may be suspected that the Babylonian Tree of Life (on which see A. Wünsche, *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum u. Lebenswasser*, Leipzig, 1905) had a considerable influence on the evolution of the idea of the White Haoma tree.



pressed the *suwṛā* on the earth and pierced it with the *āstrā*, and bade it open so as to give room for flocks and herds and men. The earth thereupon grew one-third larger. Six hundred winters passed, and again the earth grew full; advised by Ahura, he again made it open, and it increased by two-thirds. So nine hundred winters went by, and again the earth became full, and Yima widened it by three-thirds.<sup>1</sup>

Ahura Mazdāh summoned the gods, and Yima summoned the best of mankind in Airyana Vaējah. Ahura warned Yima that cold deadly winters were about to come, so he must make a Close, *vāra*, and put into it the best specimens of mankind, beasts, fires, plants, etc., with houses and streets. It was to be sealed with the golden *suwṛā*, and was to have a door and window. The sun, moon, and stars were not to shine in it: it was to have its own light.<sup>2</sup> And Yima did so, and they dwelt in the Close; thither the religion of Ahura was brought by the bird Karšiptar, and there they still dwell, under the rule of Urvataṅnara and Zaratuštra. But Yima, according to other legends, was expelled from it.

This story has been well studied by Hertel in *Die Himmelstore*. In its main features it is certainly Indo-Iranian, though it has been modified and abridged. Yima's Close is the same as the Vedic realm of Yama, the land of the Blessed Fathers; and the myth was primarily designed to explain how and why this realm was first established. The Close is conceived as a great town cut off on all sides from the outer world; the details as to door and window, however, are possibly borrowed from the Semitic (or Sumerian ?) Deluge-saga, and the motive assigned for constructing it, the coming of deadly winter, may also be a later addition. It has its own light: the sun, moon, and stars do not shine in it. As we shall see, this is a primitive trait, of which perhaps we may trace a distant echo in Kāṭha Upaniṣad V. 15, which says the same of the world of Brahma. The mention of Yima as stepping *southwards* suggests a possibility that the Close also was imagined to lie in the south; if it be so, it will be parallel to the later Hindu belief

<sup>1</sup> According to later tradition, Yima made the world enjoy immortality for 1,000 years, viz. 900 as above and 100 spent in the Close.

<sup>2</sup> The Close had a door "luminous, self-luminous on the inner side", *dravm raocvnam zvāraoxšnam antara-mēmāt* (§ ii. 30). Reichelt is probably right in saying that this door "is to be understood as the heaven with sun, moon, and stars" (*Ar. Reader*, p. 141), i.e. as serving to give light to the Close in lieu of the natural sky with sun, etc.; the connected passage (39-41) is obscure, and may be a later addition.

that Yima's world lies in the south.<sup>1</sup> The story was put into its present form by a writer who was conscious of some opposition between the Yima-legend and Zarathustrian orthodoxy : for he assigns as motive for Yima's blessed reign on earth his refusal to support the Mazdayasnian religion which is absurd, and as he relates that the religion was brought into the Close by the bird Karsiptar, he implies that the dwellers in the Close were previously pagans.

Zarathustrianism, then, regarded Yima as a relic of Magian-daëvic paganism, and deprived him of his former rank. It openly charged him with heathenism. Yašt XIX. § 28 f., relates that the divinely kingly glory (*hvarənah*) which had belonged to his brother Taxma Urupa passed away from the latter, who was killed and devoured by the Evil Spirit. Anra Mainyn, and descended upon Yima, who reigned blessedly (his reign is described in terms almost identic with Yašt V. § 25 f.) until he began to delight in evil and untrue words, *draoγəm vācīm anəhaiθīm*, and then the glory departed from him thrice, in the form of a bird, and was seized successively by Miθra, Θraētaona, and Kərəsāspa. Then the Good Spirit and the Evil Spirit contended for it, and the Evil Spirit sent messengers to elaim it, among them being the dragon Aži Dahāka and Spityura. Yima's brother, who cut Yima in twain (*Yimō-kərəntəm*).<sup>2</sup> A more specific charge was laid against him : it was said that he supported the Daēvas and gave men the flesh of kine to eat (Yasna XXXII. § 8 : cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 27). Through sin he lost his immortality (SBE. IV, p. 262). Elsewhere we read that after preserving the world for many years from age and death he at last died (SBE. IV, pp. 263 f., 384). The meaning of all this is clear. The primitive legend represented Yima as ruling for ever over the Blessed Dead, and therefore as being himself in a sense one of the dead : and then orthodox Zarathustrianism, disliking him because of his daëvic connexions and his association with the Haomacult, to which the Gāθās never refer except in terms of hostility (Yasna XXXII. 10, 12, 14, 32, XLVIII. 10), seized upon the latter idea and made capital out of it : Yima died—and he died because of his sins of paganism in word, thought, and deed. The tradition of his blessed reign was too deeply rooted in the heart of the people to be extirpated ; but as far as possible his legendary glories were belittled, his whilom

<sup>1</sup> It is from the south that the fragrant breeze blows which greets the soul bound for Paradise (Haðōxt Nask ii. 7). The ancient Iranians oriented themselves from the south.

<sup>2</sup> See further SBE. XXIII p. 60, n. 2, p. 252, n. I.

association with Haoma almost effaced, and he himself ejected from his paradise.<sup>1</sup> The Magian reaction that took possession of the Church after Zoroāstra's death and revived the Haoma-cult, with many other pagan practices, endeavoured to rehabilitate him, but achieved only a partial success; an example of this is to be seen in Vend. II. § i ff., which we have discussed.

II. *Gandarōwa*. In India the mythical resistance of the Gandharva to the attempt of a popular god to seize the Sōma under his charge, as we have seen, caused his tribe to be regarded in some quarters as demons; in Iran the same cause, strengthened by the anti-dævic preaching of Zarathustrianism, produced similar but far more radical effects. The Avestic Gandarōwa is simply a demon dwelling beneath the waters of Vourukaša, "sole lord of the depths," who was slain by Kərəsāspa (Yašt V. § 38, XV. § 28: cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 40 f.) when he sought to destroy the "bodied beings of Righteousness" (XIX. § 41). Kərəsāspa's victory over him is an echo of the same myth that meets us in the Vedic Rape of Sōma, and his residence in the waters recalls the Vedic "Gandharva in the Waters". Later tradition had a dim memory of his primitive connexion with Yima, as a Pahlavi text (SBE. XVIII. p. 419: cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 31) represents him as son of Yima by a witch. On the other hand, Yašt XV. § 28 calls him the son of Ahura, and the litany in Yašt XIII worships the *fravaši* of Gandarōwa's son the holy Paršanta, two facts which look like survivals from an earlier time, before he had become a devil.

His standing epithet *zairipāšna* is obscure. It may mean "having yellow or golden-coloured heels", which recalls the epithet *sūryatvac* in AV. II. ii. 2. But *zairi* in Avestic, and its analogue *hari* in Sanskrit, both mean also *green*.<sup>2</sup> Hence we may with some probability translate *zairipāšna* as "green-heeled", and see in it an allusion, albeit obscure, to Gandarōwa's aquatic connexions, or to his germane quality as spirit of vegetable fertility.

We may then venture to draw the conclusion that the early Indo-Iranians believed that from the Mountain of Heaven a stream descended which debouched into a great lake, whence fertilising waters spread

<sup>1</sup> On the legends of Yima's fall cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, p. 31 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *zairigaona* "green-hued"; see Bartholomae, *Wörterbuch*, s.v., and on the confusion of colours L. Geiger, *Contributions to the History of the Development of the Human Race* (London, 1880), p. 56 f. The point is overlooked by Hillebrandt, *Ved. Myth.* I. p. 25 f.

over the whole earth : that near this lake lay the Spring of Immortality, the divine Sōma-fount ; that the Gandharva, the guardian of the Spring, dwelt in this region of waters ; and that Yama's realm, the land of the Blessed Fathers, lay some distance beyond it.<sup>1</sup>

## B. THE GLAUCUS-SAGA

A series of popular legends floating in Hellenistic lands and the Near East, which for convenience we may call the *Glaucus-saga*, has been ably collected and examined by my lamented friend Israel Friedlaender in his *Die Chahirlegende und der Alexanderroman* (Leipzig, 1913). They consist primarily of the narrative of Pseudo-Callisthenes, and secondarily of germane legends from Semitic and Persian sources. The chief materials contained in them which bear upon our subject may be thus summarised :—

Ps.-Call. relates (p. 7 ff.) that (a) Alexander in his expedition to find the Spring of Immortality marched through a land of darkness, and arrived at a region very full of water. Here, in a spot where the air was sweetly scented, was a fountain with brightly shining water, and this was the Spring which he was seeking, but he did not know it. His cook, Andreas, recognising it because a dried fish which he washed in it was restored by its water to life, bathed himself in it and thus became immortal ; but he concealed this from Alexander ; (b) Andreas debauched Alexander's daughter, and for this crime was cast into the sea, where he became a sea-dæmon from whom the Adriatic Sea took

<sup>1</sup> To these hypotheses I venture to add a small epicycle of speculations on the so-called *caitya*-symbol found on many Indian coins from the earliest times.

As is now generally admitted, this symbol represents not a *caitya* but a *mountain*. At its base is normally a waved pattern which is most naturally to be interpreted as signifying a river or lake. This at once suggests the Mountain of Heaven—the Mount Mēru of classical literature—and the divine Lake at its base. The mountain is associated on coins with other symbols—sun, moon, a tree, and on punch-marked coins also a bird and a beast, possibly an antelope. The sun and moon are obvious. The tree, however, demands explanation. Sometimes it stands on the ground at the side of the mountain, sometimes upon the mountain, and sometimes it is absent. Either then it originally formed an integral part of the design, or else it was added later to the mountain, which is equally possible. The separate and solitary tree enclosed in a square paling is a common device on coins. On either view the tree may be compared to the Iranian White Haoma of which we have spoken, and may conceivably be meant for the *Kalpa-druma* of Indian legend. The *bird* I take to be Garuḍa alighting on the Mountain of Heaven to carry away Indra's Sōma (cf. especially *Suparṇādhyaṃya* xiii. 5, p. 263 in Charpentier's edition). On other punch-marked coins we find a huge bird on a tree, which reminds us of Garuḍa on the tree Rauhina, a well-known mythic trait, on which see Charpentier, *Die Suparnasage*, pp. 176, 368. The Rauhina may be the "Eagle's Tree" of Yašt XII. § 17, which may possibly be the same as the Gaokorana.

its name; (c) from the region of the Spring Alexander marched onwards 30 *schoinoi* to the boundary of the Land of the Blest, *μακάρων χώρα*, upon which shines a light that is not that of the sun or the moon (cf. *ibid.* p. 203); but he did not enter here, for two birds with human faces and voices bade him retire, and he obeyed.

To these outlines the other versions, chiefly from Muslim sources, make some important additions. Firstly, (d) we find the cook who became a sea-dæmon identified with *Khiḍr*, or, as the name should be grammatically spelt, *Khaḍir*, "Green Man," one of the most popular figures of Oriental legend, and (e) *Khaḍir* is identical with the Greek sea-god *Glaucus* (pp. 108 f., 242, 253, etc.). Further, (f) they definitively locate the Spring either beside a rock at the junction of two seas (p. 88; cf. pp. 78, 81, 85, 112), or by a rock on the seashore (p. 95), or on the top of a white rock (p. 198).<sup>1</sup> They also assert (g) that its waters issue from Paradise (pp. 39, 45 ff., 112, 135, 150, 198, 205, 301).

*Khaḍir*, who belongs to the Wandering Jew type, appears in a host of legends as (1) a mysterious helper and counsellor of mankind in all kinds of trouble and difficulty, a messenger of God by sea and land; sometimes he is said to have been an angel of God in human form, even the fourth archangel (p. 274). (2) He is constantly roaming about over the Muslim world, but (3) he is especially associated with seas, lakes, and underground waters (pp. 123, 184, 305, etc.). (4) The reason for his name *Khaḍir* or *Khiḍr*, "Green," is variously explained: in 'Umārah's version he is so called because the earth becomes green wherever his feet touch it (p. 145; cf. p. 111). *Aufond* he is the same as *Glaucus* of Anthedon. Both obtain immortality by chance; to both it becomes a weary burden, and they find comfort in helping mankind; both are wanderers, associated with the sea; and both have the same name, for *Khaḍir* practically = *γλαυκός*. We may add that both have erotic associations, since in (a) we find Andreas seducing a princess, and the amours of *Glaucus* were many and notorious.

Now in these stories we may see some main points agreeing with those of the Gandharva-saga. In (a) we have as *motif*: a great king seeks the Water of Life, but is forestalled and balked by a servant, who appears in (b) in an erotic rôle and again in (d) as a wandering divine benefactor of mankind, especially connected with waters and lakes and named "Green Man". This is surely an echo of the legend

<sup>1</sup> So in the Arabian Nights the Water of Life is on a mountain; cf. A. Wunsche. *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser*, p. 100 f.

of the Gandharva, on the one hand as guarding the Sōma against the God, and on the other hand as a generally benevolent but erotic spirit of fertility associated with waters and travelling to and fro for the welfare of the world. It may be objected that there is a wide gulf between the story of the servant appropriating the Water of Life, as told in the Glaucus-saga, and the Vedic legend, which makes the Gandharva the *keeper* of the Sōma ; but, as we have seen, the chasm was already crossed in India by the authors of the later Samhitās and ŚBr., who represent the Gandharva as *stealing* Sōma. Perhaps also we may connect the green colour indicated in the name *Khaḍir* with the epithet *zairīpāśna*. "green-heeled," given in the Avesta to Gandarōwa, of which we have spoken above. It is even conceivable that the "green heel" may be the fish-tail with which Glaucus is sometimes represented in art.

But there are more points of contact. The Spring lies in a well-watered spot or by the sea, beside a rock (*a, f,*), not far from the Land of the Blest, where there is a light that is not of the sun or moon (*c*). All these traits we have found, with slight variations, in the Vedic and Avestic pictures of the site of the celestial Sōma and Yama's realm. Finally, we may see in (*g*) a late form of statement for the old doctrine that the Sōma is from Heaven, and its fount is in Heaven.

It is obvious that the group of legends which I call the Glaucus-saga is, in the form in which it has reached us, removed *longo intervallo* from the primitive Indo-Iranian story. But between the two cycles there are so many points of likeness that it seems necessary to conclude that they were originally identical. Folktales strangely change ; characters assume new colours and are moved by new motives ; a wide difference lies between the classical Indian Gandharva and the Avestic Gandarōwa, between the debauched Andreas and the saintly Khaḍir. It may well be that in the Glaucus-saga the *motif* of the weariness of immortality is an adventitious trait, which was borrowed by it from the Wandering Jew legend, and by which it has been profoundly modified. It is, moreover, fairly certain that around the personality of Khaḍir there have gathered many legends of help in distress and *al-faraj ba'd al-shiddah* which previously had been floating throughout the eastern world, and of which we have early examples in the Vedic tales of Indra and the Aśvins. Making therefore due deduction for such probably adventitious elements, we must recognise the fundamental likeness between the two cycles, and admit that they may have sprung from a common source.

## FRESH LIGHT ON KHAWASS KHAN

By E. DENISON ROSS

THE events following the death of Shīr Shāh in A.H. 952 (A.D. 1545), which led to the succession of his younger son, Jalāl Khān, and the ousting of his elder son, 'Ādil Khān, are related, with more or less of consistency though with a good deal of confusion, by the principal historians of the period. Out of the narratives of the *Ta'rikh-i-Nizāmī*, the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, the *Akbar Nāma*, and the *Nisātnāma*, Erskine has compiled a connected story (see his *History of India*, ii, pp. 488 seq.), which has been accepted by all later writers on the subject. Seeing that Jalāl Khān was in the capital and that his brother was away at Kalanjār fighting by his father's side, the nobles of Delhī decided to place Jalāl Khān on the throne with the title of Salīm (or Islām) Shāh. Four of the leading nobles including Khawāṣṣ Khān were deputed to wait on 'Ādil Khān and to guarantee his personal safety if he would come and visit the king, after which he would be allowed to go to whatever jāgīr he might chose. The meeting took place in Agra, and ended in 'Ādil Khān's making a public renunciation of his rights to the throne. 'Ādil Khān then withdrew to Biana. Shortly after Salīm Shāh, by an attempt to make 'Ādil Khān a prisoner, stirred up discontent among his nobles, many of whom went over to his brother, including Khawāṣṣ Khān. In a battle which ensued in sight of Agra, all the nobles save Khawāṣṣ Khān deserted 'Ādil Khān, who fled from the field and was never heard of again . . . Khawāṣṣ Khān in the following year took part in a revolt under A'zam Humāyūn, the Governor of the Panjab, and was finally captured and put to death by Taj Khān Kirānī, the Governor of Samkhal, who sent his head as an offering to Salīm Shāh.

The author of the *Arabic History of Gujarat*, Ḥājji ad-Dabīr, on the authority of a personal narrative gives a very different story, which, for what it is worth, seems deserving of record.

On p. 1001, l. 15 seq., of the printed text we read :—

“ A certain Afghan who lived in Māhpūr in Gujarat used to relate that when Shīr Shāh died [A.H. 952] Salīm Shāh was in Delhī, and because his elder brother, 'Ādil Khān, was with his father in Kalanjār, the Delhī nobles agreed to put Salīm on the throne, which they did. When 'Ādil Khān heard of this he said to Khawāṣṣ Khān.

who was in his suite : ‘ Is it fitting that the younger brother should take precedence of the elder ? ’ [Khawāṣṣ Khān] replied : ‘ Both of you are to me as my two eyes—but at the moment it is your stirrup I am holding.’ [‘Ādil Khān] then said : ‘ In that case I will dispose of him.’ Now [‘Ādil Khān] had a very strong force with him, and after he had captured [Kalanjār] he returned to Delhi. He had planned that when he met his brother he would embrace him like one returning after a long absence [*‘ala ‘ādat il-ghā’ib*], but would press him so closely that his breath would be squeezed out of him and he would leave him [dead] without a blow or a wound, and then ascend the throne. But when he halted on the outskirts of Delhi, Salīm took fright, and out of fear of his brother he abdicated. Thereupon the Delhi amirs [p. 1002] addressed [Salīm] saying : ‘ How can you have any anxiety in regard to us who have taken you by the hand ? ’ He replied : ‘ The only thing that would comfort me would be for one of you to take my sword and gird it on me.’ The leading amir thereupon rose and girded his sword on the prince, who, no longer feeling apprehensive, set out to encounter his brother, who was very much on his guard against him. ‘Ādil Khān did not find an opportunity of carrying out his intention, though he sought many times to find his brother. Most of his father’s amirs now deserted him and joined Salīm. He, therefore, became apprehensive and left Delhi, with those who remained faithful to him, among them Khawāṣṣ Khān. Salīm set out in pursuit with a number of amirs following his footsteps, until they met in an encounter in which ‘Ādil Khān was taken prisoner. Khawāṣṣ Khān, however, did not take part in the fighting, but turned in another direction, where he captured the caravan carrying the treasure, which he drove before him as far as Sikrī. At that time Shaykh Salīm was living there, and Khawāṣṣ Khān called on him and presented him with the treasure-caravan and begged for his blessing. He then proceeded on his journey, but was overtaken by the troops of Salīm Shāh, whom he engaged and defeated, so that he was able to halt wherever he wished. A number of the amirs now threw off their allegiance and joined Khawāṣṣ Khān, and they resolved to depose Salīm. He then said to them : ‘ If you seize him, who will sit on his throne ? ’ They replied : ‘ Either the man himself who has triumphed over him and gains the victory will sit on the throne, or he whom that man takes by the hand (i.e. swears allegiance) ; and him we will obey.’ Khawāṣṣ Khān replied : ‘ I am not fit for it as a result of the victory and shall not try to get it for anyone ; and if it goes to one of you, how shall I tolerate the passing



of the throne from one who is a son of Shīr Shāh to one who is not ? ' Khawāṣṣ Khān then left them, and Salīm Shāh came to them and ordered Ḥājji Khān Ahmad (one of his father's slave-kings) who had married the sister of Khawāṣṣ Khān, that he should take the offensive, and he encountered the amirs and drove them off. Khawāṣṣ Khān, however, turned away from Ḥājji Khān and said : ' I will not cause my sister to grieve for her man, nor will I make her put on mourning for him.' Ḥājji Khān drew rein and Khawāṣṣ Khān shut himself up in the fort of Kama'on. Salīm Shāh now sent some amirs to try and win over Khawāṣṣ Khān to his side, taking the treaty with them. Khawāṣṣ Khān consented, and assembling his companions, took leave of them, and asking their blessing, left the fort with a few of his following, and set out with the amirs to visit Salīm Shāh. While they were on the way he fancied he noticed a change in their manner towards him, and he said to some of his attendants : ' I am as good as killed without doubt, I have surrendered myself to them, it is not they who have brought me by force ; only I don't know how my death will come about, and I am frightened of nothing but the humiliation of *Schadenfreude*, which my eye beholds. I make my blood legal to you [you may take away my life], and when I make my prostrations in prayer, take my sword and sever my head from my body.' He then performed his ablutions and declared his repentance of his sins (*anāba*). And when he knelt down on his mat to pray and called upon his Lord, his request was carried out. When the news of this was spread abroad, the amirs were full of regrets, and, leaving his body, they carried his head to the court of the Sultan, who ordered it to be suspended from the gate of Delhi. He then ordered the head to be joined to the body, and buried them. His tomb is visited and blessings are derived from such visits. Even to this day men sing his praises. He was lavish in the distribution of alms, and devoted to pious men ; he helped the needy, was generous to the poor, and adopted orphans. He fed the hungry, giving them the choicest foods and plenty of sweets, so that he distributed every night to people of that class and those who came with them a share of the various kinds of sweets, of which there were a hundred qintars every night, and the qintar is one hundred rutls ; and other forms of food in proportion. It happened one night that there was a shortage of firewood, and it was a cold, wet night, so the cook was in difficulties. He made inquiries about the sweets for the poor, and was told that they had not been prepared owing to the lack of firewood. So he ordered fire to be made with the shirts of the bodyguard instead of with wood.

and the fire to be kept alight by soaking them with olive oil. which was done. And anyone who pictures to himself the preparation of 100 qintars with the use of fine shirts in order to satisfy the hunger of poor men, on a rainy cold night like this, will realize the pious intentions of this man in performing good works in the name of God. He was also famous for his military gifts, and in the movement of troops and so forth, so that Shīr Shāh was indeed fortunate to have the services of such a man.

“ When Shīr Shāh was encamped opposite Humāyūn, and Khawāṣṣ Khān was at one stage distant from him, he refrained from fighting and said : ‘ No banner shall be unfurled for me until I see him on the right and left wing.’ An example of his justice was his saying to ‘Ādil Khān : ‘ Both of you are as my two eyes to me.’ So that when the two brothers fought, he withdrew from the battle. And what the historian of *Akbar Nāma* says, namely that he used to try and impose on the people by distributing treasure he had taken from others, in order to deceive high and low into regarding him as a man of piety, is totally unfounded.”





ABU'L-FAZL PRESENTING THE AKBAR-NĀMAH TO THE EMPEROR AKBAR

## A PORTRAIT OF ABU'L FAZL

Communicated by T. W. ARNOLD

NO authentic portrait of Abu'l Fazl, the accomplished minister and panegyrist of the emperor Akbar, has yet been published ; yet he was one of the most prominent figures at the court of one of the greatest sovereigns known to history, and the long portrait gallery of the dignitaries of the Mughal Empire in the period of its zenith is incomplete without him. Mr. Vincent A. Smith, in his *life of Akbar* (Oxford, 1917), included a picture of Abu'l Fazl from the Delhi Museum (p. 306), but the Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Antiquities, Coronation Durbar, 1911 (Archæological Survey of India), p. 100, assigns it to the early part of the nineteenth century, and declares that it is almost certainly not a portrait of Abu'l Fazl—a judgment with which any one acquainted with Mughal portraiture can have no hesitation in concurring.

Through the courtesy of Mr. A. Chester Beatty, we are permitted to publish here a portrait of this distinguished statesman and man of letters, taken from a MS. of the *Akbar Nāmah* (fol. 177), which, though undated, must have been completed some time between 1602 and 1605. The picture shows Abu'l Fazl presenting the second volume of his work to the Emperor, an event which probably occurred some time in March, 1602 (see Mr. H. Beveridge's translation, ii, pp. 576-7). The name of the painter is given as Govardhan ; we have thus in this picture a contemporary representation by one of the best-known of Akbar's court painters. No description of Abu'l Fazl's personal appearance is available, whereby the accuracy of the portrait can be tested, but the fleshy cheeks and neck are such as might be expected from the account given in the *Ma'āthir al-Umarā*, where it is stated that his daily ration weighed twenty-two *sīrs*, or more than thirty pounds of food, and his housekeeping was on a very lavish scale. It is also noticeable that he imitates his royal master (as he might have been expected to do) in wearing a small moustache, after the Hindu fashion, and short whiskers.

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## *TAXATION IN PERSIA*

A SYNOPSIS FROM THE EARLY TIMES TO THE CONQUEST OF THE  
MONGOLS

By MOSTAFA KHAN FATEH

FOR some time past the writer has been endeavouring to collect material for the writing of an Economic History of Persia from the earliest times to the present. He has found himself greatly handicapped by the lack of accurate information respecting the earlier epochs of Persian history, and his researches in this direction are by no means complete.

He has nevertheless made extracts from such books and manuscripts as have been hitherto accessible to him in the hope that he may be able to make use of information at some later date.

In the course of his reading, he has come across frequent references to the systems of taxation in use in Persia at different times, and it has occurred to him that it might be of interest to give in brief outline some idea of these systems.

Before starting on this attempt it should be pointed out that the geographical and climatic conditions of Persia have made great continuity in revenue systems possible from the very earliest times. The discoveries at Susa (the capital of Elam) in South-West Persia have thrown much light on the economic conditions of that part of the world, and show that the extremely fertile nature of the alluvial soil of the Susanian plain led to the early development of agriculture. Among the inscriptions discovered at Susa by M. de Morgan is a large granite obelisk covered on all four sides with ancient and archaic writings dating back to nearly 4000 B.C. It gives an account of money and objects given in payment by the King for certain estates, it shows a complete system of agriculture and commerce, and explains that land was estimated at its corn value. There is no doubt that land-tax was known then, and its origin in Persia dates back to this period, if not before.

The major part of taxation in Persia has always been the land-tax, and it has increased or decreased according to the area under cultivation. With the exception of brief periods during the foreign invasions, the land at present under cultivation has probably been under cultivation almost continuously from the earliest historical

times and probably much earlier. There was great increase in the area under cultivation during the reign of Shahpur I and Anushirwan, due to the extension of irrigation and other important public works such as roads through the Zagros range, which had the effect of encouraging settlements in land previously inhabited only by nomads. It is probable that many areas thus colonized fell out of cultivation in Luristan, Bakhtiari, and Fars, for instance, as a result of the disorder following on the Arab invasion, and further very large areas went out of cultivation in Khuzistan as a result of the breakdown and destruction of the canal system in the fourteenth and subsequent centuries. There is reason to believe that practically all available land was under cultivation in the time of Anushirwan, an area probably three or four times as great as that now cultivated.

It is impossible to travel anywhere in the Zagros Mountains, from Sauj Bulaq to Lar, without coming across great areas of terraced cultivation with ruins, which must have once contained a large population. The Zagros Mountains over their whole length, but particularly between Kermanshah and Shiraz, are seamed with good roads traversing the numerous rivers by means of beautifully constructed solid stone bridges, demonstrating an extensive traffic from south to north, i.e. of sugar and silk, which were produced in Khuzistan in quantities sufficient to supply the whole of Persia and to provide a balance for export to Mesopotamia and further west. There is, for example, evidence that the silk fabrics in use in Egypt in the fourth century B.C. were made in Persia in the province of Khuzistan, which was then, as now, the most highly industrialized part of Persia.

All this goes to show a continuity of the agricultural system with the consequent system of the land-tax, and it is interesting to note that until the beginning of the present century the land-tax formed about two-thirds of the total revenues.

The extremely scanty information in regard to the periods preceding the Achæmenian times has obliged me to begin this paper from the Achæmenians or Kianians, as it is called in Persian.

#### THE ACHÆMENIAN PERIOD (558 TO 330 B.C.)

The fundamental features of the State organization of the Achæmenids were due to Cyrus, the founder of the first Persian Empire. Cambyses and Darius followed in his footsteps and completed the vast structure of the Empire. Darius' task was particularly that of



consolidating and perfecting the work of his predecessors, and it was during his reign that the famous Satraps were appointed for each province. These Satraps combined in themselves the functions of civil as well as military governors: and were furthermore the collectors of state revenues.

The inhabitants of Persia proper, the home district or satrapy of the king, were exempt from taxation. Instead, they brought the best of their possessions as a gift to their king on festival days (Plut. Artax. 4-5). In return for this, he distributed rich presents to every Persian man and women—the women of Pasargadæ, who were members of the king's tribe, each received a piece of gold (Plut. Alex. 69).

The other satrapies, which for the most part had been added to the king's dominions by conquest, each had to contribute certain taxes to the State. Before the time of Darius there was no system of equitable taxation based on the fertility of the soil or its produce, and each province of the Empire had to contribute a certain sum which was fixed without any regard being paid as to whether it was able to do so or not. Herodotus (Book III. 89) writes: "In the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses after him there was no fixed tribute, but payment was made in gifts."

In the reign of Darius a regular and more or less equitable distribution of taxation came into force which was based on an exact measurement of the Empire in respect of the varying fertility of the land. The State received a proportion of the produce fixed according to the richness of the soil, and ranging from one-tenth to as much as one-half; and the crops could not be reaped or the fruit collected until the tax-collector was ready to take the share due to the State.

According to Herodotus (Book III, 95) the total cash amount raised annually from the twenty satrapies, into which the Empire was divided, amounted to 14,560 Eubœic talents (approximately £3,500,000). The heaviest contribution was the gold-dust of India amounting to 4,680 talents. Next to this came Assyria and Babylon which contributed 1,000 talents; the next largest were Egypt and the African dominions with 700 talents; the provinces of Asia Minor paid 1,760 talents; Syria, Cyprus, and Phœnicia 350 talents; Bactria 360; Susiana 300. Some of the less thickly populated satrapies paid less, and it is therefore clear that the system was more or less equitable.

The proceeds of this taxation were forwarded annually by the

satraps to Susa. After defraying the annual expenditure, there always remained a surplus which was placed in the king's treasury as a reserve fund.

This reserve fund grew to be considerable later on, and Darius III drew on it heavily to finance the war with Alexander the Great. Notwithstanding this heavy expenditure, and the gold talents that Darius took with him in his flight, there remained in the State treasuries of Susa and Persepolis coined metal and bullion to the value of 180,000 talents, the greater part of which was in bullion and gold and silver wrought into vessels.

In the book of Ezra (chapter iv) it is mentioned that tolls were also levied and paid. These tolls were probably occasional rather than regular payments, and were therefore more in the nature of a levy than a tax.

The greater part of the cash payments must have been derived from a fixed annual land-tax (Neh. v, 4) which was based on the fertility of the soil. There is a passage in Herodotus (Book vi, 42) relating to the Persian administration of Ionia which says: "And he measured their lands by parasangs, which is the Persian name for a distance of thirty furlongs, and appointed that each people should, according to this measurement, pay a tribute which has remained fixed ever since that time to this day." This passage conveys the idea that land-taxes were imposed regardless of the quality of the soil; and it is not very clear whether this system held good all over Persia. But it is evident from other available data that the thickly inhabited satrapies with little territory paid more; it would therefore appear that the fertility of the soil must to some extent have been taken into account.

The contributions in kind were made particularly for the support of the Army and the households of the kings, the satraps and the officials under them. Herodotus mentions that for four months in the year, the king and his Army were supported from the taxes in kind paid by Babylon, and for the remainder of the year by the rest of Asia. These contributions in kind consisted of all sorts of commodities such as horses and cattle, grain, clothing and its materials, furniture, and all articles of industry.

When the Army was engaged in warfare, it maintained itself on the country through which it passed or was quartered in. In time of peace garrisons stationed in each satrapy were maintained by that province, while the Imperial Army stationed in the capital was partly

maintained by cash payments from the Royal exchequer and partly by contribution in kind.

The household of each satrap was provided for by his own province and that of each subordinate official by the district under his charge. These satraps and sub-satraps lived on a large scale and entertained large numbers of people. The king had the largest household and more than 15,000 men daily drew their sustenance from his table. The satraps' and sub-satraps' households varied according to the district, but in all cases were considerable. In Nehemiah (chapter v) we see that the cost of such entertainments was burdensome and often was a heavy burden on the poorer communities.

The extent and value of these contributions in kind cannot be accurately estimated; but from the figures given by Herodotus, one may assume that they amounted to two or three times as much as the cash payments. For example, Cappadocia, besides supporting and maintaining the officials and its garrison, contributed every year 1,500 horses, 50,000 sheep, and 2,000 mules, while Media contributed nearly double this number. Three hundred and sixty white horses came from Cilicia; 1,000 talents of incense from Arabia; ebony and ivory from Ethiopia; some precious stones from India; camels from Babylon; foals from Armenia, etc.

From the fragmentary information available regarding this epoch of Persian history it is not possible to define the precise burden of taxation imposed, and the value received in return by the subjects of the Empire in the form of peace, security, justice, administration, public works, etc.

To summarize the system of taxation during this period, which takes us to 330 B.C., we see that it was based on a cash payment as well as a contribution in kind.

#### THE SELEUCID AND PARTHIAN EMPIRES (330 B.C. TO A.D. 226)

The conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great, the subsequent disintegration of his Empire, and the annexation of Persia by Seleucus Nicator, brought about a diffusion of Hellenism resulting in the introduction and spread of the Greek language, the establishment of Greek cities, and Greek administration and civilization all over Persia. There are very few data available to show that this Greek domination introduced a new system of taxation, and that it radically changed the character of the State administration. It is, however,

certain that cash and payments in kind continued as before ; and the continual wars waged by the different Greek armies considerably added to the taxpayers' burden. At this period we see that the Greek rulers adopted the plan of securing their dominions by building Greek cities in several parts of Persia. These cities were peopled by Greek and Macedonian colonists and enjoyed civic independence with laws, officials, councils, and assemblies of their own. They became the main factors in the diffusion of Hellenism and were the centres of commerce and industrial life : and this, in conjunction with the Royal favour and privileges accorded to them, continually attracted new settlers and added to their population.

The establishment of these cities and the consequent growth of commerce and trade introduced the origins of a new factor into the economic life of Persia which later on reflected on the taxation.

The Parthian Empire which succeeded the Seleucids was totally different from that of the Achæmenians as far as the powers of the Central Government were concerned. The Parthian kings came from a predatory nomad tribe who had partly adopted the Greek civilization and partly had to base their system of Government on what was left to them by the Achæmenians. They made no attempt to incorporate or to weld the conquered states into a unified nation. They were content to possess the open country and their capitals ; and so long as their orders were obeyed and the customary tribute paid, they allowed the subject people to develop on their own lines. The feudalism based on tribal property attained a large measure of success and resembled closely the feudal system of Europe during the Middle Ages.

The system of land taxation probably remained the same as before, and cash tributes were received by the Parthian kings whenever they were strong enough to exact them from the provinces.

The Greek cities which, as we have seen, were scattered throughout the Empire, enjoyed their municipal government, and paid an annual fixed tribute which was assessed by their own local governments in the form of a poll-tax.

Besides the great families of nobles, who owned large estates and paid very little in the form of taxation, there were the " Magi " priests who owned much of the best land, were granted special privileges and paid no taxes.

From the writings of certain Persian historians we gather that a certain form of duty was levied on foreign goods entering the country.

In the description of trade routes given by these authors we see customs houses established at the frontiers where duty was collected.

Commerce and industry grew during this period and the first trade relations between China and Persia were established during the period of the Arsacids, which is called by the Chinese An-Sih. Trade between Persia and Rome also flourished through the agency of Greeks and Jews, and on the whole certain marked improvements were noticeable in the economic conditions of the people.

The large number of silver coins discovered, which belong to the Parthian period, shows that the volume of trade was considerable, and we read of silk goods manufactured in Babylon and other goods which were exchanged for Roman goods.

The State expenditure consisted of the upkeep of the Royal household and the Royal guard, and very little was spent by the Parthian kings on public works or national monuments. Fergusson, in his *History of Architecture*, writes that Oriental architecture is practically a blank from the conquests of Alexander the Great to the rise of the Sassanian dynasty, and this shows that Parthian kings left very little behind them in this respect.

With the exception of the Royal Guard, there was no standing army; and similarly to the Achæmenians, when war was declared the monarch issued orders to his vassal-kings and satraps, who brought their levies to an appointed centre on a fixed day. The expenses of these levies were borne by the respective provinces.

Although very little is known about the Parthian Empire and its organization, it can be safely said that they inherited the traditions of the Persians, and all their external institutions were borrowed from the Seleucid Empire. It can therefore be assumed that the system of taxation remained much the same as it was in the time of the Achæmenians.

#### THE SASSANIAN EMPIRE (A.D. 226 TO 641) <sup>1</sup>

The system of taxation during the early Sassanian period was divided into two main categories, namely (1) the land-tax, and (2) the personal or poll-tax. The land-tax was called "Kharagh" and the personal tax "Gesith". Later on the Arabs used the same terms and pronounced them "Kharaj" and "Jiziah".

<sup>1</sup> With regard to this section I have consulted *L'Empire des Sassanides*, by A. Christensen G. Rawlinson's *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy*, the works of Masudi, Tabari, and Firdusi.

The annual amount of the poll-tax was fixed once and for all. This tax may have had its origin in the cash payments levied by the Achæmenians, and its development into a fixed annual payment may have been influenced largely by the tribute in cash paid by the Greeks and Jews residing within the Parthian Empire.

The land-tax was based on an assessment of the produce, each district or locality paying from one-sixth to one-third of the produce according to the productivity of the land, and its proximity to the town. The method of assessment of this tax often gave rise to exactions by the officials, and discouraged the cultivator from increasing his production. Also the varying conditions of the crop caused the State's revenue to vary from year to year, thus making it impossible for the Government to make an estimate of its revenues beforehand. It often happened that the revenues did not meet the expenditure, and resort was made to special assessment which was a compulsory contribution to defray the costs of a special undertaking.

The abuses and disadvantages of this system soon gave rise to a good deal of discontent, and to a certain extent contributed toward the rising of the Mazdakites, who believed in an early form of communism.

Kobad (Kawadh I), who reigned from A.D. 488 to 531, and was at first a disciple of Mazdak, saw the evils of this system of taxation and decided to change and revise it. But it was Khosrau I (Anushirvan the Just) who set himself to the task of introducing the new system which remained in force for a number of centuries. In this new system a fixed amount, payable either in cash or in kind, was substituted for the fluctuating tax hitherto in force; this change had the great advantage of defining the respective positions of the taxpayer and the Government in their relations towards each other.

Every jarib of wheat or barley paid one dirham (7*d.*) per annum, 8 dirhams was paid for every jarib of vineyard, 7 dirhams for every jarib of alfalfa, five-sixths of a dirham for every jarib of rice, one dirham for every four Persian palm-trees, or for six Aramæan palm-trees, or for six olive-trees. In addition to this one-tenth of the produce was also collected in kind. All other products of the land were exempt from taxation.

These payments applied only to the sown land, and tax assessors had to ascertain every year which lands had been cultivated during that year and which had been left uncultivated. This system of

annual survey involved the employment of a large staff, but it was a great improvement on the past and facilitated matters considerably. As a result of this method of assessment the cultivator was free to work for his own benefit, select the land which gave him the best return, and in short could be certain of reaping what he had sown.

On the face of it, this tax does not seem to have been heavy or burdensome, but a good deal depended on the method of collection. We have no information as to how this was done, and there is no doubt that at times, when there was a bad crop, reductions were made. But on the whole the new system greatly alleviated the condition of the taxpayer and also brought in regular and at the same time larger contributions to the Royal Exchequer.

The poll-tax was also reformed by Khosrau I. All males between the ages of 20 and 50, except the nobles, dignatories, soldiers, priests, and Government employees, invalids, and servants, were liable to this tax. They were divided into various classes according to their ability to pay, and payments varied from 4 to 48 dirhams per head per year.

Khosrau had copies of the new tax regulations sent to the tax-collectors and judges, and also had copies posted in all the provinces for the information of the public. He also entrusted the judges with the duty of seeing that justice was rendered to the taxpayers. The judges of the different districts had to render an account of exemptions and reductions allowable in each case, and the central Government, after considering these recommendations, confirmed them when necessary by issuing instructions to the local tax-collectors.

To these regular taxes is to be added a property tax called "Ayin" which took the form of presents or donations to the king. These presents were sent to the king on the occasion of the feasts of "NoRuz" and "Mihrgan".

Additions to the revenue were furnished by the income from the Royal domains and the royalties payable to the king, which amounted to a considerable sum every year. The royalties were derived from the mines, etc., amongst which mention must be made of the gold mines of Pharangion.

Booty obtained in the course of the numerous wars formed an irregular revenue which at times amounted to considerable sums of cash, large quantities of jewellery and commodities, and even slaves.

The customs duties were also another item of revenue which was paid into the Royal Exchequer.

The king's treasury in the year A.D. 607 contained about 468,000,000 misqals of specie, amounting to about £13,500,000 — each misqal being equal to one dirham. Besides this cash, there were large quantities of jewels and other precious stones, which probably were worth an equal amount. Notwithstanding the incessant and costly wars in which Khosrau II was engaged in, we learn from Tabari that in the thirtieth year of his reign he had collected in his treasury 1,600,000,000 misqals of specie or nearly £46,500,000. On the accession of the king all the money in the treasury was recoined in the name of the new king, and all the archives of the Government were recopied in the name of the new monarch.

During the Sasanian period there were frequent remissions of taxes in arrears, particularly on the accession of a king, in order to make him popular. For example, Bahram V on the occasion of his coronation ordered that tax arrears amounting to 70 million dirhams should not be paid and that the land-tax of the first year of his reign should be reduced by a third. During the famine in the reign of Piruz, he exempted his subjects from the land as well as the poll-tax, and even paid certain sums from his treasury to ameliorate the condition of his people.

The average amount of taxation during the Sassanid epoch was 600,000,000 to 800,000,000 dirhams per annum.

The state expenditure consisted of the cost of wars, the upkeep of the Court, the salaries of the Government employees, the cost of constructing dams, encouraging agriculture, developing irrigation, etc. We read in Tabari that Khosrau I was constantly improving the water supply, constructing dams, promoting the growth of the population by dowering the poor and introducing the system of compulsory marriage for all, providing guards and posts on all the chief arteries of trade, improving the means of communication, building bridges, etc. In the aggregate the State expenditure must have amounted to a very considerable figure. The system of cash payments to the soldiers which was introduced by Khosrau I added to the efficiency of his troops, but was a drain upon the exchequer, as was also the cost of providing them with arms.

#### FROM THE ARAB CONQUEST TO THE MONGOL INVASION (A.D. 641–1230)

During the early years of Islam there was no regular system of taxation except *Zakat* or alms, which consisted of certain voluntary contributions by the rich and their division among the poor.



Muhammad, imbued with a loftiness of purpose and permeated by a deep sincerity and conviction in his mission, preached the equality and brotherhood of man. One of the first means employed to achieve this equality was the asking of voluntary contributions from the rich, which later on developed into an income tax.

At the beginning of Muhammad's mission, Islam was purely a religious movement, commenced with the sole purpose of propagating the new teaching. Later on, however, when success and power came to him, Muhammad was the ruler of Arabia and as such dealt with laws, ordinances, and manifestos which laid the foundations of Islam as a political power.

In the second year of Muhammad's flight from Mecca to Medina (A.D. 624) two new sources of revenue were tapped; one was the booty gained in war, and the other the *jizya*, which consisted of tribute or rent paid to the State by tolerated communities for the right to work their land. This later on developed into a poll-tax. The booty was divided equally amongst the warriors, while four-fifths of the Zakat and *jizya* were divided among the poor people, the remaining fifth going to the Prophet. There were no books or records kept of this revenue, and people simply gathered together in the mosque and received their share.

The holy war against the border countries, which Muhammad inaugurated, was the best means for making the new religion popular among the Arabs, for opportunity was thereby afforded for gaining rich booty. The movement was organized by Islam for religious purposes and the propagation of Muhammad's teachings, but the masses were induced to join it for quite other than religious motives; and here we see that a religion was accepted and fostered by the Arabs mainly for economic purposes.

Immense sums flowed into Medina as a result of the Arab conquests, and as it became impossible for the Caliph personally to administer the affairs of the State, the supreme office was gradually put into commission. Omar, the second Caliph, was the first to establish a proper system of accounts for the public revenues. He instituted different Government offices called *divans*, one of which was concerned with regulating and administering the public revenues. This *divan* recorded all the revenues in books, and paid to each citizen a sum commensurate with the service that he rendered to the State, which in general was sufficient to meet his expenses.

The sources of revenue also became more elaborate and were based

on five distinct lines, namely *Zakat* (alms or poor rate), booty, *jizya* (poll-tax), *Kharaj* (land-tax), and other taxes.

*Zakat* was derived from the following sources : (a) Animals, (b) cash, (c) fruit-trees, (d) cultivated land. As regards the first it was levied on camels, oxen, sheep, horses, mules, and donkeys on a progressive scale. The *Zakat* on cash, in which category were classed gold, silver, merchandise, etc., was about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent per annum. The produce of fruit-trees exceeding a certain fixed weight was taxed as follows : one-twentieth of the irrigated trees and one-tenth of the non-irrigated trees. The cultivated lands paid the same as the fruit-trees.

According to the laws prescribed in the Qur'an the *Zakat* revenues were divided amongst those who had no means of subsistence, those who did not have a sufficient income to meet their expenses, the collectors of *Zakat*, those who were in debt, those who were fighting for Islam, those travellers who lacked the necessary funds when travelling, purchasing the freedom of slaves, and public works.

Those responsible for the collection of *Zakat* could distribute it in such manner as they saw fit without authority from the Caliph.

*Booty* consisted of slaves, lands, cattle, merchandise, etc., captured in war, and was divided amongst the warriors. As regards land only that which was taken by force was seized and divided up. If the landowners were willing to accept Islam, they were allowed to retain their land and pay the usual taxes. One-fifth of all the booty was the Prophet's share as long as he lived ; this he divided among his family and the poor, etc. After his death this fifth went to the State's Treasury.

*Jizya*.—Under this heading came annual tributes paid by different countries to the Arab conquerors, and poll-taxes collected from the non-Moslems. For example, in Egypt every adult person paid two dinars per annum ; in other countries Omar introduced a system on a sliding scale whereby the rich paid 48 dirhams per annum, the middle classes 24, and the poorer people 12.

Like the booty, *jizya* was also divided up in such manner that one-fifth went to the Prophet, and four-fifths were divided amongst the Army, and those who fought for Islam. Omar instituted a regular pay for the Army, after which the four-fifths were also paid into the State's Treasury.

*Kharaj* was the land-tax, the basis of which remained in each country which the Arabs conquered, the same as before.

Omar, after the conquest of Persia, retained the tithe system of taxation which had long been in force. He divided all lands into three classes : (1) land cultivated by Moslems, which paid one-tenth of their product ; (2) lands taken by force of arms from the infidels and cultivated by Moslems, which also paid one-tenth ; and (3) lands cultivated by non-Moslems, which were taxed at a higher rate.

On the whole every jarib of land paid one-tenth of its produce in kind, and in addition there was a cash payment which differed according to the product of land, e.g. every jarib of fruit-trees paid 1 dirham, palm-trees 8 dirhams, cane sugar 6 dirhams, alfalfa 5 dirhams wheat 4 dirhams, barley 2 dirhams, etc. In certain cases the land-tax in kind was increased whenever there was a good crop, and reduced proportionately when the crops fell below the average.

In principle *Kharaj* was only levied on non-Moslems, but in practice only Arab Moslems were exempt. In the twentieth year of the Hijrah, the total amount of *Kharaj* collected in Persia was approximately 63 million dirhams, and in A.H. 85 this had increased to nearly double that amount.

*Other taxes* in addition to the above were one-fifth of the produce of mines worked, and one-tenth a transit tax or duty on all the merchandise transported from one country to another for trade purposes, which amounted in fact to a customs duty.

During the early years of Arab conquests, unbelievers were invited to embrace Islam. If they followed a recognized sacred book such as the Bible and were not idolators, they were given the choice between becoming Moslems or submitting to the Moslems and paying the *jizya*, in return for protection and their personal safety. If they accepted Islam, their lives, families, and property were secure, and they became henceforth part of the Moslem community. If they refused these conditions and elected to fight their lives became forfeit ; if they were defeated, their families were liable to slavery and all their goods were seized.

The Persians, however, when they were attacked by the Arabs, chose to fight them instead of submitting to their conditions. They had a vigorous feeling of national pride, based upon glorious memories of the past ; and notwithstanding the internal disturbances and external disasters which had shattered their Empire, they had not yet lost their patriotism. They fought against the Arabs in defence of their holiest possessions, their nationality and their faith, but they were defeated. The result was confiscation of their property, seizure

of their land, and many other hardships. Persia was reduced to the position of a conquered state, its economic life was paralysed, and consequently the ability of its inhabitants to pay taxes was lessened.

Islam did not succeed in assimilating the Persians, and it took a long time before the new religion was generally accepted. Consequently the Persians were made to pay very heavy taxes.

The first period of Arab conquest, which brought the conquerors unearned wealth, placed the Moslems in a privileged position. They were a ruling caste and the non-Moslems had to pay the land and poll-taxes to support them. In order to restrain the Moslems from engaging in any other occupation except the war, and defending the newly-won territories, the early Caliphs and especially Omar took great care that Moslems should not be engaged in any occupation. As soon as a non-Moslem embraced Islam, his land was distributed among his non-Moslem relatives, and he lived on the support he received from the public funds. Such a system led to wholesale conversions to Islam ; and consequently a large number of producers were changed into consumers, and the revenues began to decline.

Then came the Omayyad dynasty, and soon after the reconstruction by Abdul Malik Marwan of the Administration of the Empire on Arab principles. In Persia, Persian up till that time had remained the official language, but henceforth all officials were compelled to know Arabic and to conduct their administration in that language. The religious motives of the Arab conquerors had undergone a change and an Arab Empire was established, in which the Arab element ruled for the benefit of the Absolute monarchs of the Omayyad family. A regular postal service was instituted for Government dispatches, and the postmasters were charged with the task of informing the Caliph of all important news. Oppressions and exactions increased in Persia under the Omayyad rule and various imposts were levied to satisfy the ever-growing greed of the conquerors. They forbade the newly-converted Persians to leave their land and enter the ruling class, and forced them to undergo the treatment accorded to non-Moslems. The Noruz tax was revived and amounted to nearly ten million dirhams every year ; a marriage tax was imposed on all those who wanted to get married ; a sort of stamp tax was introduced for all those who submitted petitions ; all the expenses of the Arab officials were borne by the people ; and besides the usual taxes collected during the early period which were mentioned under the heading of Mohammedan

taxes, numerous other imposts were established which absolutely drained the resources of ruined Persia.

During the reign of Abdul Malik, a uniform coinage was instituted for the Arab dominions. The legal unit of weight was the "dirham", weighing 47·5 grains, and the dirham of silver became the unit of the coinage. The gold coinage was the "dinar", equivalent to 1½ dirham. The coinage was supposed to be based on this legal standard but very soon, owing to a reduction in the weight of coins and alloying the precious metals, it fell away from it and dinars became nominal values for purposes of accounts and the computation of various taxes. The taxes were at first based on the legal standards, but when the current coin varied from the standards, the constantly fluctuating difference between the value of the coin and that of the standards had to be calculated. This system of coinage was also responsible for a good deal of abuse on the part of the tax-collectors who demanded gold dinars and fixed the ratio between dirhams and dinars as they pleased. It often happened that the total taxes of a province were doubled or trebled by this vicious method of calculation and brought some provinces to the verge of ruin.

During the reign of Omar II part of these exactions which had resulted in certain rebellions were suppressed, and Persian Moslems were allowed to benefit from the ordinary privileges granted to Arabs. But his reign was a short one and the Arab officials who saw in him an obstacle in their way of collecting wealth killed him, and his reforms did not long survive him.

Under Yazid II, these extortions increased more than before. For example, we read that a certain official called Maslama had pocketed the revenues of Khorasan and had failed to forward them to Damascus. Instead of recovering these, his successor named Hobaira levied another tax and ordered his successor to extort further large sums of money from a number of the rich people of Khorasan.

Conditions in Persia improved, however, during the Governorships of Khalid and Nasr. The latter instituted a fairly moderate system of taxation whereby both Moslems and non-Moslems paid a fixed tithe-tax, while non-Moslems paid a poll-tax in addition. This poll-tax ceased to be levied on anyone as soon as he embraced Islam. The average annual taxes collected in Persia (the provinces which cover the present kingdom of Persia) during the Omayyads amounted to about 130 million dirhams.

The injustices of the Omayyads, however, the luxury and wanton-

ness of their court, as contrasted with the misery of their subjects. and their frequent extortions from Persians resulted in the overthrow of this dynasty by the Abbasids who owed their success almost entirely to the help of the Persians.

The system of collecting the taxes during the highly centralized Umayyad regime was that the Governor of each district collected the taxes. After deducting the cost of collection, the Governors paid the salaries of the Army, spent whatever was approved on public works, and then remitted the balance to Dasmacus where the Caliph resided. This was, however, changed afterwards, as will be seen later.

Under the Abbasids the barrier that separated the Arabs from the conquered nations crumbled away, chiefly owing to the fact that the Arabic language, religion, and civilization were universally adopted by, or rather forced upon, the subject races.

The heavy taxes imposed by the Umayyads had considerably decreased the area of cultivation in Persia ; and one of the first acts of the Abbasids was to encourage cultivation, cause the return of peasants to the land; improve the system of irrigation, reduce the taxes and abolish the inequitable imposts.

The main sources of revenue accruing to the Abbasid Caliphs were the following :—

1. A great number of villages which had been confiscated by the Umayyad officials became the property of the new rulers, and the system of confiscating the properties of their own officials, who were also in the habit of making such exactions, considerably added to the properties of the Abbasid State. Furthermore, a large number of landowners in Persia who had been suffering under the Umayyads had nominally made over their titles to important Arab officials in order to escape the heavy exactions of the State officials. For example, a good number of people in Azarbaijan had their lands registered under the name of Marvan-ibn-Muhammed, Governor of Armenia, in Zanjan under the name of Qasim-ibn-Rashid and so on. All these lands became later the property of the Umayyad officials and were consequently acquired by the Abbasid Caliphs. So that the Abbasids owned a large number of villages in Persia when they assumed power, and the existence of the Crown Lands in a large scale dates from their time.

This fact has been mentioned for the purpose of specifying that the tax on Crown Lands, which was in fact the revenue accruing to the

State, amounted in certain cases to as much as the land-tax collected on privately owned lands.

2. The land-tax on privately owned lands varied in different localities. In some provinces the State received a certain portion of the produce, in others a fixed tax was levied in cash and in kind according to the measurement, e.g. so much per acre; again, in other districts, the State and the taxpayer entered into a fixed arrangement based on the survey of the land and its productivity. On the whole, the second system was in vogue in most districts of Persia, and the province of Fars was the most heavily taxed; for example, 95 dirhams was paid for every jarib of wheat, 118 dirhams for a jarib of palm-trees or vegetables, 712 for a jarib of fruit-trees, and 123 dirhams for a jarib of cotton.

3. The poll-tax was another source of revenue which was collected from the non-Moslems. This had, however, considerably decreased owing to the fact that most Persians had by this time accepted Islam.

4. *Zakat or alms*.—This tax, which in the early days of Islam had amounted to a large sum, had been more or less replaced by the land-tax and was a sort of voluntary contribution which later on lapsed altogether.

5. All surface mines, which required no exploitation such as salt, oil, etc., were exempt; but other mines which had to be worked according to the then prevailing system were liable to a tax equalling one-fifth of the product. In Khorasan, gold, silver, turquoise, mercury were mined; in Fars and Kirman silver, iron, lead, sulphur, all of which paid this tax.

6. *Road Tolls and Customs Duty*.—These were not fully developed under the early Abbasids, but amounted to a considerable sum in the ninth and tenth centuries. All commercial goods transported from one province to another for purposes of trade were subject to a tithe tax. Such goods were not allowed to be sold before payment of such duty, and then only through specially designated brokers and under the supervision of the Government officials. Road tolls were also collected on all merchandise passing between certain points. One of the Arab writers (Ibn Hauqal) has stated that 1,000,000 dirhams were alone collected during one year on goods sent from Azarbaijan to Rei (Tehran).

7. *Real Estate Tax*.—This was a sort of ground rent which was levied on those persons who had built shops, caravanserais, public baths, etc., on State land.

8. *Royalty on Minting Coins.*—There was no central mint for the whole Empire, but local mints were established by authorized private individuals who paid a fixed royalty to the State.

9. Other miscellaneous taxes, such as one-tenth of goods transported by ships in inland waters, a fishing tax, a poll-tax on artisans, etc. These were not considerable and very little information is available as to their basis, incidence, etc.

The security and good Government established by the early Abbasids, whose power depended mostly on the Persian element, and in whose administration Persians held important posts, went a long way to revive the economic life of Persia and brought them handsome revenues from the Persian dominions. Notwithstanding this, there were often the heavy exactions which exist under absolute monarchy, especially in large empires (which hold under their dominions such wide territories). For example, it is related that Harun ur-Rashid was once passing through Hamadan, and was struck by the poverty of the inhabitants. He questioned the judge of the district, who said that all was due to heavy taxation which amounted every year to about six million dirhams. The Caliph suggested a reduction of 20 per cent, and the judge replied that this would only relieve the people from starvation, and should the Caliph wish to see his subjects in a better condition he must reduce the total amount of taxes by 50 per cent.

The greater part of the exactions, however, arose from the difference in the weight of coinage, of which the tax-collector took advantage. The latter usually demanded the heaviest coins in payment of taxes, which often amounted in fact to something like a double taxation. This injustice was to a certain extent remedied by Muhtadi, who fixed an average weight for the coins collected as taxes.

Other exactions not sanctioned by the Caliphs, yet collected by the Governors, were defraying the cost of entertaining the Caliph's officials when passing through a district, presents to the Governors of the district on festival days, 5 per cent additional land-tax imposed on those who refused to obey the orders of the Governors, extra payments once made to the tax-collector which later took on the form of regular annual payments, and all sorts of other petty exactions.

As regards the system of collecting the taxes, it was usual for the Abbasid Caliphs to farm the taxes to the Governors, who in their turn leased them to their subordinates. The latter also held the heads of tribes or a few of the most influential people of each district



responsible for the actual collection. These people entered into a kind of official agreement by which they undertook to collect the usual taxes, thus saving the Governor of the district all the trouble and expense connected with such collection and at the same time guaranteeing the payment of the amount due. A few of these agreements or letters of guarantee, which make excellent readings, are quoted in full in a rare and unpublished manuscript called "*Kitab-i-Qum*".

This system of farming the taxes to Governors of provinces was mostly responsible for the semi-independent character of such Governors at a later period, and constituted the net income of the Caliphs from these provinces after allowing due provision for the defraying of the cost of garrisons, the salaries of local officials, etc.

As an example of what Persia paid to the early Abbasid Caliphs, I quote here from Ibn Khaldun the revenues of those provinces which were included in the present territories of Persia during the reign of Caliph Mamun :—

| <i>Province.</i> | <i>Cash.<br/>Dirhams.</i> | <i>Kind.</i>                                                                                                  |
|------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ahwaz            | 25,000,000                | 30,000 ratls of sugar.                                                                                        |
| Fars             | 27,000,000                | 30,000 ratls of rose water and<br>20,000 ratls of black olives.                                               |
| Kirman           | 4,200,000                 | Cloth material for 500 suits of<br>clothes and 20,000 ratls of dates.                                         |
| Karaj            | 300,000                   |                                                                                                               |
| Makran           | 400,000                   |                                                                                                               |
| Gilan            | 5,000,000                 |                                                                                                               |
| Khorasan         | 28,000,000                | 2,000 bars of silver, 1,000 horses,<br>1,000 slaves. 20,000 suits of<br>clothes and 1,000 bundles of<br>silk. |
| Jorjan           | 12,000,000                |                                                                                                               |
| Qumas            | 1,500,000                 | 1,000 bars of silver.                                                                                         |
| Tabaristan       | 6,300,000                 | 600 carpets, 200 cloaks, 500 suits<br>of clothes, 300 handkerchiefs,<br>300 brass bowls.                      |
| Ray              | 12,000,000                | 20,000 ratls of honey.                                                                                        |
| Hamadan          | 11,300,000                | 12,000 ratls of honey and 1,000<br>ratls of pomegranate juice.                                                |

| <i>Province.</i>   | <i>Cash.</i><br><i>Dirhams.</i> |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| Dinur and Nihavand | 10,700,000                      |
| Masbazan and Reyan | 4,000,000                       |
| Zour               | 6,700,000                       |
| Azarbaijan         | 4,000,000                       |

In A.D. 873 the greater part of Persia fell into the hands of the Saffarids, who are said to have exacted large sums of money from the people. The ambitions of Yaqub ibn Laith and the wars waged by his brother Amr must have cost the country considerable sums of money. There are no records of any changes in the system of taxation during their reigns but it can be assumed that their exactions were heavy.

During the tenth century two semi-independent dynasties ruled in Persia, the Samanids and the Dailamites. The Samanids are on the whole noted for their good treatment of their subjects. The Dailamites were nominally obedient to the Caliph, and Ali Bin Buya paid for some years a sum of 600,000 gold dinars to the Caliph's treasury. During the reign of Azud-ud-Dawleh he increased the land-tax, levied a tax on animals and introduced a state monopoly of all the ice and snow in the country. Vassaf says that the Kharaaj of the territory under Azud-ud-Dowleh's rule was 2,000,000 gold dinars.

There is very scanty information about the system of taxation during the Ghaznavids who ruled in Persia in the tenth and eleventh centuries. It can be assumed, however, that owing to the Ghaznavid conquests of northern India and the immense riches that resulted from these, the Persians were not oppressed and the usual taxes were collected on a fair basis.

Then came the Seljuks, during the reign of whom we read of the extension of Justice and the prosperity of the people. Many new lands came under cultivation, large numbers of dams were built, numerous irrigation canals constructed, all of which are evidence of the security which was prevalent at that time; consequently the burden of taxation cannot have been heavy or inequitable.

The Seljuks were succeeded by the Mongols, who overran Persia, massacring vast numbers of its inhabitants. The economic life of the country was virtually destroyed and many areas which then went out of cultivation have never since been under the plough. The result was that the whole official class was wiped out, the records were destroyed, the system of communications was rendered

impossible, and the currency disappeared to be replaced by their own crude system which was wholly inadequate to the requirements of a highly organized and prosperous state such as Persia had been.

It was left to the Safavi dynasty after a lapse of nearly 150 years to restore the national spirit and administrative organization of the Empire, upon the memory rather than upon the foundations left by their Seljuk predecessors.

That they were able to do so and that they succeeded in restoring within a few decades the unity and the prestige which the country had enjoyed under the Seljuks is due to the fact that during the previous 150 years of anarchy the Mongols had not only failed to devise any system of their own, but had been virtually absorbed by the more intelligent and more virile race whom they had overwhelmed and massacred but never governed. The Mongol Empire in fact shared the same weaknesses and suffered the same fate as that of their Greek and Arab predecessors and of their Afghan and Turkish successors.



## STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY ARABIC LITERATURE

By H. A. R. GIBB

### I. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

OF the modern literatures of the East, that of the Arabic-speaking peoples has received singularly little attention in Europe. The most probable explanation is that the small body of Europeans who read Arabic with any ease are so occupied with researches into the rich historic past of Islam and the Islamic peoples, that the present holds no interest, or possibly no attraction, for them. But the fact, whatever its cause, is regrettable. It creates a misunderstanding in the minds of less qualified but more interested persons, a misunderstanding which even years of residence in the East may do nothing to remove. There is prevalent, indeed, in France and Germany, no less than in England, a markedly negative attitude towards neo-Arabic literature, which reaches its absolute point in the dictum of a recent writer that "Modern Egypt has no language, no literature, no legends of its own".<sup>1</sup> As it stands the statement is untrue; but for the tag it would be grotesque. Modern Egypt has not yet indeed severed its connexion with the Arabic and the Islamic world. Yet in the same work it is recorded<sup>2</sup> that "Cairo has two hundred and seventeen printing presses, which turn out on an average one book or brochure a day". Even granting the addendum that "Much of this is translation into Arabic of western fiction", there is a substantial residue, to some part of which no unbiassed critic would deny without examination the status of literature.

In face of this no apology is required for some attempt to describe the character and tendencies of a number of works by recent and contemporary writers in Egypt and Syria.<sup>3</sup> It is obvious that no study of the social phenomena of any country can possibly be complete without some understanding of the literature produced and read in it. In the case of the Arabic-speaking countries their present literature

<sup>1</sup> George Young, *Egypt* (London, 1927), p. x.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> Except for a few scattered articles, the only European sources of reference are a number of studies in various Russian journals by Professor I. Kratchkovsky (whose personal encouragement I would here gratefully acknowledge), and the review pages of recent numbers of the *Mittheilungen* of the Berlin Oriental Seminary (*MSOS.*), due to Professor G. Kampffmeyer. See also *MSOS.*, xxviii (1925), 249-52.

serves with special force as a criterion of the intellectual movements now agitating them; indeed there is no other by which the real can be distinguished from the artificial so clearly and decisively. The field is already so large that it can be covered only by long and intensive study, and the present series of articles must be confined in the first instance to modern prose writing. Modern Arabic poetry, like classical, is a subject *sui generis*. A still more promising field of study which awaits investigation is modern Arabic drama,<sup>1</sup> especially the plays written in the colloquial speech of Egypt, but such a study, if it is to be anything but a theoretical exercise, demands a wider acquaintance with the Egyptian stage than falls to the lot of most European students. Even within the sphere of prose literature certain limits must be fixed. It is fully justifiable to include in a "classical" literature technical and scientific works, since it is only as books that they survive. In dealing with recent and contemporary literature, on the other hand, all considerations demand the exclusion of technical matter, unless, indeed, it possesses a literary value by reason either of its style or of the influence it exerts. Nevertheless in a young literature, standing often in close dependence on foreign models, these limits must not be so strictly enforced as where a definite tradition has been established. Arabic literature in particular must take into account much that would not come within the scope of literature, as it is understood in Western Europe.

It may be asked at this point by what right Arabic literature is called a young literature. To all appearances it is entitled to claim a history of thirteen centuries, a longer period of continuous literary activity than any living European language can boast. But beneath the apparent linguistic continuity Arabic literature is undergoing an evolution comparable in some respects to the substitution of Patristic for Classical Greek literature and idiom. Neo-Arabic literature is only to a limited extent the heir of the old "classical" Arabic literature, and even shows a tendency to repudiate its inheritance entirely. Its leaders are for the most part men who have drunk from other springs and look at the world with different eyes. Yet the past still plays a part in their intellectual background, and there is a section amongst them upon whom that past retains a hold scarcely shaken by newer influences. For many decades the partisans

<sup>1</sup> For this see Zaydān iv, 152-7; Muḥammad Bey Taymūr *حياتها التمثيلية* (Cairo, 1922), esp. 22-6, 47-112; al-'Aqqād *مطالعات* 259-62; *BSOS.*, ii, 255-6.

of the "old" and the "new" have engaged in a struggle for the soul of the Arabic world, a struggle in which the victory of one side over the other is even yet not assured. The protagonists are (to classify them roughly for practical purposes) the European-educated classes of Egyptians and Syrians on the one hand, and those in Egypt and the less advanced Arabic lands whose education has followed traditional lines on the other. Whatever the ultimate result may be, however, there can be no question that the conflict has torn the Arabic world from its ancient moorings, and that the contemporary literature of Egypt and Syria breathes, in its more recent developments, a spirit foreign to the old traditions.

It is indispensable to examine in some detail the genesis of these modern movements. During the nineteenth century, which found, at its opening, the Arabic world still slowly recovering from the nervous exhaustion that followed its brilliant medieval career, and still closely tied to its old traditions, there was a progressive infiltration of Western ideas.<sup>1</sup> While the literary activities of the early part of the century were thus merely a continuation of those of the preceding centuries, a steady current of European, and more particularly French, thought was being simultaneously injected into the minds of two different sections of the community, in two different centres, and from two sources differing widely in their aims and methods.

<sup>1</sup> The most complete account of Arabic literature in the nineteenth century is Père Louis Cheikho's *al-Ādāb al-'arabiya fi'l-qarn al-tāsi-'ashar* (2 vols., second edition, Beyrouth, 1924-6—a supplementary volume including writers who died between 1901 and 1926 is in course of republication from *al-Machriq*, 1925-7). This work is quoted below as Cheikho. The fourth volume of Ġurġi Zaydān's *Ta'rikh ādāb al-lughah al-'arabiya* (Cairo, 1914) devotes the greater part of its space to the literary organizations of the nineteenth century, schools, libraries, societies, etc. Neither of these works offers a general study and analysis of the various movements. More detailed accounts of the principal writers are given in Ġurġi Zaydān's collection of biographies (mainly reprinted from the journal *al-Hilāl*) entitled *Mashāhīr ash-Sharq* (second ed., Cairo, 1911), quoted below as *M Sh.* Similar biographies are scattered through various Arabic periodical publications, complete sets of any of which are scarcely to be found in London.

There are no European studies of comparable scope. The sections devoted to nineteenth century literature in C. Huart's *Littérature Arabe* (pp. 404-35) and C. Brockelmann's *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur* (vol. ii, 469-96; pp. 241-50 of his handbook) are little more than random catalogues of names and books, meaningless when divorced from the movements that alone give them significance. English works on Arabic literature treat exclusively of classical literature. A series of articles from the pen of my honoured teacher, Shaykh M. H. 'Abd ar-Rāziq, in this *Bulletin* (Vol. II, pp. 249-65, 755-62) has unfortunately remained uncompleted. An excellent general analysis by Professor Kratchkowsky appeared in *Vostok*, vol. i (Peterburg, 1922), pp. 67-73.

In Egypt the principal sources from which European thought was radiated were the technical schools founded by Muḥammad (Mehemet) 'Alī, and the educational missions which he despatched to Europe. These schools, modelled on European lines, often under European supervision, had as their first aim the training of doctors-administrators, lawyers and technical experts of all kinds, who were necessary for the carrying out of the Pasha's ambitious projects. It was inevitable that many of the graduates should be attracted towards other sides of Western culture than those which they were primarily studying, more especially towards French literature. Particularly was this the case in the School of Languages, under the guidance of the gifted Rifā'ah Bey at-Tahtāwī (1801-73),<sup>1</sup> whose students translated in all more than two thousand works into Arabic and Turkish. The effect on Arabic literature in Egypt was not immediate, but bore fruit in the second wave of Occidentalism under Khedive Ismā'il. As a typical product of the advanced wing of this movement we may take Rifā'ah Bey's pupil, 'Oṣmān Ġalāl (1829-98).<sup>2</sup> His principal literary works were all translations of famous French books, *Paul et Virginie*, the fables of Lafontaine, and a few of Molière's comedies. The remarkable feature of his work, however, was not the fact of the translations, but their modernist spirit. Lafontaine he translated into simple, unaffected Arabic verse, but Molière into colloquial Egyptian. The time was scarcely ripe for a step so decisive, but the complete breach with the past which it illustrated was an indication of the spirit of the age. "Egypt," said her Khedive, "has become a part of Europe"; Egyptian literature should show its independence of Asiatic and African traditions.

In Syria the westernizing movement was more rapid and thorough among the Christian communities, particularly of the Lebanon. Its agents were the missionaries and their schools, where the younger generation came under direct European influence, strengthened in many cases by subsequent study in the West, chiefly in France. In its early stages the movement went rather too far in the direction of westernization, and tended to produce a loss of balance.<sup>3</sup> The most

<sup>1</sup> *M.Sh.*, ii, 19-24; Cheikho ii<sup>2</sup>, 8. An excellent study of him from the pen of Muḥ. aṣ-Ṣādiq Ḥusayn Bey appeared in *as-Siassa*, weekly edition, 28th May, 1927.

<sup>2</sup> Cheikho, ii<sup>2</sup>, 100-2; Zaydān, iv, 245; *BSOS.*, ii, 256-7; Brockelmann, ii, 476-7; esp. Vollers, *ZDMG.*, xlv (1891), 36 ff.

<sup>3</sup> As a figure typical of many we may take Fransiṣ Marrāsh of Aleppo (1836-73) (Cheikho, ii<sup>2</sup>, 45-8; *M.Sh.*, ii, 285-8). His works, which are chiefly on social and philosophical subjects, but include one novel, were inspired by his studies, not in Arabic, but in French literature. Cf. Qustākī al-Ḥimsī, *Uḏabā' Ḥalab* (Aleppo, 1925), pp. 20-30.



remarkable Syrian figure of this early period was the celebrated (Aḥmad) Fāris ash-Shidyāq (1804–87).<sup>1</sup> Only his early education was obtained in Syria, and it is probable that a stronger influence was exerted on him by the westernizing movement in Egypt, where he worked for a time on the staff of the *Official Gazette*, afterwards spending several years in various European countries. He was converted to Islam in the fifties, while in the service of the Bey of Tunis, and settled finally in Constantinople, where the erstwhile modernist became one of the champions of Islamic orthodoxy.

The break thus suddenly created between the old and the new in both the principal centres of Arabic literature seemed to be complete. The Arabic literary world was split into two hostile camps, each bitterly contemptuous of the other. On both sides, indeed, the protagonists were in an artificial position. The adherents of the old tradition were out of touch with the developments which were revolutionizing contemporary thought; they appealed only to a narrowing circle of kindred spirits, and in so far as they remained tenaciously conservative they were fighting a losing battle. The protagonists of the new movement, on the other hand, as is often the way with small groups, had run or been thrust too far ahead, and in cutting themselves adrift from the past they were hacking at their own roots. At this stage no original literary creation could be expected of them; they were still suffering from the bewilderment and lack of mental adjustment caused by the suddenness of the revolution. Western ideas had been too rapidly acquired to have penetrated more than skin-deep.

After the Reformation, the Counter-Reformation. The more far-seeing conservatives realized that simple immobility meant ultimate defeat, and that if their old traditions were to count for anything in the lives of their people, the past must be restudied at its sources, and its values reaffirmed in living terms, adequate to the needs of the age. The cobwebs spun by generations of imitative writers during the last few centuries of stagnation and decay must be cleared away. This revivalist movement also showed itself in both Syria and Egypt, but again in different fashions. In Syria it took the form of an Arab revival—a throw-back to the historic *Weltanschauung* and methods of the first Arab centuries. This school is linked with the

<sup>1</sup> *M.Sh.* II, 81–92; Cheikho, II<sup>2</sup>, 86–8; Huart, *Littérature arabe*, 408–9.

name of Nāṣif al-Yāziji (1800–71),<sup>1</sup> its founder and inspiration. The purpose to which he dedicated his life was to restore pure classical Arabic to its old status, and sweep out all disfiguring modernisms in style and thought. He stands out as indisputably the greatest Arabic scholar of his time, and his influence extended far beyond the limits of Syria. Nevertheless his work was a *tour de force* in so far as he rejected all accommodation to the circumstances of his age, and his school, continued after his death by many of his pupils, notably his son Ibrāhīm (1847–1906),<sup>2</sup> was unable to maintain a standard henceforth impracticable. Nāṣif was indeed one of the “pillars” of the modern Arabic renaissance, but not in the sense that he determined the direction which it was to follow; rather that it was largely due to his lifework that the Syrian school, which played so great a part in the following decades, was saved from the danger that threatened it of declining into a pale reflection of a culture foreign to its nature and traditions, and recalled to a better appreciation of its own history and literature.

While Yāziji was thus striving to stem the tide of modernism, there was growing around him in Bayrūt itself another school of writers, whose influence eventually outweighed his and gave to Syria the predominant position in Arabic letters which it enjoyed in the latter half of the century. While associating itself with his aim of reviving the ancient learning of the Arabs, it sought also to assimilate the elements of value in Western literature and literary technique.<sup>3</sup> The principal leader of this school was Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819–83),<sup>4</sup> a pioneer in many branches of literary activity, and founder of the first Syrian “National School”. The breadth of his interests, visible even

<sup>1</sup> *M.Sh.*, ii, 9–18; Cheikho, ii<sup>2</sup>, 27–35. See also Chenery, *The Assemblies of al-Ḥariri* (London, 1867), 98–101; Kratchkovsky, *Vostok*, ii, 91.

<sup>2</sup> *M.Sh.*, ii, 119–36; Cheikho, ii<sup>2</sup>, 38–43. To the works there enumerated there is now to be added the selection from his letters, etc., published in Cairo in 1920 under the title of رسائل اليازجي.

<sup>3</sup> Of the many institutions which contributed to the spread of Western studies in Bayrūt, the Syrian Protestant College (now the American University), founded in 1866, stood in the closest relation with the leaders of the literary movement and exercised the most far-reaching influence. In its early years it was directed by a group of notable scholars, the most remarkable of whom was Dr. Cornelius van Dyck (1818–95; see *M.Sh.*, ii, 40–54; Cheikho, ii<sup>2</sup>, 4), a close friend of Buṭrus al-Bustānī, and author of a number of educational works in Arabic, chiefly in the physical sciences. For the American Press (1834), the Catholic Press (1848), and other printing presses in Syria prior to 1870 see Cheikho, ii<sup>2</sup>, 48, 76–8.

<sup>4</sup> *M.Sh.*, ii, 25–32; Cheikho, ii<sup>2</sup>, 126–7.

in his comprehensive (and clearly-arranged) dictionary of classical and modern usage (محيط المحيط),<sup>1</sup> found a field of expression in his Encyclopædia (دائرة المعارف), the first of its kind in Arabic. It was left unfinished at his death, four additional volumes, bringing the total up to eleven, being afterwards added by his literary heirs and executors, his son Salīm (1848-84),<sup>2</sup> and distant cousin Sulaymān (1856-1925).<sup>3</sup> Sulaymān al-Bustānī is the outstanding representative of the Christian Syrian community in the last decades of the century, with all its eager, many-sided activities and restless wanderings.<sup>4</sup> A successful journalist, merchant, statesman (he was for a time Minister of Commerce in the Turkish Government), poet, and inventor, his supreme service to Arabic literature was the translation of the *Iliad* from the original into Arabic verse—the first sustained attempt to present a masterpiece of classical literature in a form which the Arabic world could assimilate.<sup>5</sup>

Yet another great service to Arabic, perhaps the greatest of all, was rendered by the Syrians of this intermediate period. While Egypt had had its *Journal Officiel* (الوقائع المصرية) since 1828, it could boast of no non-official journal until 1866, when Shaykh Abu's-Sa'ūd founded the bi-weekly *Wādī'n-Nīl* at Cairo. The earliest newspapers due to private enterprise appear to have been a number of ephemeral journals which appeared in Syria between 1855 and 1860,<sup>6</sup> but the distinction of being the first regular non-official journal of standing issued in the Arabic language belongs to *al-Jawā'ib*, founded at Constantinople in 1860 by Aḥmad Fāris.

The example once set was not long in finding imitators. Under the favourable conditions of Ismā'il's reign a host of journals sprang up in Egypt, most of them doomed to early extinction. With few exceptions the proprietors and editors of these journals were Syrian

<sup>1</sup> See on this Dozy, *Supplément aux Dictionnaires arabes*, p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> Cheikho, ii<sup>2</sup>, 127-8; Zaydān, iv, 274.

<sup>3</sup> Kratchkowsky in the Bagaly-Festschrift of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (Kiev, 1927); *al-Machriq*, xxiii (1925), 778 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The social and intellectual effervescence of the Lebanon between the sixties and nineties, which is one of the most remarkable phenomena in modern Arabic history, still awaits a historian.

<sup>5</sup> On this see Kratchkowsky in article cited above (note 3), and review by Prof. Margoliouth in *JRAS.*, 1905, 417-23.

<sup>6</sup> Zaydān, iv, 64-5. For a list of works dealing with Arabic journalism see *BSOS.*, 11, 257-8.

Christians, graduates of the schools of Bayrūt.<sup>1</sup> The part played by journalism in the development of modern Arabic literature is almost impossible to over-estimate. The journals not only supplied a school for the training of young writers, but impelled Arabic style along a line of evolution to meet the daily needs of the press. The old literary style, the creation of a small élite, involved, periphrastic, and laden with obscurities, was out of touch with modern needs and expression, and unfitted to serve as a medium for organs whose existence depended on obtaining the widest possible range of readers. Even the less stilted, but still severely academic style of Bustānī and his school, was impossible. Something else was needed. By tradition and all the inherited instincts of the Arab writer, the colloquial was ruled out; moreover it would have placed a fatal obstacle to the expansion of their area of influence outside the narrowest local zone. The task which lay before the journalists was not an easy one, and their problem could not be solved in a day. In its earlier stages the language of the journals was, in the eyes of Arabic critics, a very model of poverty (*rakākah*). Syrian writers showed a tendency to cultivate fluency at the expense of style, and incurred the reproach (still laid at their door) of using unduly European turns of phrase. But as the press developed it began to acquire a power of expression and a flexibility that Arabic has scarcely known in its long literary history. For this gradual improvement journalism was greatly indebted to the growing strength of the new literary movement in Egypt, to which we must now turn.

The revivalist activities of the conservative leaders in Egypt were timid and hesitating when compared with the bold antiquarianism of Yāzījī. The principal reason for this was undoubtedly that, whereas the Syrian movement was almost entirely the work of Christians stressing the *Arab* element in their history,<sup>2</sup> the Egyptian movement was the work of *Muslims*. The former could throw off the incubus

<sup>1</sup> كانت الصحافة المصرية قبل المؤيد وفقا على السوريين المسيحيين (*Manār* xvi (1331), 875). See also the chapter *La Presse* by Achille Sékaly Bey in the volume entitled *L'Égypte* (Cairo, 1926), especially pp. 431-2: "Il est généralement admis que l'élément syrien a joué un rôle prépondérant dans la création et le développement de la presse périodique aussi bien que dans la renaissance des Lettres arabes en Égypte. Jusqu'à ces dernières années, ses journaux ont montré le plus de vitalité, d'initiative, d'esprit d'organisation et de progrès. Mais, après la guerre surtout, ces qualités ont commencé à se manifester parmi l'élément purement égyptien."

<sup>2</sup> The fact may be accepted without prejudice to the ultimate results of ethnographical research into the population of the Lebanon.

of five or (if they liked) ten centuries with light hearts ; to their Muslim contemporaries there were theological reasons for walking more warily. When *taqlīd* is erected into a dogma, only the boldest spirits dare pry into what lies behind. The classical revival found its most prominent representatives in the field of education. The analogue of Nāṣif al-Yāzījī was Shaykh Ḥamza Faṭḥallāh (1849-1918),<sup>1</sup> for many years chief inspector of Arabic in the Government schools, who "loved the Arabs and the Arabic tongue, and considered that God had endowed it with every distinction (*maẓīyah*), that every form of modern civilization which was now being revived had been anticipated by the Arabs, and that its name had a synonym in their language." He was one of the delegates from the Egyptian government to the congress of orientologists at Stockholm in 1888.<sup>2</sup> The delegation was headed by 'Abdallāh Pāshā Fikrī (1834-90),<sup>3</sup> the Egyptian Minister of Education, whose literary style is sufficiently indicated by a current saying comparing him with the famous Badī' az-Zamān of Hamadhān, the popularizer of rhymed prose.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, Fikrī Pāshā was a man of more enlightened views than Shaykh Ḥamza, and ranks justly as one of the "pillars" of the revival, together with his colleague and successor in office, the more famous 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak (1823-93).<sup>5</sup> The reputation of both ministers rests, in fact, less on their literary works than on their activities as educational reformers. By their joint efforts the Khedivial Library was brought into being, while 'Alī Pāshā Mubārak was the founder of the *Dār al-'ulūm*, the first higher training college in Egypt outside al-Azhar. It is not a little due to the influence of these three scholars that the teaching of Arabic in the Government schools has retained to this day a strongly conservative character, in striking contrast to the curricula in other departments.<sup>6</sup> A very considerable part of their work, however, would not have been possible without the aid of the printing-presses, which from the time of Ismā'il began to publish the great medieval

<sup>1</sup> See *al-Wasīl* by Shaykh Ahmad al-Iskandarī, pp. 339-42.

<sup>2</sup> On his *qaṣīda* see Goldziher's remarks in *Abh. Arab. Phil.*, i, 173.

<sup>3</sup> *M.Sh.*, ii, 305-10 ; Cheikho, ii<sup>2</sup>, 95-6 ; *al-Wasīl*, 333-5.

<sup>4</sup> *لوتقدم به الزمان لكان فيه بديعان، ولم ينفرد بهذا اللقب علامة همذان*

<sup>5</sup> *M.Sh.*, ii, 33-9 ; *al-Wasīl*, 335-7 ; Cheikho, ii<sup>2</sup>, 97 ; *BSOS.*, ii, 755-6 ; *ZDMG.*, xlvii (1893), 720-2 ; and review by Goldziher in *WZKM.*, iv, 347-52.

<sup>6</sup> See on this subject the pungent criticisms of Dr. Tāhā Ḥusayn *في الادب الجاهلي* (Cairo, 1927) pp. 2-13

dictionaries and to broadcast the works of medieval Arabic writers.<sup>1</sup>

The movement of revival found its way even into al-Azhar,<sup>2</sup> where it was to gain a strong adherent in the person of Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849–1905),<sup>3</sup> freshly up from his village of Maḥallet Naṣr in the Delta. The young shaykh would probably have been a notable personality even if he had gone no farther, but the course of his life and interests was radically changed by his contact with the fiery-spirited Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī".<sup>4</sup> Under his influence Muḥammad 'Abduh began to study modern European works, and the mystic in him gave place to the reformer. He combined in himself, as none of his predecessors had done for many centuries, the Muslim and the rationalist; the aim which he set before his eyes was to restate the truths of Islām in terms of modern thought, and to recharge the moral, social, and intellectual life of Egypt with fresh energy, derived not from vain efforts to uproot the past, still less from attempts to restore the past, but by fully accepting the past as the foundation of national life and thought, and building upon it by the aid of the vivifying elements in the rationalistic and progressive culture of the West. These ideas he expounded in a long series of treatises and articles, the language and style of which sounded a new note in journalism by their masterly blend of the strength and colour of the old idiom with the flexibility of the new.

Another factor which contributed greatly to the elevation and modernizing of Arabic style was the establishment of learned and

<sup>1</sup> The Arabic writers themselves have not been slow to recognize the debt which the classical movement in the East owes to European Orientalists during the nineteenth century, by their editions of classical Arabic texts and their researches into the history and literature of the Middle Ages. It is not too much to say that, but for the facilities they placed within the reach of all (aided by the piratical activities of Egyptian publishers) a great part of classical Arabic literature would still be a closed book to the majority of modern Arabic intellectuals. See also Cheikh, ii<sup>2</sup>, 72; and especially M. Kurd 'Alī in *Mijallah al-majma' al-'ilmī al-'arabī* (Damascus), vol. viii (1927), 433–56.

<sup>2</sup> *Rissalat al-Tawhīd* (see note 3), pp. xviii–xix.

<sup>3</sup> A considerable literature has already arisen round Muḥammad 'Abduh, both in Arabic and in European languages. The principal biography in Arabic is in vol. viii (1333) of *al-Manār*. An excellent biographical sketch from the pen of Shaykh Mustafā 'Abd ar-Rāziq will be found in the preface to the French translation of his *Risālat al-Tawhīd* (Paris, 1925), together with analyses of his works and other biographical references.

<sup>4</sup> *M.Sh.*, ii, 55–66; M. 'Abduh in *al-Jāmi'ah*, vol. v, 122–9; I. Goldziher, art. "Djāmāl ad-Dīn" in *Encyc. of Islam*, with citations of authorities. See also an article by Shaykh Mustafā 'Abd ar-Rāziq in *as-Siassa*, weekly edition, 4th June, 1927.

literary societies, both in Syria and in Egypt,<sup>1</sup> followed in Egypt by the establishment of political societies, as a result of the impetus given by Jamāl ad-Dīn to the movement for "freedom". The political societies especially, in accordance with their founder's methods, served as training grounds for journalism and public speaking. Their members not only took leading parts in the constitutional agitation which accompanied the 'Arābist movement between 1880 and 1882, but also introduced into Arabic journalism a new and fruitful principle. This principle was to appeal to and stir up the masses, in order to enlist their support for the aims of the agitators. The outstanding figures were the Christian Adīb Ishāq of Damascus (1856-85)<sup>2</sup> and the Muslim 'Abdallāh Nadīm (1833/4-96),<sup>3</sup> both disciples of Jamāl ad-Dīn. The former in his journals *Miṣr* and *At-taqaddum* created a style based on French rather than on Arabic models (he had received his early education at the famous Lazarist school in Damascus), which by its vigour, simplicity, and avoidance of all affectation, speedily gained an admiring audience. Nadīm was more remarkable for his talents as an orator and poet. He was the Tyrtæus of the movement. Yet he too made his mark as a journalist, both in the humorous journal *At-tankīt wa't-tabkīt* ("Raillery and Reproof") of the 'Arābī days and the short-lived *Al-ustādh* in 1892-3. In these, as in his orations, he relied not so much on a simplified literary style as on the ordinary colloquial language.<sup>4</sup> No further evidence is needed for the influence and efficacy of this new weapon than the abrupt termination of both journals by the arrest and expulsion of their editor.

The thirty years which followed the British occupation were marked by an amazingly rapid development of the material basis of literature. The restoration and expansion of its commercial prosperity and the relative freedom of expression which Egypt enjoyed, contrasted with the increasingly repressive regime in Syria, gave to Egypt an uncontested primacy in the Arabic world. Scholars, men of letters,

<sup>1</sup> Zaydān, iv, 78-104.

<sup>2</sup> *M.Sh.*, ii, 75-80; Cheikho, ii<sup>2</sup>, 133-5.

<sup>3</sup> *M.Sh.*, ii, 105-12; Cheikho, ii<sup>2</sup>, 99-100.

<sup>4</sup> Even before Nadīm the colloquial had been used for nationalist propaganda by the Jewish journalist James Sanua (جس سانوا), author of the notorious *Travels of Abū Naḍḍāra* (رَحْلَةُ أَبِي نَضَّارَةَ زَرْقًا—sic), a weekly broadsheet lithographed in Paris between August, 1878, and March, 1879, and of its continuation, the monthly broadsheet *Abū Naḍḍāra*.

journalists, all flocked out of Syria into Egypt, and with the union of the two parent stocks thus consummated, there is no cause for wonder that a plentiful progeny of journals, societies, and printing-presses should have sprung up everywhere, and have everywhere found material to keep them in constant activity. The British connexion, moreover, introduced a new element into the ferment of ideas. The study of English literature, both in the higher schools and by students in this country, did much to widen the Egyptian outlook, and has had in particular a marked influence on several outstanding figures in contemporary letters.

Of the many scores of writers of this period there are few who need detain us by reason of their services to Arabic literature or the influence which they exerted on their contemporaries or their successors. The first decade, in the literary as in the political field, formed a period of recovery and stocktaking after the fevers of the preceding years. In the second there was a renewal of energy and of controversy. The third was marked by the rise of a new generation, with whom begins contemporary Arabic literature in the strict sense. There was not at first any change in the relative positions and activities of the parties. The uncompromising conservatives had their Shaykh Ḥamza, with his Azhar-trained shaykhs or Dār al-'ulūm graduates supporting, by conviction or opportunism, his educational policy. The reform movement, though led by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, had to face the bitter opposition of the "orthodox", who were supported by the Khedive,<sup>1</sup> and the *Mu'ayyad* under the editorship of Shaykh 'Alī Yūsuf (1863-1913),<sup>2</sup> an attempt to organize world-wide Muslim opinion in support of the religious and political aims of its promoters.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cromer, *Modern Egypt*, ii, 180 note (one-vol. ed., p. 600, n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> *Hilāl*, xxii (1914), 148-151; *Manār*, xvi (1331), 873-8, 947-56; *Machriq*, 1926, 225-6; al-'Aqqād, *al-Fuṣūl*, 207-13.

<sup>3</sup> There is an interesting passage in the long decree of judgment given by Shaykh Aḥmad Abu'l-Khatwah (a leading modernist, d. 1906; see *Manār*, ix, 880) against Shaykh 'Alī Yūsuf, in a suit brought against him by Shaykh 'Abd al-Khālq Sādāt (on whom see Cromer, *ibid.* 178, one-vol. ed., 598). The passage deserves to be cited in its entirety, not for its severe castigation of Shaykh 'Alī, but as an *ex cathedra* statement of the attitude of the *Shar'* to the Press. (Quoted from *al-Liwā*, 1904, No. 3, pp. 43-4.)

حيث ان حرقة الصحافة التي نسبها المدعى عليه لنفسه قسماً قسم يبحث فيه عن فنون وعلوم مخصوصة للإرشاد عما تبحث فيه كالمجلات الغير اليومية وهذه شرفها بمقدار شرف ما تبحث فيه وهي صحافة جليلة وهذا القسم لا يدعيه المدعى عليه لنفسه، وقسم لا يختص بموضوع مخصوص وهو عبارة عن إرشاد



The name of Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh has acquired among the present generation a prestige so great, that it is of some importance to gain a precise idea of the results of his lifework. In his own view, as we have seen, the principal object of his endeavours was to modernize Muslim religious thought.<sup>1</sup> In so far as Muslim religious thought is to be judged by the teachings of its authoritative representatives, the body of Azhar-trained shaykhs, it must be admitted that as yet (for things may be vastly changed in a few years) there is little sign of his success. His real disciples were found among the laymen, more especially the European-educated classes, and that in two directions. In the first place he and his writings formed, and still form,

من تتكون منهم الامة اى المملكة بارشاد الافراد والعائلات والهيئة الاجتماعية والحكومة فهي معدة لارشاد الامة فى اخلاقها ونظام عائلاتها وهيئتها الاجتماعية وآدابها وسياسة مملكتها وبالجملة فهي عبارة عن الارشاد بما يلزم من سياسة النفوس والعائلات والمملك والمراقبة على ذلك اذ وظيفة هذه الصحافة هي الارشاد العام والمراقبة عليه وهي صحافة جلية جداً ولا يمكن القيام بها الا بعد استحصاى على كل معداتها من العلوم الاقتصادية وغيرها وعلوم تهذيب الاخلاق وسياسة المنزل والمملكة ودراسة اخلاق الناس وعوائدهم وسياسة الحكومات والتميز فيما هي عليه والصحيح منه ومعرفة كيف يعالج الفساد وكيف يزيه ويرقى الامة ويهذب الاخلاق ويلزم لذلك ان يكون القائم بها من اشد الناس محافظة على الكلمات والآداب حتى يمكنه ان ينفع بنصحه وارشاده وان يرقى الامة المنحطة ويستمر فى ترقيتها ان لم تكن منحطة وهذا لا يتأتى الا اذا كان القائم بها من الطبقة الاولى ذكاء وعلماً بالسياسة الداخلية والخارجية وعلماً بالاخلاق وتهذيبها وان يعلم كيف ينصح وكيف يستفاد من نصحه ولذلك اشتغل بها فى غير هذه الديار اكابر الناس عقلاً وفضلاً واشتغل بها فى هذه الديار بعض الفضلاء برهة من الزمان ولا يمكن المدعى عليه ان يدعى لنفسه هذه الصحافة لان قلبه فى المبادئ لغير سبب وتعرضه للشخصيات فى ثوب المصالح العامة وسكوته عن بعض ما يلزم الكلام فيه لاغراض بعض من يهمه رضا وكثرة اضراره عندما يريد ان ينفع وغير ذلك مما هو معروف يمنعه من دعوى القيام بهذه الصحافة لنفسه الخ

<sup>1</sup> Few would subscribe to Cromer's dictum: "I suspect that my friend Al du . . . was in reality an Agnostic" (*op. cit.*, ii, 180; one-vol. ed., 599). He was rather a Mu'tazilite; cf. *Risalat al-Tawhid*, xlvi, lxii, lxix, lxviii, lxxxiv; and Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung* (Leiden, 1920), 322 ff.

a shield, a support, and a weapon for those social and political reformers of whom Qāsin Bey Amīn was the chief. By the authority of his name "they were able to gain acceptance among the people for those of the new principles for which they could not have gained a hearing before".<sup>1</sup> In the second place he bridged, at least temporarily, the widening gap between the traditional learning and the new rationalism introduced from the West, and made it possible for the Muslim graduate of the Western universities to prosecute his studies without being conscious of a fear, or incurring the reproach, that he had abjured his faith. With the removal of this inhibition Muslim Egypt seemed to win a release of energy. Between the opposition parties of modernists and conservatives there came into existence a new third party, to which the majority of present-day writers of standing belong. All of them are in varying degrees the heirs of Muḥammad 'Abduh; he, more than any other single man, gave modern Egyptian thought a centre of gravity, and created, in place of a mass of disconnected writings, a literature inspired by definite ideals of progress within an Islamic framework.

The Muslim community produced in the nineties two other reformers whose work was destined to have a great influence on Egyptian thought. It is a melancholy reflection that political intrigue, by setting these two men in antagonism, did much to weaken the force they might have exerted on their contemporaries. The Kurd Qāsim Bey Amīn (1865–1908),<sup>2</sup> the champion of women's rights, seemed to have accomplished but little at his death, but his work has lived after him. Muṣṭafā Pāshā Kāmil (1874–1908),<sup>3</sup> the reorganizer of Egyptian nationalism, gained a greater immediate success, though the movement eventually flowed into other channels than those he dug. Both earned a place in literature as the continuators of the direct style, initiated by the journalists of the 'Arābist movement. The influence of Muṣṭafā Kāmil's "tearing prose",<sup>4</sup> in his journal *al-Liwa'*, can still be traced in the Egyptian press. Qāsim Amīn has a stronger claim still. His limpid, effortless style has all the simplicity of great art. He sought solely to convey his feelings and descriptions to the reader's mind in the most natural and appropriate terms, without sacrificing

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ḥusayn Bey Ḥaykal, *Fī awqāt al-farāgh*, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *M.Sh.*, i, 335–347; Ḥaykal, *op. cit.*, 96–148; *Machriq*, 1926, 224–5; Kratchkovsky, *Kasim Amin. Novaya zhenschina*, suppl. to *Mir Islama*, i (St. Pet., 1912).

<sup>3</sup> *M.Sh.*, i, 310–325; Ḥaykal in *as-Siassa*, weekly ed., 18th June, 1927.

<sup>4</sup> The phrase is C. H. Becker's (*Der Islam*, ii, 408).

elegance and grace, and there are passages in his works that take their place among the masterpieces of modern Arabic writing.

Side by side with these movements the old activity in the work of translation continued with redoubled vigour, strengthening the hands of the reformers by carrying the new ideas of Europe ever deeper into the mind of Egypt. Of the many translators of this period the one whose work was most effective in opening up new vistas to the Arabic world was Fathī Pāshā Zaghlūl (1863-1914).<sup>1</sup> Himself a lawyer, his earliest translation was Bentham's *Principles of Legislation*, followed in later years by translations of the sociological works of Desmoulins and le Bon, to each of which he added a preface applying their principles to Egyptian conditions and urging his fellow-countrymen to measures of reform.

Meanwhile the Syrian colony too continued to exercise a considerable influence, especially on journalism. The services rendered to scientific education in Egypt by Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf (1852-1927) through his journal *al-Muqtataf* received universal recognition on the jubilee celebrations of that journal in 1926.<sup>2</sup> As a formative influence on Egyptian thought and literature, however, he yields to his fellow-countryman Ġurgī Zaydān (1861-1914).<sup>3</sup> A self-made man, Ġurgī Zaydān represents the inexhaustible capacity of the Syrian for study and assimilation at its best. The list of his works, and the variety of subjects of which they treated, is not likely to find a match in any modern literature. He did more than any other writer to spread a knowledge of Western ideas and history, but was withal a devoted student and admirer of old Arabic history and literature. However superficial some of his works may appear to specialists, they cannot but admire his general grasp and wide knowledge, and must admit that none was better fitted to present it in a form acceptable to a society so constituted as that of Egypt, Syrian though he was. By his score of historical romances,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hilāl*, xxii (1914), 628-32. *MSOS.*, xxix (1926), 249-51. A collection of his articles, mostly of the class called *خواطر* ("Reflections"), on aspects of social life, was issued under the title of *الآثار الفتحة*.

<sup>2</sup> It was founded at Bayrūt in 1876 and transferred to Cairo in 1885, on account of the Turkish censorship. On Ṣarrūf see now Prof. Margoliouth in *JRAS.* 1927, 937-8.

<sup>3</sup> Zaydān, iv, 323-6 (appended by his son); *R.M.M.*, iv, 837-45.

<sup>4</sup> Two have been translated into French, one into German, and several into other oriental languages (see *رواية عروس فرغانة*, pp. 1-2). A detailed account of these and other contemporary Egyptian novels is given by Kratchkovsky, *Istoricheskie roman, etc.*, in *Journal of Russian Ministry of Education*, June, 1911. 260-88.

his five-volume history of Islamic civilization,<sup>1</sup> his four-volume history of Arabic literature<sup>2</sup> (to mention but the principal of his many works), above all by his monthly journal *al-Hilāl*,<sup>3</sup> he was Egypt's school-master out of school. Coinciding with the third, and most intense, period of national awakening and assimilation, it is fully open to question whether his activity was not even more effectual than Muḥammad 'Abduh's in leading contemporary Egyptian literature along the path which it has followed.

While the Syrians in Egypt thus continued to play a decisive part in the moulding of neo-Arabic literature, in Syria itself the creative impulse was all but extinguished. The later years of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and the rule of the "Committee of Union and Progress" allowed no scope for independence of thought, and kept all publication under a remorseless censorship.<sup>4</sup> Egypt's gain is the measure of Syria's loss.

Yet Syria was still to enrich Arabic literature from a direction entirely new and unexpected. Egypt was not the only, nor even the principal, centre of the Syrian diaspora. For the hundreds of Lebanese emigrants that settled in Europe and the thousands in Egypt, tens of thousands settled in the United States and in Brazil.<sup>5</sup> In the New World too, Arabic newspapers and Arabic literary circles were founded. The new conditions of life inevitably roused new interests and aptitudes, which endeavoured to find expression in new literary forms. It was not until the early years of the twentieth century that the Syro-American school found itself, and began a literary activity that could not fail, in view of the close relations maintained between the emigrants and their native land, to attract attention and find an echo in both Syria and Egypt. In their case the break with the past was complete and irrevocable, and they and their followers form the most distinctive school in contemporary Arabic letters.

<sup>1</sup> For translations of this into Persian, Turkish, Urdu, French and English, see *al-Hilāl*, xx (1912), 567-8.

<sup>2</sup> Criticisms by Haykal, *Fī awqāt al-farāgh*, 221-47; *al-Machriq*, 1911, 582-95; 1912, 597 ff.; 1913, 792-4.

<sup>3</sup> First published in 1892. A selection from his articles in this journal was published under the title of *مختارات جرجى زيدان* in 3 vols. (Cairo, 1919-21); review by Cheikhō, *al-Machriq*, 1921, 157, 715-6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Cheikhō, ii<sup>2</sup>, 68, 4-6.

<sup>5</sup> There were also scattered colonies in other parts, e.g. in Santiago (Chile). For Syrian emigration see also Cheikhō in *al-Machriq*, 1910, 926 ff. The Syrians now resident in the United States alone number, at the lowest estimate, 200,000.

THE AGASTYA SELECTION OF TAMIL SĀIVITE  
HYMNS

By M. S. H. THOMPSON

**T**EVARAM (தேவாரம்), a condensed and figurative expression, means “a garland of verse addressed to God”, with the added idea that devotion is the “thread” on which the several “flowers” or verses are strung. It thus forms a very fitting title for the devotional songs of the three saints, Appar, Sundarar, and Sambandar, the greatest of the sixty-three exponents of the Śaivite religion in the Tamil country.

The traditional accounts of the poet-saints state that Sambandar composed his first verses at the age of three, and was only sixteen at the time of his death, that Sundarar was eighteen at the time of his translation to heaven, and that only Appar, who is said to have been a great traveller, lived to a good old age—eighty-one.

The songs of the *Tevaram* are for the most part grouped in hymns of ten verses each, called *padigams*, and except for about 6 per cent of them there is a refrain which gives the name of the temple at which each was sung. The number of temples mentioned in this way is 274, of which no less than 190 were in the Chōla Kingdom, with two in Ceylon.

The authoritative version of the *padigams*, the traditional account states, was preserved in a cell at the temple at Chidambaram. When the king, Abhaya-kulaśekhara Chōla (அபய குலசேகர சோழ மகாராஜா), had the cell opened, the cadjan was found to be covered with white ants. By careful treatment with oil the *padigams* we have at the present day were rescued. The priest Nambi Andar Nambi (நம்பியாண்டார் நம்பி), to whom the *padigams* were entrusted, arranged them in seven groups, and provided metrical lives of the authors, while a woman of the minstrel caste and the descendant of the musician who had accompanied Sambandar on some of his tours noted the chant to which each *padigam* was to be sung. This is the *Adangal-murai* (அடங்கல் முறை), that is “the works comprising the Canon”.

The *Tevaram* is said to have been compiled in the eleventh century. It was at any rate during a period of Śaivite revival, for we afterwards hear of a set-back to the Śaivite cause. This was during

the reign of King Anapaya Chola (அநபாய சோழ மகாராஜா). This king showed a leaning towards Jainism in his study of the Jain work *Jivaka-chintamani* (சிவகசிந்தாமணி). His Prime Minister, a Vellala by caste, a devout Śaivite and the builder of a temple, took him to task, when the king, to justify himself, said that he had turned to the *Jivaka-chintamani* because there were no Śaivite books in Tamil. The Prime Minister had then to tell him of the *Tevaram* and of the metrical lives of the priest Nambi Andar Nambi, which he read and expounded to the king. The king was converted, and the Prime Minister, retiring to the temple at Chidambaram, wrote elaborate lives of the saints to serve as a background to the *Tevaram*. These lives form the *Periya-puranam*, and are in pleasant verse. An abstract of the work was later made by one of the learned Brahmans of the temple, but the compression is ruthless, and the book provides little more than a “table of contents” to prefix to the larger work.

Perhaps one of the most interesting works compiled for the popularization of the study of the *Tevaram* is what is known as the *Agastya Selection*. This selection consists of only twenty-five *padigams*, but it is claimed for it that he who recites it gains the same merit as is gained by reciting the whole of the 8,000 stanzas of the *Tevaram*.<sup>1</sup> The sage Agastya, who, says tradition, learned Tamil from one of the sons of Śiva, is venerated as the “father of Tamil”, and the inclusion of his name in the title of the work was no doubt intended merely to disarm criticism—the criticism of the orthodox, whom any attempt at curtailment of a work of such sanctity as the *Tevaram* would naturally revolt and antagonize. The following account is, however, usually given of the circumstances that led to the compilation of the work. Sage Śivalaya<sup>2</sup> was as good as he was learned, and long he laboured to master the *Tevaram*. It was, however, a task beyond his powers. Though it was with sorrow in his heart, he repaired to the temple at Chidambaram, and there he spent many

<sup>1</sup> The following table may be of interest :—

| Author.         | No of<br><i>padigams</i> in the<br>original <i>Tevaram</i> . | No. of<br><i>padigams</i><br>extant. | No. included<br>in the<br>Agastya Selection. |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 1. Appar. . .   | 49,000                                                       | 312                                  | 8                                            |
| 2. Sundarar . . | 37,000                                                       | 101                                  | 7                                            |
| 3. Sambandar. . | 16,000                                                       | 384                                  | 10                                           |
|                 | 102,000                                                      | 797                                  | 25                                           |

<sup>2</sup> Lit. *The Temple of Śiva*.

days in prayer and meditation before the mystic Hall of Gold. Then one day it was revealed to him that if he went to Sage Agastya, in the Podiya Hills (in Travancore), the great longing of his heart would be satisfied. To the hills he went, and after three years spent in prayer and penance, the sage appeared to him, taught him the whole of the *Tevaram*, and selecting twenty-five *padigams* from it for particular attention, assured him that in them were found all the essentials of the Sāivite religion.

Unlike most other works in Tamil, the selection does not begin with an invocation, but with a metrical table of contents, followed by an introduction, also in verse, in which the following analysis of the selection is given (here tabulated) :—

| Section. | Subject.                                                        | No. of<br><i>padigams</i> . |
|----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| I.       | Śiva's Grace . . . . .                                          | 1-3                         |
| II.      | Spiritual Aid . . . . .                                         | 4                           |
| III.     | The Truth of the Five Letters (நமசிவாய <sup>1</sup> ) . . . . . | 5-8                         |
| IV.      | The Sanctity of the Temple . . . . .                            | 9-11                        |
| V.       | Śiva's Form . . . . .                                           | 12-16                       |
| VI.      | The Sacred Feet . . . . .                                       | 17-19                       |
| VII.     | Worship . . . . .                                               | 20-22                       |
| VIII.    | Humility . . . . .                                              | 23-25                       |

The illustrative verses appended to this paper may, in some measure, explain the purpose of this eightfold division. Here, however, it may be stated that the purpose of Sec. II is to emphasize the “inward grace” bestowed by an outward sign, viz. the Sacred Ash of Sāivism, while Sec. III emphasizes the power of the ejaculatory prayer. The *Periya-puranam* account states that fourteen of the sixty-three Saints attained salvation through grace, thirty through worship, and nineteen by loving service to the devout.

The last *padigam* in the selection is the *Tiru-tonda-togai* (திருத்தொண்டத்தொகை, lit. “The sum of holy service”) of Sundarar. It begins: “I am the servant of the servants of the Brahmans who live at Tillai” (= Chidambaram), and gives the names, with appropriate epithets, of sixty-two of the sixty-three saints. Devout Sāivites recite this hymn before sunrise every morning.

The Agastya Selection contains most of the best known hymns, though in the selection made for the “Heritage of India” series only eighteen of the seventy-nine verses selected are from this selection. It cannot, however, be denied that the compiler of the Agastya Selection, whoever he may be, had a keen critical sense, and was justified

<sup>1</sup> Translated “A bow to Śiva” and “Hail, Śiva”.

in stating in his introduction that “ those who recite the Agastya Selection will be as those who recite the whole of the *Tevaram*, sung throughout the wide world by the matchless Three ”.

The illustrative verses that follow are a fresh selection, and are not found in the selection made for the “ Heritage of India ” series by Messrs. Kingsbury and Phillips.

### ILLUSTRATIVE VERSES

The sacred ash and the beads worn round the neck and the head are the outward signs of Śaivism or the religion of Śiva. In Śaivism Śiva is the supreme God ; in Vaishnavism or the religion of Viṣṇu he is only one person of the triad Brahma, Viṣṇu, Śiva. Śiva is worshipped under twenty-five forms, each manifestation having its own devotional aspect. In the verses that follow he is referred to under some eight of these manifestations. There is besides reference to what are known as “ the eight deeds of prowess ”, commemorated at eight famous temples in South India, two of which are mentioned in verses Nos. 6 and 8.

Śiva is worshipped both as having a form and as not having one. The “ form of grace ” depicts him as riding on his bull Nandi with his consort Uma at his left side. As Nāṭarāja (lit. “ Lord of the dance ”) he is represented as dancing. He has three eyes, the right eye being the sun, the left the moon, and the one in the middle of his forehead fire. His hair is matted in the ascetic way, and on it are the crescent moon, the Ganges, and one or more cobras. He wears a garland of *konrai* (cassia) on his head, and round his neck, which is dark, hangs a garland of skulls. At his waist he wears either an elephant’s hide, a tiger’s skin, or a very scanty loin-cloth.

#### § 1. குருவருள், THE LORD’S GRACE

These two verses are from Sundarar’s hymn of self-surrender. The *padigam* was sung at the temple of Tiruvenneynallur, where Śiva manifested himself to him under “ the form of grace ”.

1. தண்ணார் மதிசூழ தழல் போலுந்திரு மேனி  
 யெண்ணார்புரமுன்று மெரி யுண்ண நகை செய்தாய்  
 மண்ணார் பெண்ணைத் தேன்பால் வெண்ணெய்நல்லூர்  
 ரூட்டுறையு  
 ளண்ணு வனக் காளாயினியல் லெனெனலாமே.

O, thou who wearest the cool garlands and the crescent moon !  
 O, thou who hast a form like fire ! O, thou who didst laugh so



that the fire burnt the enemies' three cities ! O, Master, who dwellest at the abode of grace, Venneynallur, south of Pennai, where the sand-banks are—being thy slave, can I still say I am not thine ?  
[The “three cities” were the three castles of three vainglorious Asuras, which Śiva reduced to ashes by merely laughing.]

2. காரூர் புனலெய்திக் கரை கலவித் திரைக் கையாற்  
பாரூர் புகழெய்தித் திகழ பன்மாமணி யுந்திச்  
சீரூர் பெண்ணைத் தென்பால் வேண்ணைய நல்லூரூட் திறைய  
ளாநூ னேம் பெருமாற் காளல் வேளைனலாமே.

Can I say that I am not the slave of my Lord of Arur, dwelling at Venneynallur, south of Pennai the beautiful, which, having received the water that falls from the clouds, with its waves for hands digs a course for itself through the land, hurling around many great and sparkling gems, praised by all.

#### § 2. பரையின் வரலாறு, SPIRITUAL AIDS

This verse is from a hymn of praise sung at the temple at Madura by Sambandar.

3. முத்திதருவது நீறுமுனிவ ரணிவதுதிரு  
சத்தியமாவது நீறுதக் கோர்பு கழ்வது நீறு  
பத்திதருவது நீறு பரவ வினியது நீறு  
சித்திதருவது நீறு திருவால வாயாந்திருந்தே.

What gives heaven is the ash, what is put on by the sages is the ash, ash is the truth, what the great ones praise is the ash, what bestows devotion is the ash, what is sweet to praise is the ash, what gives all enlightenment is the ash—the sacred ash of Him of holy Alavai [Madura].

#### § 3. அஞ்செழுத்துண்மை, THE TRUTH OF THE FIVE LETTERS

The first verse is from a hymn by Appar, the second verse from a hymn by Sundarar.

4. இல்லகவிளக்கது விநுள் கெடுப்பது  
சோல்லக விளக்கது சோதி யுள்ளது  
பல்லக விளக்கது பலருங்காண்பது  
நல்லகவிளக்கது நமச்சிவாயவே.

The light in the house destroys darkness ; the light in the word brings enlightenment ; the light in many places is for many people to see ; the light of the pure in heart is “ Hail, Śiva ! ”

5. செம்போனேர் சடை யாய்திரி புரந்த யெழச்சிலை கோவினாய்  
வம்புலாங்குழலானைப் பாகமமர்ந்து காவிரிக் கோட்டிடைக்  
கோம்பின் மேற் குயில் கூவமாமயிலாடு பாண்டிக்கோடுமுடி  
நம்பனே யுனை நான் மறக்கினுஞ் சோல்லு நாநமச்சிவாயவே.

O, thou whose tresses shine like pure gold, who bentest thy bow that fire might rise in the three cities, who placedst on thy left side her of the sweet tresses—O, Śiva of Paṇḍikkodimuḍi, where the peacocks dance while the cuckoo sings on the branches above, even if I should forget thee, my tongue would say “ Hail, Śiva ! ”

#### § 4. கோயிற்றிறம், THE SANCTITY OF THE TEMPLE

No verses need be quoted ; it may merely be stated that one of the *padigams* (by Appar) given in the selection consists of stanzas in which the names of the famous temples of South India are skilfully woven into song, and have the refrain, “ There we may see the Lord of Kailasa ” [Śiva’s abode in the Himalayas].

#### § 5. சிவனுருவம், THE FORM OF ŚIVA

The verses are by Sambandar and Appar respectively.

6. வெள்ளை யெடுத்தின் மிசையார் விரிதோடோருகதிலங்கத்  
துள்ளுமிளமான் மறியார் சுடர் பொற் சடை கடுவங்கத்  
கள்ள நடுவெண்டிலையார் கடலூர் மயானம மர்ந்தார்  
பிள்ளைமதியமுடையாரவரேம் பெருமானடிகளே.

He who is on the white bull, with a large ear-ring shining in one ear, He who holds the jumping fawn while his radiant locks shine, He of the white skull with its furtive grin, He who lives at the burning-ground at Kāḍavur, He who has the crescent moon—He is our Lord God.

7. பாளையுடைக் கமுகோங் கிப்பன்மாட நெருங்கியெங்கும்  
வாளையுடைப்புனல் வந்தேறிவாழ் வயற்றில்லை தன்னு  
ளானவுடை க்கழற் சிற்றும்பலத்தரனாடல் கண்டார்  
பிளையுடை க்கண்களாற் பின்னைப் பேய்த்தொண்டர் காண்ப  
தென்னே.

If with His anklets and power to rule [the heart], they have seen with clouded eyes the dance of the Śiva of the mystic Hall at Tillai [Chidambaram]. where the areca palms with their shoots stand high, houses stand close together. and where on all sides stand the fields into which the water pours with its fish—what is there then for the lowly devotees yet to see ?

## § 6. திருவடிகள், THE SACRED FEET

This verse, by Appar, is on the temple at which the poet-saint received enlightenment as a result of the prayers of his sister, who grieved to see him a Jain.

8. திருமகட்குச்சேந்தாமரையாமடி  
 சிறந்தவர்க்குத் தேனாய் விளையும்மடி  
 பொருளவர்க்குப் பொன்னுரையாய் நின்றவடி  
 புகழ்வார்புகழ் தகைய வல்லவடி  
 யருவிரண்டு மொன்னோடொன்னோவ்வாவடி  
 யருவேன்றுணரப் படாத வடி  
 திருவதிகைத் தேன் கெடல நாடன்னடி  
 திருவீரட்டானத் தேஞ்செவ்வன்னடி.

The feet that are as the red lotus of the Goddess of Wealth, the feet that become more and more like honey to the elect, the feet that are to the wealthy as the touchstone of their gold, the feet that are able to make worthy the praise of the devout, the feet that in form do not match one another, the feet that indeed have no form at all—the feet of Him of Tiruvadigai of the south Kedilam country [South Arcot], the feet of our King of Tiruvirattanam.

## § 7. அருச்சுனை, WORSHIP

The first of these verses is by Appar, the second by Sundarar. Kalhukunram (= the hill of the vulture) is not far from Chingleput.

9. வானத்தார் போற்று மருந்தே போற்றி  
 வந்தேன்றன் சிந்தை புகுந்தாய் போற்றி  
 யூனத்தை நீக்குமுடலே போற்றி  
 யோங்கியழலாய் நிமிர்ந்தாய் போற்றி  
 தேனத்தை வார்த்த தேளிவே போற்றி  
 தேவர்க்குந் தேவனாய் நின்றாய் போற்றி  
 கானத்தியாடலுகந்தாய் போற்றி  
 கயிலை மலையானே போற்றி போற்றி.

Hail, ambrosia to which the dwellers of the skies bow!—hail, thou who hast come and entered my heart!—hail, thou body that takest sin away!—hail, thou that roseth high as fire!—hail, thou that gavest enlightenment as sweet as honey!—hail, thou that standest God even of gods!—hail, thou that desirest to dance with the fire of the burning-ground!—hail, thou Lord of Mount Kailasa !

[Once Śiva assumed the form of a pillar of fire, and not until Brahma and Vishnu had prayed to it did they learn its depth and its height—not until Śiva had revealed himself to them.]

10. இறங்கிச்சேன்று தோழுமினின் னிசைபாடியே  
பிறங்குகொன்றைச்சடையனெங்கன்பிரானிடம்  
நிறங்குச்செய்தமணி கணித்திலங் கொண்டழி  
கறங்குவெள்ளையருவித்தன் கழுக்குன்றமே.

Bowing low and singing sweet songs, go worship at cool Kazhukkunram, where the white waterfalls rush down with din and roar, hurling precious stones of many colours and pearls, the holy place of our Lord with the bright garlands of *konrai* (cassia) and the head of matted hair.

#### § 8. அடிமை, HUMILITY

These verses are from a *padigam* sung, by Appar, at Tiruvarur, the modern Tiruvalur of the Tanjore District.

11. அருந்தும்பொழு துரையாடாவமணர் திறமகன்று  
வருந்தி நினைதானே யென்று வாழ்த்து வேற்குண்டுகோலோ  
திருந்தியமாமதிவாருத்திருமுலட்டானனுக்குப்  
பொருந்துந் தவமுடைத் தோண்டர்க்குத்தோண்டராம் புண்  
னியமே.

May I hope for the blessedness of being the servant of the servants who perform penance to reach the Holy God of Arur, with its trim walls—I, who, withdrawing myself from the community of the Jains, who do not speak at meals, grieving and meditating, hailed Him as Lord ?

12. கையிலிடு சோறு நீன்றுண்ணுங் காதவமணரைவிட்  
டுய்யுநெறி கண்டிங்குய்யப் போந் தேனுக்குமுண்டுகோலோ  
வையனணி வயலாருத்திருமுலட்டானனுக்குப்  
பொய்யன்பிலாவடித் தோண்டர்க்குத் தோண்டராம் புண்  
னியமே.

May I hope for the blessedness of being the servant of the servants of the Feet, (they) whose love for the Holy God of Arur, surrounded by the fairest of fields, is not false—I who, having left the community of the greedy Jains, who eat, standing, the rice placed in their hands, have seen the way of life and have come here to “live” ?

## DRAVIDIAN GENDER-WORDS

By EDWIN H. TUTTLE

IN *Les langues du monde* Bloch describes the two genders of Gôndi as representing the oldest Dravidian gender-system. This idea is wrong. Kanara and Tamil have three genders in the singular, male-personal (masculine), female-personal (feminine), non-personal (neuter); and two in the plural, personal and non-personal. The same basis is implied by the other Dravidian gender-systems. In Telugu and northern Dravidian a formal confusion of masculine singular and feminine singular, as explained below, led to the use of the neuter to express the feminine singular. The eastern languages, Telugu and Kurukh-Malto, keep the old plural-system, with masculine and feminine alike; but in Gôndi and Kui the use of the neuter for the feminine singular has resulted in the use of the neuter for the feminine in the plural also. In the treatment of gender Gôndi and Kui are the least conservative of the Dravidian tongues, aside from Brâhui, which makes no distinction of gender in its demonstratives.

The five simple vowels, *i, e, a, o, u*, with the emphatic variants *ī, ē, ā, ō, ū*, were apparently used in early Dravidian as demonstratives and also as interrogatives, the latter being perhaps distinguished by a high tone such as we employ to give an interrogative sense to isolated words. The use of various vowels as interrogative bases is preserved in Kui, and less perfectly in Tulu. The interrogative particles of the literary Dravidian tongues, *ē, ā, ō*, are probably relics of the older practice. European languages have an interrogative particle written *eh*; similarly most of the Dravidian languages selected *e* as the general interrogative basis. The demonstrative *o*-basis is not represented in many varieties of Dravidian. Latin weak *o* and weak *u* are widely levelled in Romanic; perhaps a parallel development confused Dravidian *o* and *u*, used as adjectives with weak stress. Outside of Kui we find two or three general demonstrative bases: *i* (this), *a* (that), and less commonly *u*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I use *e* for a neutral vowel like that of English *bakery*; *j* = consonant-*i*; *ζ* = Bohemian *d'*; *θ* = *th* in English *thin*; *ʾ* = Arabic hamzah; *N* = voiceless *n*; *R* = voiceless *r*.

*CG.* = *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, by R. Caldwell (1913, reprinted from 1875); *US.* = *Ungarische Sprache*, von S. Simonyi (1907).

The Kanara-Tamil demonstrative bases are *i*, *a*, and obsolete *u*, said to be intermediate to *i* and *a* in sense. Gender-words are made from each alike, the stems of the ordinary *a*-forms being *avan*-m., *avaḷ*-f., *avar*-m.f.pl., *ad*-n., *av*-n.pl. Kanara has the nominatives *avanu* and *ava* for older *avam*; *avaḷu* for older *avaḷ*; *avaru* for older *avar*; *adu*; *avu*; the double plurals *avar(u)gaḷ* and *arugaḷ(u)*; the obsolete plurals *ava(n)dir*, *avaldir*, formed with a suffix which, like *-gaḷ*, belongs properly to substantives; and the doubled plural *avaravar* (all of them). Tamil has the nominatives *avan*, *avaḷ*, *avar*, *adu*, *avai*, and the double plurals *avargaḷ*, *avaigaḷ*; also a plural *adugaḷ* from *adu*.

The development of the demonstratives involves the history of *s*. Ancient *s* has been lost in southern Dravidian, and is partially lost in the northern tongues; existing *s* in the south, and sometimes in the north, is a derivative of the palatal occlusive *c*. In borrowed nouns Kanara has *-e* (< \**-ai*) and Tamil has *-ai* where the Aryan nominative has *-ā*. The apparent change of *-ā* to *-ai* caused Caldwell to assume that Telugu *-a* represents the oldest form of the native ending seen in Kanara *tale*, Tamil *talai*, Telugu *tala* (head) and other such words (CG., 136). But in loan-words *-ai* corresponds to the Prâkrit oblique *-āe* or *-āi*, not to the nominative *-ā*; and native *-ai* came from \**-as*, parallel with Italian *poi* < *post*. The *s* of \**talas* is kept in the Dardic derivative *thōs* (head), found in Gârwi, a Dardic tongue which has *ṭh* < *tr* in *ṭhū* (three) and similarly *ṭh* < *tl* in *thōs* < \**tlōs* < \**talos* (JAOS. xlvii. 177). I formerly supposed that Kui *tlāu* (head) implied a development of Dravidian \**talas* from older \**talos*. But Kui *prāu* (rice), corresponding to Malay *bêras* or *bras*, indicates a change of *-as* through \**-asu* or \**-āsu* to *-āu* in Kui, final *u* being added and medial *s* lost as in Kui *mrāu* < \**mirāu* < \**miāru* < \**miār* (daughter) beside Gôndi *miār* and Brâhui *masiṛ*. We may therefore assume a Kui development *tlāu* < \**talasu* < \**talas*; the plural *tlāka* is analogic for \**tlāska*, ancient *s* being normally kept before a consonant in Kui. A normal *h* < *s* is seen in Gôndi *talāhk*, the plural of *talā* < \**talas*. Dardic \**talos* came from Dravidian \**talasu*; developments of the type \**talos* < \**talasu* are common in Dardic, as in Kashmiri *baḷ*- (big) with the nominative *boḷ* for \**baḷu*.

Many of the Dravidian languages use *v* (< *w*) as a hiatus-filler; some of them also use *j*, chiefly in connexion with palatal vowels. In Kanara *avam* and Tamil *avan*, *v* has taken the place of a lost *s*. Likewise *avaḷ* represents \**asaḷ*. The older form of *avar* was probably \**aḥar*. Kanara *acu* and *avam* < \**asā* < \**asan*, with *m* for a nasalized

hiatus-filling *u*, are normal developments: *avannu* and Tamil *avan* are perhaps analogic forms based on the stem, though they may be the continuants of prevocalic *\*asan*. The Hungarian accusative-ending *-t* represents a demonstrative (U.S., 387): likewise the accusative-endings of Kanara and Tamil seem to be reductions of *\*asan*: Kanara *-a*, older *-am* < *\*ahn* < *\*asn*. Tamil *-ai* < *\*as* < *\*asū*. Kanara *-a* and *-am* would thus represent an ancient contraction of *\*asan* before vowels, with further alteration before consonants, while Tamil *-ai* apparently shows the pausal treatment. The Kanara variant *-an*, from prevocalic *\*asn*, has become *-an(u)* before consonants parallel with the change of *avar* to *avannu*.

An old variant of Tamil *adu* is *ahtu*, derived from *\*hatu* or *\*hadu*, with *h* added as in the Kurukh and Kuvi words described below. The basic consonant of the neuter singular seems to have been *d*; but all occlusives became voiceless in early Tamil, and probably in Kanara too. Afterward simple occlusives were voiced between voiced sounds, so the basic quality is hard to make out. The stem of the neuter plural seems to represent simply the demonstrative vowel; an uninflected *a* or *av* (with hiatus-filling *v*) is used in early Tamil, and the corresponding Tamil verb-ending is *-a*. It may be suspected that after suffixes were added for the personal gender-forms and for the neuter singular, the simple basic vowel was found sufficient to express the neuter plural. Kanara *avu* may thus preserve a record of a period earlier than the distinction of pronouns and adjectives. Tamil *avai* < *\*awas* is the historic accusative used as a nominative; it is not treated as an ordinary stem, but is replaced by an inflexional stem *avaRR-*: acc. *avaRRai*, gen. *avaRRin*. The *R* of early Dravidian seems to have come mainly from *l* or *r* in contact or in combination with a voiceless sound; spoken Tamil has *ttr* or *tt* corresponding to what is written as *RR*. Apparently Tamil *avaRR-*, beside Kui *avask-*, is derived from *\*awaskl-*, the contracted form of *\*awaskal* (pluralized *\*awas*) before vowels. Thus *avaRRai* is made up of the same elements as its equivalent *avaigalai*, the accusative of *avaigal*.

A root meaning "look" or "see", apparently of the form *\*snud*, is the source of Kanara *nōḍ-*, Tamil *nōkk-* (< *\*nōḍg-*), southern Tulu *tū-*, northern Tulu *sū-*, eastern Tulu *hū-*, Telugu *cūc-* (< *\*tūḍc-*), Malto *tunḍ-* (> *\*snunḍ-*). Kui *sūḍ-*, Gôndi *huḍ-*, *hur-*, *sur-*, Brâhui *hur-*. Ancient initial *sn* became *sN* outside of the Kanara-Tamil group. Brâhui has *h* < *hN* < *sN* beside *s* kept before a vowel in *sal-* = Kurukh-Malto *il-* (stand). Elsewhere *N* became *t* or zero. Most

varieties of Gôndi have changed ancient *s* (and *s* < *sn*) to *h*. Tulu has *pudar* < \**pitar* (name) against Kanara-Tamil \**pecar* < \**picar* < \**pitar* (BSOS., IV, 575). Tulu shares the change of *sn* to *sN*, and lacks that of \**pitar* to \**picar*. These two lines of development clearly separate Tulu from Kanara-Tamil. So little is known of Kodagu that it is hard to settle its position among the Dravidian tongues: its numerals seem to be mostly borrowed from Tamil or Kanara. But from Kodagu *peda* (name), which has lost final *r* in accord with *ibba* = Tamil *iruvar* (two persons), it appears that Kodagu stands outside of the Kanara-Tamil group and may be closely related to Tulu; Kodagu *nôd-* (see) is a loan-word from Kanara. Cole's grammar tells us that animals are neuter in Kodagu and that neuters have no plural, but muddles the matter by giving the declension of feminine *paju* (cow), pl. *pajuva*, and of masculine *pôri* (buffalo), pl. *pôrija*. If the names of animals have natural genders, contrary to ordinary Dravidian principles, we may assume that Aryan influence produced the change. The Kodagu demonstratives are given as *avan-*, nom. *avë* m.; *aval-*, nom. *ava* f.; *ajan-*, nom. *avu* m.f.pl.; *adu* n.; and parallel *i*-forms. The stems of the singular may have been borrowed from Kanara, and *avu* from the Kanara neuter plural, as applied to animals. The stem of the plural may be compared with Tulu *ai-* (n.), or with Aryan *žana* (folks).

In Tulu, as in Kodagu and modern Kanara, the demonstrative adjectives are *ĩ* and *ā*; but the Tulu gender-forms include a derivative of the *u*-basis, the sense, however, being confused with that of the *i*-basis. The gender-words from the *a*-basis are *āje* for \**ā* < \**asan* m., *āl* < \**asal* f., *ār* and *ākulu* m.f.pl., *avu* or *au* n., *aikulu* n.pl. It is remarkable that the masculine and feminine forms lack the hiatus-filling *v* found in the other southern tongues. Hiatus-filling *w* was evidently first used in contact with *o*-sounds and *u*-sounds, and afterward in some of the Dravidian tongues extended to other vowels. Tulu restricted the use of hiatus-filling *w* to its original position. It developed \**ā* from \**asan*, in accord with *ĩ* for \**ĩn* = Kui *ĩnu* (thou); but as it regularly has the masculine ending *-e* = Tamil *-an* after a consonant, the absence of the usual ending made \**ā* seem abnormal. The *-e* was therefore added, and produced *āje* with hiatus-filling *j* before a palatal vowel. Apparently *ākulu* has *k* < *rk*, and thus corresponds to Tamil *avargal*. Tulu keeps *d* < *t* in *pudar* (name), but has lost ancient *d* in *avu* or *au* beside Tamil *adu*. This word is written as *avu*, but seems to be pronounced *au* (CG., 251); it has



the inflexional stem *ai-*, perhaps corresponding to Tamil *adin-*, used as a variant of *ad-*, the stem of *adu*.

The Tulu gender-words having the sense of the *i*-basis are *imbe* m. ; *imbal*, *imboḷu*, and *mōḷ*, or *mōḷu* f. ; *imber*, *mēr*, and *mōkuḷu* m.f.pl. ; *indu* and *undu* n. ; *undekuḷu* n. pl. The other Dravidian tongues show a general symmetry in the demonstratives formed from two or more bases. The lack of symmetry in Tulu is connected with the use of hiatus-filling *w*. Tulu confused the meanings of the adjectives \**i*, *ī*, and \**u*, \**ū*, and then formed a set of *i*-demonstratives parallel with the normal *u*-forms. The masculine \**usan* became in one dialect \**ume*, with *m* for nasalized hiatus-filling *w* ; and in another \**uve* with *v* < *w*. A blending of these forms produced \**umve*, which became \**umbe* and developed analogic \**umbaḷ* and \**umber*. The apparent root was no longer a simple vowel, but a vowel with a following nasal, and \**udu* changed to *undu* before intervocalic *d* was lost. By a normal development Tulu would have formed \**ī* < \**isan*, \**īḷ* < \**i aḷ*, \**īr* < \**i har* ; but because of the sense-confusion these words were adapted to the *u*-series and became *imbe*, *imbal*, *imber*. The variant *imboḷu* seems to have *o* because of the following *u*, parallel with *maronu*, a variant of the accusative *maranu* from *mara* (tree). The form *undu* produced analogic *indu* for \**idu*, which would have made \**iū* and perhaps \**ī* by an independent development. Besides its regular forms, *indu* has shortened ones with initial *n*, as *netta* for the genitive *indetta* or *indeta*. Evidently *mōḷ(u)* could have come from a parallel treatment of *imboḷu*, and likewise *mēr* from *imber*. It is also possible that *mōḷ(u)* and *mēr* came from older forms having simply *m*, instead of later ones with *mb*. The normal \**ume* may have developed analogic \**umaḷ* and \**umer* before it produced \**umbe*, the basis of \**umbaḷ*, \**umber*, and of *imbe*, *imbal*, *imber*. The plural *mōkuḷu* is based on *mōḷ*, parallel with *ākuḷu* beside *aḷ*.

In Telugu declension the genitive is commonly the same as the inflexional stem, which may differ from the nominative. The modern *a*-demonstratives are *vāḍu*, gen. *vāni* m. ; *vāru*, gen. *vāri* m.f.pl. ; *adi*, gen. *dāni* f.n. ; *avi*, gen. *vāṭi* n.pl. A variant of *vāru* is *vāṇḍu*, gen. *vāṇḍa*, from *vāni* treated like a substantive. The *i*-forms are *vīḍu*, *vīni* ; *vīru*, *vīri* ; *idi*, *dīni* ; *ivi*, *vīṭi* ; and *vīṇḍu*, *vīṇḍa*. In early Telugu the long vowels of the masculine nominative singular were nasalized ; the neuter had variants which will be considered in connexion with the interrogatives. In Telugu, as in Kanara-Tamil, medial consonants were lost and a hiatus-filling *w* was added in the

derivatives of *\*asan*, *\*asaḷ*, *\*isan*, *\*isaḷ*, *\*ahar*, *\*ihar*. Stress-displacement, accompanied by assimilation (*i-i* for *i-a*), allowed the initial vowels to disappear. A final *u* has been added after *-r*, as in modern Kanara. But in the derivatives of *\*asan*, *\*asaḷ*, *\*isan*, *\*isaḷ*, the final sounds tended to disappear, as they have done in the Kodagu nominatives. The participle *uṇḍu* (being) was added to form a nominative: *\*-anuṇḍu*, *\*-aḷuṇḍu*. A later assimilation or dissimilation levelled these. Following a change of feminine *\*-aḷuṇḍu* to *\*-anuṇḍu*, or of masculine *\*-anuṇḍu* to *\*-aluṇḍu* or *\*-aruṇḍu*, the loss of weak *u* caused the two endings to become a single form *\*-aṇḍu*, or *\*-aṇḍru* which later changed to *\*-aṇḍu*. Likewise *\*-inuṇḍu* and *\*-iḷuṇḍu*, with *i* as explained above, became *\*-iṇḍu*. A permanent remedy for the sense-confusion was evolved in Telugu as in northern Dravidian: the neuter was used to express the feminine singular. The *ṭ* of *vāṭi* and *vīṭi* corresponds to the *RR* of Tamil *avaRRin*, *ivaRRin*, as is shown by Telugu *ēṭi* = Tamil *āRRin*, the genitives of *ēru* = *āḍru* (river). The *-i* of *adi* and *avi* is discussed below, in connexion with the Kui neuter.

The northern Dravidian tongues have changed ancient *ṇ* to *n*, except in the groups *ṇṭ* and *ṇḍ*. From Kurukh *asan* = Tamil *avan* < *\*asan* (there) it appears that ancient *s* is kept between vowels in Kurukh-Malto. Kurukh has the demonstratives *ās* < *\*asan* m.; *ār* < *\*ahar* m.f.pl.; *ād* f.n.; *abrā* n.pl.; similarly *īs*, *īr*, *īḍ*, *ibrā*, beside the adjective *ī*; and *hūs*, *hūr*, *hūd*, *hubrā*, beside the adjective *ū*, which indicates greater distance than *ī*. The added *h* came from Kolarian influence: Santālī has *nī* (this), *īnī* (that near by), *hīnī* (that further away), and other sets of demonstratives with *h* marking remoteness. The lack of *h* in the adjective *ū* may be explained by the generally weaker stress of adjectives; or perhaps *ū* is a compromise between weak-stressed *\*u* and emphatic *\*hū*. Initial *s* has been lost in Kurukh-Malto; *abrā* came from Aryan *sarva* (all), combined with native *ā*; *ibrā* and *hubrā* are analogic forms, developed after *\*sabrā* lost its *s*. Malto has *ah-*, nom. *āh* m.; *aθ-*, nom. *āθ* f.n.; *ār* m.f.pl.; and parallel *i*-forms: the ancient medial *s* became *h* as a final, and by analogy replaced medial *s* in the inflected forms. In Kurukh-Malto apparently the masculine *\*asan* and the feminine *\*asaḷ* became *\*asa*; the neuter was then adopted for the feminine singular. The Malto distinction of *aθin* (acc. f.) and *aθe* (acc. n.) seems to be derived from the declension of substantives, which have the accusative-ending *-n* for persons beside *-e* for things.

Gôndi and Kui show developments essentially like those of the Telugu demonstratives, followed by a disappearance of the feminine, as explained above. Most varieties of Gôndi have lost the basic adjectives, and use the pronouns instead, in accord with the general Dravidian method of forming English-like noun-compounds. In Trench's grammar (1919) we find the Gôndi forms *ôn-* nom. *ôl* or *ôr* m.; *ôr* or *ôrk* m.pl.; *tân-* or *addên-*, nom. *ad* n.; *arvên-* or *arvehk-*, nom. *au* n.pl.; *ên-*, nom. *êl* or *êr* m.; *êr* or *êrk* m.pl.; *tên-* or *iddên-*, nom. *id* n.; *ivvên-* or *ivvehk-*, nom. *iu* n.pl. Evidently the *ô*-forms might correspond to Kanara *avan-*, *avar*, or *uvan-*, *uvar*; but the *a* of *ad* seems to imply a Gôndi change of *\*asan* to *\*awan*, *\*aun*, *ôn-*. The hiatus-filler is, however, lacking in *ên-* < *\*isan* and *êr* < *\*ihar*. The *-k* of the plural, as in Gôndi substantives, corresponds to Kanara-Tamil *-kaḷ* or *-gaḷ*. The *r* of the plural represents ancient *r*, as in *maṛā* = Tamil *maram* (tree). The *r* of the singular is derived from *dr* or *ḍr*, as in *nūr* = Tamil *nūḍru* (hundred). The variant *l* is perhaps derived from *ḍl* through *ḷ*, a sound now lacking in Gôndi. Kanara has generally lost checking nasals after weak vowels, as in *eraḍu* = Tamil *irandu* (two) and in the plural *avadir* mentioned above, beside analogic *avandir* with *n* restored under the influence of *avan-*. So too in Gôndi, after a suffix like the one used in Telugu was added to masculine and feminine nominatives, *\*-anuṇḍu* and *\*-aḷuṇḍu* developed into a single form, *\*-andru* or *\*-aṇḍru* or *\*-aṇḍḷu*, and then lost the nasal. In the forms *ad* and *id* the *ḍ* is kept because of final position, against the medial *l* < *d* in *paṛōl* < *\*polar* < *\*pudar* < *\*pitar* (name). The *dd*-forms may indicate a reaction, under the influence of the nominative, against the normal change of medial *d* to *l*. Dravidian *tān* (self) is perhaps represented in *tân-* and analogic *tên-*; if so, it marks the partially feminine sense of the Gôndi neuter. The forms *au* and *iu* agree with Kanara *avu* and *ivu*. The *hk*-suffix corresponds to Kui *sk*.

From Friend-Pereira's grammar (1909) we learn that Kui has the adjectives *i* (this), *e* (that), *a* (that further away), *o* (that furthest away), with the emphatic variants *ī*, *ē*, *ā*, *ō*. The gender-words based on *e* are given as *evandžu*, genitive-accusative *evan(n)i*, possessive *evandi* m.; *evaru*, gen.-acc. *evan(n)i*, poss. *evardi* m.pl.; *eri*, gen.-acc. *era(n)i*, poss. *erandi* n.; *evi*, *eviska*, *eriska*, gen.-acc. *eva(n)i*, *eviska(n)i*, *eriska(n)i*, poss. *evandi* n.pl. The hiatus-filling *v* of the masculine may be left out. If the *v* of the neuter plural is a hiatus-filler, as I have assumed for the Kanara-Tamil and Telugu forms, it must be an

older development than that of *v* in the masculine. Kui *-andžu*, in accord with *mundži* = Tamil *mūndru* (three), represents *\*-andru* or *\*-andļu*, developed as in Gōndi from the masculine and feminine endings. The nasal kept in Kui, contrary to Gōndi, may imply an early stress-displacement, or perhaps it was lost and then restored from the general stem, parallel with the Kanara development of *avandir* beside normal *avadir*.

Beside the regular intervocalic  $r < d$  in *eri*, Kui keeps *d* after a consonant in the possessives, which have a sense corresponding to the English distinction made in *hers* and *theirs*: the formal relation of *evandi* to *evan-* is the same as that of *eri* ( $< *edi$ ) to *e*. The form *eviska* is a double plural like Tamil *avaigal*; the *s* may correspond to that of Tamil *\*awas*, explained above. In the grammar of Letchmaje (1902) we find *ēri* n., *ēvi* and *ēvaska* n.pl., with a distinction of genders in the accusative: neuter *ēra*, with the plural *ēva*, and feminine *ērāni*, with the plural *ēvaskāni*. Probably *-iska* came from *-aska* under the influence of *-i*. If the accusative-ending *-a* corresponds to Tamil *-ai*  $< *-as$ , we may assume that stress was displaced in substantives like *\*talas*, but not in *\*edas* and similar pronouns, where the sense of the initial vowel tended to preserve its stress: main-stressed *\*-as* kept *s* (and later became *\*-asu*), while weak *\*-as* made *-a*, just as Latin *dē post* makes Italian *dipoi* with *i* for *s* after a main-stressed vowel, and also *dopo* with stress-displacement and no trace of *s*. The plural *eriska* from *eri* follows a regular type of substantive-declension, that of female-personal names, which are neuter in Kui: Letchmaje gives *āja-ska* (mothers), *aṅgi-ska* (sisters), *aṅgo-ska* (aunts).

Friend-Pereira tells us that Kui uses *kōgavi* for small animals, *kōgavi* or *kōgau* for small things, and *kōgavi* or *kōgaska* or *kōgaviska* for small female persons. This statement explains the neuter-ending *-i* found in Telugu and Kui. The same ending is common in Dravidian animal-names: Tamil has *eli* (rat), *kodri* (sheep), *kōri* (fowl), *nari* (fox), *pandri* (swine), *puli* (tiger). This *-i* of substantives was adopted as a pronoun-ending in Telugu and Kui, and perhaps in Gōndi, which seems to have lost various final vowels. The historic meaning of Telugu *adi* and Kui *eri* is "that animal"; but as animals are regularly neuter in Dravidian, the *-i* became simply a suffix of the neuter. Kui *-au*, as in *kōgau*, may correspond to Kanara *avu*.

Kuvi, as described in Schulze's grammar (1911), is much like Kui. Its verb-forms have a peculiar localizing suffix: *hījadu* (give me), *hottateri* (they came running), beside the simple imperative

*hīdu* (give) and the simple past *hotteri* (they ran away). The demonstrative adjectives are *ī* (this), *ē* (that), *hē* (that further away), *hū* (that furthest away). The stems of the gender-forms agree with those of Kui, except that *d* is kept in the neuter singular. The treatment of the feminine shows a mixture of the Telugu and Kui systems: the masculine plural and the neuter plural are both used for the feminine.

Brāhui *dā* (this) is derived from Afghan *dā*; the history of *ē* (that) and intermediate *ō* is not clear. Afghan *ē* may be the source of defective *ī*- (him, her, it). Genders are not distinguished.

Initial *e* and *ē* interchange with *je*, *jē*, in southern Dravidian. Lengthened *e* sometimes becomes *ā*. The interrogative basis *e* therefore has the variants *ē*, *je*, *jē*, *ā*, *jā*. Kanara uses *ā*, *āva*, *jā*, *jāva*. for the older adjective *ē*. Gender-forms are old *āvam* and *āvavam* m., *āvaḷ* f., *ār* m.f.pl., *āruḍu* n., *āvuvu* n.pl.; modern *jāvanu* m., *jāvaḷu* f., *jāru* m.f.pl.; old *ē*, *ēm*, *ēn*, modern *ēnu* n. The development of \**ēhar* to \**ēr* and *ār*, without a hiatus-filler, broke up the usual symmetry of gender-forms and allowed *va* to be considered radical instead of suffixal in \**ēvan*, *āvan*-, *jāvan*-; *va* was added to the adjectives, and the ending of \**ēvaḍu* became *-udu*, with *a* assimilated to the final vowel. The forms with initial *j* have variants with initial *ḍ*, apparently developed from *ad(u)* in the question *ad* \**ēvan* (who is that?): the neuter is sometimes combined with a masculine in Dravidian, as in German (*wer ist das*?). The neuter *ēnu* looks like an accusative made from the adjective *ē* before the distinction of adjectives and substantives became settled.

Corresponding to the adjective *e*, Tamil has *evan*, *evaḷ*, *evar*, *edu*, *evai*; a parallel *jā*-series with *jār* (often reduced to *ār* and used for the singular) as a variant of *jāvar*; neuter *ēdu*, *enna*, *evan*, and *en*. These last two seem to be basic *e* combined with \**asn*, the prevocalic form of the accusative-ending.

Modern Telugu has the interrogative adjectives *ē* and *ēmi*, with the gender-forms *evaḍu* (gen. *-ani*) m., *evaru* (gen. *-ari*) m.f.pl., *ēdi* (gen. *dēni*) f.n., *ēvi* (gen. *vēṭi*) n.pl.; also a feminine *evate* or *evarte* and a neuter *ēmi*. In early Telugu the plural *evaru* has the variants *ēvaru*, *evvaru*, *evvāru*, *ēru*; the masculine singular has parallel variants, but with a nasalized vowel before *ḷ* in the nominative; *ēdi* has the variants *edi*, *eddi*, *ejjadi*, *ējadi*, with corresponding plurals, and similar variants appear in the demonstratives: *addi*, *ajjadi*, *ājadi*. The use of *dd* and *vv* came from emphasis, like parallel changes sometimes heard

in English (*come mon !* for *come on*). Perhaps emphasis also changed *ē-* to *ejja-*, *ēja-*; or the *j*-forms may mean literally "what that". The ending of *evarte* seems to be Aryan, like that of Telugu *kumārte* or *komārte* (daughter), connected with Sanskrit *kumārī*. Probably *ēmi* came from *\*embi* or *\*ēmbi*, in accord with *pāmu* = Tamil *pāmbu* (snake), and is related to Tamil *embar* (where).

Tulu has the adjectives *vā*, *dā*, and the pronouns *jēr* m.f., *dāne*, *dādavu* n., and another neuter written as *ovu* or *vovu*. Evidently *jēr* corresponds to Tamil *jār*; *dāne*, with a dialectal variant *džāne* < *\*djā* . . . developed *d* as explained above, and produced *dā*. Apparently *dādavu* is a loan-word from Kanara *dāvadu*, conformed to Tulu *avu*. The *o*-basis is represented in *vā* < *\*ō*, as ancient initial *w* makes Tulu *b*; and in (*v*)*ovu*, which is inflected like *avu*.

Kodagu has the adjective *jē*, with gender-forms corresponding to those of the demonstratives, except for the plural *āru*; and a neuter *jennē*. All of these may have been taken from Tamil.

Kurukh has the interrogative pronouns *nē* (who) and *endr* (what). The *n* of *nē* seems to have come from a change of *\*asan* *\*ē* to *\*asa nē* (what is that person? = who is that?), when *\*asan* became *\*asa*. Malto has *nē-* (who), and *indr-* (what).

Kui has the interrogative adjectives *ini*, *eni*, *ani*, *isti*, *esti*, *asti*, *osti*, and the pronouns *imbare*, *ombare*, *umbare* (who), *ina*, *ena*, *ana* (what). The ending *-a* has the variant *-ari*, and forms its inflexional stem by adding *r*. The *mb*-forms, used for both numbers, have the plural-like inflexional stems *imber-*, *omber-*, *umber-*; they seem to be connected with the adverbs *imba* (here), *emba* (there). The same *mb*-element, reduced to *b*, is seen in the interrogatives of Gôndi, *bōl* or *bōr* m., and *bad* n., which are inflected like the demonstratives *ōl*, *ōr*, and *ad*.

Brâhui has changed ancient short *e* (and short *o*) to *a*, and has *i* for a recently shortened *ē*. Thus it has three vowels for basic *e* and *ē* in *dēr* (who), gen. *dinnā* < *\*dērnā*, and *ant* (what). The form *dēr*, used as singular and plural, corresponds to the southern plurals, with *d* added as in Kanara: the Brâhui demonstratives have the variants *dād*, *ōd*, *ēd*, with *-d* keeping the form—though not the meaning—of the old neuter.

## THE GENDER OF ARABIC INFINITIVES IN URDU

*A Complete Guide to the gender of nearly 1,000 nouns*

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

PLATTS'S Urdu Grammar contains rules to help in determining the genders of nouns. As it was published in 1873 and has not been revised since, one would expect that here and there some restatement might be necessary. This short article deals with the Arabic infinitives commonly used in Urdu. Platts gives seven forms (see especially pp. 25-9), pointing out that six are generally masc. and one fem. In every case but one there are exceptions. The student therefore has an uneasy feeling that perhaps the exceptions are nearly as numerous as the examples, and that in any case unless he knows all the exceptions, the rules are of little value. These Arabic infinitives give to Urdu between 900 and 1,000 nouns. It is impossible to say exactly how many, for a hard and fast line cannot be drawn. Some writers, like Abu'l Kalām Āzād, overload their writings with little-known Arabic words, others employ far fewer. I will here state the rules and endeavour to give every exception. *About some words authorities differ.*

One broad rule to cover all others may be stated thus: nouns of the form *taf'īl* are fem., and nouns of the following six forms are masc., *if'āl*, *tafa''ul*, *tafā'ul*, *infī'āl*, *ifti'āl*, *istif'āl*. Directly derived from these and closely resembling them are some nouns ending in *-a* (i.e. *-ah* with *h* not pronounced), which are masc., and in *-āt* which are fem.

Let us take them in detail.

(1) Form II, *taf'īl*. Approximately 230 of this form are found in Urdu literature in addition to forty which end in *-a* or *-āt*, such as *taṣfiya*, *taqviyat*. The 230 are all fem. except one, *ta'vīz*, amulet, which is masc. Most of them are abstract nouns, but even those which are not, with the exception of *ta'vīz*, are fem. Thus *Taṣṭīs*, the Holy Trinity; *taḥṣīl*, which often means a *taḥṣīldār*'s house or court of justice; *taḥvīl*, capital, deposited funds; *tasnīm*, a fountain in Paradise (made masc. by one poet, *Shur'ūr*), are fem.

About twenty-eight connected nouns end in *-a*. All are masc., but *taḥayya* (for *taḥiyya*), salutation has both genders. The word *takhliya*, letting go, evacuating, is wrongly given fem. by Platts's Dict. It is masc. Approximately twelve end in *-āt* and are fem.

Quadriliteral words belonging to Form II are all masc. They include words like *tabakhtur*, walking proudly, and fancy words like

*takashmur*, to act like or become a Kashmīrī. There are about nine of them.

*taqayyad*, fem., urging, insistence, is probably an alteration of *taqīd* < *taqyīd*.

(2) Form IV, *if'āl*. About 131 words; all masc. except eight.

This number does not include about twenty-five derivatives in -āt or -a; see below.

The eight exceptions are :—

|                                 |                                               |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| <i>iṣlāḥ</i> , correction.      | <i>ifrāl</i> , abundance.                     |
| <i>iḥāḥ</i> , importunity.      | <i>imdād</i> , help.                          |
| <i>imlāk</i> , property (rare). | <i>inshā</i> , composition.                   |
| <i>izā</i> , pain.              | <i>irsāl</i> , rent remitted to headquarters. |

When *irsāl* means merely “ sending ”, it is not used as a noun; it is then part of the verb *irsāl-karnā*. send, or *irsāl-honā*, be sent : *imlā*, dictation, is sometimes fem.

There are about seventeen derived nouns ending in -āt, all fem., e.g. *ijāzat*, permission, and about eight in -a, all masc.. as *irāda*. m., intention.

The following is a list of words to which Platts has given wrong genders. The genders marked here are the correct ones :—

|                                  |                                          |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| <i>iḥsā</i> , m., numbering.     | <i>idbār</i> , m., turning back.         |
| <i>ifā</i> , m., paying.         | <i>imā</i> , m., sign, hint.             |
| <i>ijlās</i> , m., session.      | <i>ifrāt</i> , f., abundance.            |
| <i>irsāl</i> , f., rent sent on. | <i>imlāk</i> , f., giving possession to. |
| <i>imdād</i> , f., help.         |                                          |

He allows both genders to *iḥsā* and *ifrāt*; *imdād* is correct in the Gram. but wrong in the Dict. Conversely *idbār* is right in the Dict., but wrong in the Gram. *ikrāḥ*, m., aversion (rare), and *irād*, citing, which he gives as fem., have both genders.

(3) Form V, *tafa'ul*. About 173 words plus fourteen ending in -ī, 187 in all. The former are all masc. except three, and the latter are all fem. The three exceptions are :—

|                                  |                             |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>tavajjuh</i> , f., attention. | <i>tavaqqu'</i> , f., hope. |
| <i>tamannā</i> , f., desire.     |                             |

Platts has *tavazzu*, f., prayer-ablution, but it is not used in Urdu.

There are a couple of derived nouns in -a which are masc. They bring the number up to 188.

(4) Form VI, *tafā'ul*. About eighty-one. Twelve end in -ī and are fem.; three derived nouns end in -a and are masc. The remaining sixty-six are all masc., except *tavāzu'*, politeness, consideration.



(5) Form VII, *infī'āl*. About thirty-five, all masc.

Platts's Dict. gives *imbisāl*, gladness, fem. It is found both masc. and fem. The poet Hālī makes it masc.

(6) Form VIII, *ifti'āl*. About 130. Masc. with ten exceptions, of which six end in *-ā*. The fem. nouns are :—

|                                      |                               |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| <i>ih̄tiyāj</i> , need.              | <i>ih̄tiyāt</i> , care.       |
| <i>istilāh</i> , conventional usage. | <i>ittilā</i> , announcement. |

And the following in *-ā* :—

|                              |                                           |
|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| <i>ibtidā</i> , beginning.   | <i>istifā</i> , being elect (rare).       |
| <i>ishtihā</i> , longing.    | <i>iltijā</i> , petition.                 |
| <i>iktifā</i> , sufficiency. | <i>ihtidā</i> , being guided (very rare). |
| <i>intihā</i> , end.         |                                           |

Platts wrongly gives *i'tirāz* as fem. The following are both masc. and fem. : *iltifāt*, courtesy : *iltimās*, request : *imtiyāz*, distinction : *istinād*, leaning on (rare) : *ibtilā*, affliction ; *i'tinā*, anxiety, sympathy : *iqtidā*, imitation.

It will be noticed that of the nouns ending in *-ā* all the common ones are fem., viz. *ibtidā*, *iltijā*, *intihā*, *ishtihā*.

(7) Form X, *istif'āl*. About sixty-eight ; masc. with the following four exceptions :—

|                                            |                                |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>isti'dād</i> , capacity.                | <i>istid'ā</i> , supplication. |
| <i>istirzā</i> , seeking to please (rare). | <i>istimdād</i> , asking help. |

The following have both genders : *istisnā*, exception, *istignā*, wealth, independence, *istigfār*, asking forgiveness.

*istigfār* is generally pronounced *astagfār*.

Pl. Dict. gives m. gender to *istignā*, *istigfār* (so also Gram.), and to *istimdād* (correct in Gram.). *istikrāh*, m., aversion, is correct in the Dict., but wrong in the Gram.

Further, seven derived nouns ending in *-āt* are fem., and five ending in *-a* are masc. Adding them to the sixty-eight already mentioned, we get eighty for this class.

To sum up : I have dealt with about 950 nouns, which may be divided approximately as follows :—

|                            |     |
|----------------------------|-----|
| Connected with Form II     | 280 |
| "          "          IV   | 155 |
| "          "          V    | 190 |
| "          "          VI   | 80  |
| "          "          VII  | 35  |
| "          "          VIII | 130 |
| "          "          X    | 80  |

|       |     |
|-------|-----|
| Total | 950 |
|-------|-----|

Of these 870 are Arabic infinitives and eighty are directly derived nouns ending in *-āt* or *-a*.

The following simple rules govern them.

**Feminine.**

|                         |                                             |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| All ending in <i>-ī</i> | No exceptions.                              |
| „ „ „ <i>-āt</i>        | No exceptions.                              |
| The form <i>taf'īl</i>  | One exception, viz. <i>tajvīz</i> , amulet. |

**Masculine** all the rest. Some exceptions as below.

DETAILS OF MASCULINE TYPES.

|                            |                                                                                        |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Quadriliterals of Form II  | All masc. ; no exceptions.                                                             |
| Derived nouns in <i>-a</i> | All masc. ; no exceptions.                                                             |
| Form <i>if'āl</i>          | Eight exceptions given above.                                                          |
| „ <i>tafa'ul</i>           | Three exceptions, <i>tavajjuh</i> , <i>tavaqqu'</i> , <i>tamannā</i> .                 |
| „ <i>tafā'ul</i>           | One exception, <i>tavāzu'</i> , f., politeness.                                        |
| „ <i>infi'āl</i> .         | No exceptions.                                                                         |
| „ <i>ifti'āl</i>           | Ten exceptions, given above.                                                           |
| „ <i>istif'āl</i>          | Four exceptions, <i>istid'ā</i> , <i>isti'dād</i> , <i>istimdād</i> , <i>istirzā</i> . |

The phrases in Platts's Gram., p. 25, ll. 19, 20, "a few more words that end in *t* or *ā*," etc., and that on p. 26, ll. 17, 18, "a few words ending in *-ā* or *t*" should be omitted. I do not think that in either case there is a purely fem. word ending in *t*, and those which end in *-ā* are about equally divided.

If we omit words of the forms *if'āl* and *ifti'āl* we have 720 nouns with only nine exceptions ; even if we include these two forms with their relatively numerous eighteen exceptions, the total is only 27.

A few words, not Arabic infinitives, may be mentioned in conclusion. Platts gives wrong genders to the fem. nouns *in'jīl*, Gospel ; *afvāh*, rumour ; *tarāzū*, balance (correct in Grammar). *banafsha*, violet, which he makes fem., is both masc. and fem.

## ENGLISH WORDS IN PANJĀBĪ

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

THE details of philological processes are generally lost in the mists of obscurity, and most recognized linguistic development is difficult to follow because it took place hundreds or thousands of years ago. We must often have wished for the chance of hearing one sound change into another, and the wish is usually vain. But in the case of English words in India it is frequently possible to see them entering the country and watch the changes taking place. We can learn valuable lessons from the detailed study of one Indian language. I have therefore taken Panjābī and given a list of nearly 400 English words which have been incorporated into it. This first article contains the words with their Panjābī equivalents in two dialects. In the second I hope to analyse the words and draw conclusions.

English words in India may be divided into three classes. First there are words which have been wholly assimilated and are known to every villager. At the other extreme we have a large number, an indefinite number, of words used only by educated Indians in conversation or books. They are recognized as foreign words and those who use them try to pronounce them as in English. No object would be served by making a list of them. A man once said to me with much bitterness: “*merā fādarinlā merī vāif nū barā bādḷī tarī kardā e* (my father-in-law treats my wife very badly)”; or we may hear *mā barā lonī fīl karnā eā* (I feel very lonely). Such Panjābī does not help us.

But there is a third class, viz. technical terms used only in connexion with certain professions or pursuits or amusements. We have military, legal, and scholastic words, or it may be words relating to canals, railways, or games. These words are, it is true, employed by illiterate people, but their sphere is limited. They are difficult to deal with, for one does not know exactly how many of them to include. To take one example, most English military terms are found in the *sipāhī's* vocabulary, but only a few are fully naturalized. I have had to exercise my judgment in the matter.

A word as to the preparation of this list. I first wrote out the words as they are heard in Northern Panjābī, and sent them to Dr. Banārsī Dās Jæn, who belongs to Ludihānā and speaks the southern dialect. He very kindly sent me a further list including about sixty words

which I had not thought of, and gave his own pronunciation of my words. I in turn added the Northern pronunciation of his new words. Frequently there is no difference between us. To give his forms and mine separately would involve a lot of needless repetition. It is sufficient to indicate the general line of divergence. It is entirely characteristic of the two dialects.

Where the Northern has      The Southern tends towards

|                                   |                       |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>kh, g</i>                      | <i>kh, g</i>          |
| <i>f, v</i> (faint dento-labials) | <i>ph, b</i>          |
| <i>ś</i>                          | <i>s</i> or <i>ch</i> |
| <i>ḷ</i>                          | <i>l</i>              |
| <i>ṇ</i>                          | <i>n</i>              |

Dr. Banārsī Dās has no *kh* or *g*, and uses *ḷ* only when it is assimilated to a following *ṭ* or *ḍ*; his *ṇ*, too, is rarer than mine. The ordinary system of transliteration has been followed except that sounds usually written *au* and *ai* are represented by *aw* and *æ*. This is to prevent the common English distortion of them into the "ow" of "howl" and "y" of "style". Dr. Banārsī Dās's *æ* is [ʌe], mine is pure monophthongic [æ].

About a dozen words are taken from a Bengali list prepared by Mr. Sutton Page.

#### LIST OF ENGLISH WORDS IN PANJABI

|                                              |                                                     |
|----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| act (legal), <i>əkəṭ</i> , <i>ikaṭ</i> .     | ? banyan (a vest), <i>baṇəṇ'</i> , <i>baneān'</i> . |
| agency, <i>ajə'nsī</i> .                     | bank (money), <i>baṅk</i> (? Port.).                |
| agent, <i>ajanṭ'</i> .                       | baptize; <i>bæptāiz</i> 'onā, be baptized.          |
| Africa, <i>afri'kā</i> , <i>pharī'kā</i> .   | barracks, <i>bārak</i> , <i>bārag</i> .             |
| America, <i>amri'kā</i> .                    | barrack-master, do. - <i>māštar</i> ,               |
| American, <i>mārkīn</i> (a cloth).           | - <i>māštar</i> ; his place of work,                |
| allowance, <i>alawns</i> , <i>laws</i> .     | do. - <i>māštrī</i> , - <i>māstrī</i> . A b.-m.     |
| appeal (legal), <i>apīl</i> .                | is a transport agent.                               |
| April, <i>aprəl'</i> .                       | barrister, <i>bālīštar</i> , <i>balīštar</i> ; his  |
| artichoke, <i>hāthīcok</i> .                 | work, <i>bālī'štarī</i> , <i>balī'štarī</i> .       |
| assistant, <i>aštanṭ'</i> , <i>ašantṭ'</i> . | bat (for play), <i>bæṭ</i> .                        |
| August, <i>agast'</i> (dental <i>t</i> ).    | bearer, <i>bæ'rā</i> .                              |
| B.A., <i>bī'yye</i> .                        | bearing, <i>baraṅg'</i> (letter without             |
| ball (for play), <i>bāl</i> .                | stamp, person without ticket).                      |
| bamboo cart, <i>ba'mbū kāṭ</i> (bamboo       | beef, <i>bīf</i> .                                  |
| alone is not used).                          | belt, <i>bīṭ</i> .                                  |
|                                              | bench, <i>banc</i> , <i>binc</i> , <i>brinc</i> .   |

- Bible, *bæbal*, *bāibal*.  
 bicycle, *bāiskal'*, *bā'īskal'*.  
 ? billet, *biḷṭi* (way-bill, etc.).  
 bioscope, *bāiskop*.  
 biscuit, *biskut*.  
 blotting, *blāṭin*, blotting-paper.  
 board, *boḍ*.  
 boarding, *boḍin*, *boḍan* (hostel).  
 boat, see gunboat.  
 boil, *bæl*; 'āḍ**bæl**, hard boil;  
 'ā**fbæl**, half boil, i.e. boil soft.  
 bomb, *bamb* (? Port.): see "hum-  
 ball".  
 boot, *būṭ*.  
 bottle, *botal*.  
 box, *bakas*, *baks*.  
 bowl, *boli-galās* (bowl-glass. i.e.  
 finger-bowl).  
 braces, *bresaz*; see "gallowses."  
 brake, *birk*, *brek* (guard's van,  
 etc.)  
 branch, *brānc*.  
 brandy, *brāṇḍī*.  
 breast, see "double".  
 breeches, *birjas*.  
 brush, *burs*, *burś*, *burch*.  
 buggy, *ba'ggī*.  
 bugle, *bigal*.  
 bulldog, *bulḍāg*.  
 bull-terrier, *būṭī*, *būṭī-kuttā*.  
 bum-ball, bump-ball (in cricket).  
*bamb*; see "bomb".  
 button, *baṭan*.  
 cake, *kek*.  
 calendar, *kala'ṇḍar*.  
 camp, *kampū*, *kamp* (? Port.).  
 canister, *knastar*, *kana'star* (? Port.).  
*canastra*, basket).  
 car, see "motor".  
 card, *kāl* (postcard).  
 castor oil, *kaṣṭaræ'l*, *kaṣṭræ'l*.  
 catch, *kæc*.  
 catching house, *kānjī hawd* (pound  
 for stray cattle).  
 cement, *sī'miṭṭ*, *sī'miṇṭ*, *sir'maṭ*.  
 centre, *seṇṭar awṭ* (run out,  
 stumped).  
 certificate, *sāṭī'pṭak*, *sāṭīphi'ṭak*.  
 chain, *cæn*.  
 chalk, *cāk*.  
 chance, *cāns*, *cānas*; o'nū *cāns*  
*mīlēā*, he gave a chance  
 (cricket).  
 cheque, *cikk*, *cik*.  
 chief court, *cīpkot*.  
 chimney, *cimṇī*, *cimnī*.  
 chocolate, *cakle't*, *cākolet*.  
 chop, *cāp*; see "potato".  
 Christian, *kriṣṭān*, *kristān* (? Port.).  
 cigarette, *sigraṭ*.  
 civil surgeon, *sival sarjan*.  
 class, *klās*, *kalās*.  
 clerk, *klārḱ*, *kalārak*, *klark*.  
 cloth, *kalāth*, *kilāth*.  
 club, *kalaf*; *kalaf k'ar*, club house.  
 coach, *koc*: coachman, *kocvān*.  
 coat, *koṭ*.  
 cocoa, *koko*.  
 coffee, *kāfi*.  
 collar, *kālar*.  
 college, *kālaj*.  
 colonel, *karnæ'l*.  
 commander; *kamāniar afsar*  
 (C.O.)  
 commission, *kamiśan*, *kamiśan*.  
 commissioner, *kamiśnar*,  
*kamisnar*.  
 committee, *kame'tī*, *kame'tṭī*.  
 company, *kawmpanī*, *kampanī*.

compounder (medical), *kampo'dar*,  
*kampo'tar*.

conference, *kānphræs*.

congress, *kāngras*.

constable, *kā'nstēbal*, *kanstē'bal*.

copy, *kāppī*, *kāpī* (note-book,  
 copy-book).

cork, *kāk*, *kāg*.

cornflour, *kārnfławr*.

couch, *kawc*.

council, *kāwsal*.

court, *korat* (court of ward),  
 c. fees, *koṭ fīs*, *koṭ phīs*; see  
 "chief".

cream, *kirm*.

cricket, *kirkat*.

croquette (for eating), *kurkat*.

cuff, *kaff*, *kaph*.

cut piece (tailoring), *kaṭ pī's*.

cutlet, *kaṭlas*.

dead-house (mortuary), *ḍēḍ 'aw's*.

December, *dsa'mbar*, *dasa'mbar*  
 (dental *d*).

decree, *ḍi'grī*.

deputy, *ḍiptī*; d. commissioner,  
*ḍiptī kamiśnar*.

diamond cut, *ḍæmal kaṭ*.

diary, *ḍærī*.

dictionary, *ḍikśnrī*.

director, *ḍarektar*, *ḍaræktar*.

dish, *ḍīs*.

dispensary, *ḍispēnsrī*.

distant signal, *ḍīsī saṅgal*.

doctor, *ḍāgdār*, *ḍāgdar*, *ḍākdar*,  
*ḍāktar*; abstract noun, *ḍāgdārī*,  
*ḍāgdarī*, *ḍākdarī*, *ḍāktarī*.

double, *ḍabal* (strong, excellent);  
*ḍabal roṭī*, English bread; *ḍabal*  
*bres*, double breast.

dollar, *ḍāllā*.

down, see "signal".

dozen, *darjan*.

drawer, *drāz*, *drāj*.

drawers, pair of, *drāz*, *drāj*.

dress, *ḍares*, *dres* (*d* and *d*).

dresser, *ḍaresar*.

dressings, *dressī* (levelled ground  
 etc. : dental *d*).

drill, cloth, *ḍaril*.

drill, military, *ḍaril*, *dalel* (dental  
*d* in latter).

driver, engine-, *ḍaraivar*.

engine, *iñan*, *anjan*.

engineer, *anjī'nyar*, *anjnī'r*,  
*a'njnīr*, *anjnī'ar*, *a'njniar*.

entrance (exam.), *ēntræns*, *antræs*.

European, *yūrpīn*, *zūrbīn*.

F.A., *ēffe*, *æffe*, *æpphe*.

fail, *fel*, *fe'l*, *phel*, *phe'l*.

father (priest), *fādar*.

fashion, *fæsan*, *phæsan*.

February, *farvarī*, *pharbarī*.

fees, *fīs*, *phīs*.

fire, verb, *fær*, *fæl*.

fireman, *færmæn*, *fāirmæn*.

first class, *fastklās*, *phastklās*,  
*phaśtklās*.

flannel, *falālæn*, *phalālæn*.

foot (measure), *fitt*, *futt*, *phutt*;  
 foot-rule, *dufuttā*.

football, *fuṭbāl*, *phuṭbāl*.

? forme (printing), *farmā*, *pharmā*  
 (? Port.).

France, *frāns*, *phrās*, *frānsīsī*;

French, *phrāsīsī*.

French beans, *frāstīn*.

frock, *frāk*, *phrāk*.

fry, *fraī*.

- fryingpan, *fraiṗān*.  
 furlong, *farlā'g*, *pharlān*.  
 gaiters, *geṭas*, *gætas*.  
 "gallowses" (braces), *gālas*,  
   *gælas*.  
 gaol, *jel*.  
 gas, *gæs*.  
 general (military), *jarnæ'l*.  
 general, adj., *janral*.  
 gentleman, *jæ'nṭalmæn*,  
   *jænṭarmæn*.  
 German, *jarman*.  
 Germany, *jarmanī*.  
 guilt, *gilt*, *gi'lt*.  
 gingham, *gegām*.  
 girder, *gāḍar*.  
 glass, *galās*, *gilās* (usually of  
   metal); see "bowl".  
 grace (for bills), *glās*, *gilās*.  
 gravy, *grebbī*.  
 gross (12 dozen), *guras*.  
 guard, railway, *gāḍ*.  
 guard, military, police, *gārad*  
   (prob. Portuguese).  
 gunboat, *aganboṭ*.  
 half, see "boil", "plate".  
 hall, *āl*.  
 halt, *ālṭ*.  
 head (of canal), *ēḍ*, *æḍ*.  
 headmaster, *ēḍ-* or *æḍ-māṣṭar*  
   or *māṣṭar*.  
 headquarters, *ēḍkuāṭar*.  
 high, *āī*.  
 high school, *āī skūl*.  
 high court, *āī koṭ*.  
 hit, *iṭṭ* (noun).  
 hockey, *ākkī*, *ākī*.  
 holder, *avṭḍar* (pen).  
 hot case, *āl'kes*, *āsket*.  
 hotel, *otal* (hotel, restaurant).  
 house, see "catching", "dead".  
 hurricane, *arikaen* (lantern).  
 inch, *æncī*, *incī*, *inc*.  
 inspector, *insp-iṭṭar*, *-ēktar*, *-iktar*.  
 intermediate, *iṭṭar*, *iṭṭarminṭam*.  
 Ireland, *ærland*.  
 Italy, *iṭṭī*.  
 jacket, *jākaṭ*.  
 jam, *jām*.  
 jam-puff, *jāmpap*.  
 January, *janvarī*, *janbarī*.  
 jerk, *yark*.  
 judge, *jajj*.  
 July, *julā'ī*, *julā'*, *jawlā'ī*, *jawlā'*.  
 June, *jūn*.  
 kettle, *ketṭī*.  
 lamp, *lamp* (? Port. *lampada*).  
 landau, *lænḍo*.  
 lantern, *lālṭæn*.  
 late, *leṭ*.  
 lecturer, *lēkcarār*.  
 lemonade, *lamne't*, *lamle't*.  
 licence, *lasa'ns*.  
 lieutenant, *laṭṭæ'n*, *laṭṭa'nṭ*.  
 line, *læn*, *læn*.  
 local, *nokal*, *lokal*.  
 lord, *lāt*.  
 lower, *loar*.  
 M.A., *emme*, *æmme*.  
 ma'am, *mem*.  
 macaroni, *makrūnī*.  
 machine, *maṣīn*, *masīn*.  
 magistrate, *maj'istret*.  
 Malta, *mālṭā* (orange).

manager, *mænjār*, *mane'jar*.  
 March, *mārac*, *mārc*.  
 mark, *mārkā*, *mārk* (trade mark ;  
   ? Port.).  
 market, *mārkūt*.  
 marmalade, *māmleṭ*.  
 master, *māṣṭar*, *māṣṭar*; see "head".  
 matches. *mācis*.  
 mate, *meṭ* (head workman).  
 May, *maī*.  
 meeting, *mīṭin*, *mīṭan*.  
 member. *mimbar* ; *mimbrī*. mem-  
   bership.  
 mess. *miskot* (officers' mess). The  
   Zenana Mission House in  
   Dalhousie is called *miskot* be-  
   cause it was once an officers'  
   mess.  
 middle, *miḍal*.  
 mile, *mīl*, *mæl* (? Port. *mīlhī*).  
 mill, *mill*, *mīl*.  
 mince, *mins*.  
 minute (60 seconds), *miṇṭ*, *minat*.  
 miss (lady), *miss*.  
 mission, *miṣan*.  
 missionary, *miṣnarī*.  
 money order, *manīādar*.  
 monitor, *manī'tar*, *minī'tar*.  
 motor, *moṭar*.  
 motor-car. *moṭokāt*, *moṭarkāt*.  
 municipal, *myūnispal*.  
 municipality, *myūnispālṭī*.  
 necktie, *nakṭā'ī*.  
 note (bank), *noṭ*, *loṭ*.  
 novel (story), *nāval*.  
 November, *navambar*.  
 number, *nambar*, *lambar*, *nambar*,  
   *lambar* ; *lambarḍār* (etc.), village  
   headman.  
 nurse. *næs*.

October. *aktūbar* (dental *t*).  
 officer. *afsar*.  
 omlet, *māmleṭ*; see "marmalade".  
 operation (surgical), *apre'san*,  
   *apresan*.  
 order, *ādar* ; see "money".  
 orderly (military), *ardalī*, *ardalī*.  
 out, *awṭ* (cricket); see "centre".  
 overcoat, *uvarkoṭ*.  
 papa. *pā'pā*.  
 parade (ground, or manœuvres),  
   *pare't*.  
 parcel. *pārsal*.  
 party, *pāṭī*, *pārṭī*, *pālṭī* (team).  
 pass, *pās*.  
 passenger, *psanjar*, *pasa'njar*  
   (passenger train).  
 pencil. *pīsan*, *pīsan*.  
 pension. *pīnsan*, *pīnsan*, *pīsan*.  
 peppermint, *pīppalmiṇṭ*.  
 phaeton, *fiṭan*, *phītan*.  
 phenyle. *fanæl*, *phanæl*, *pharnæl*.  
 photo. *foto*, *photo*.  
 pin, *pīn*.  
 pipe. *pæp*.  
 plague, *pale'g*, *pleg*.  
 plait, *pale't*, *plet*.  
 plaster, *plastar* (dental *t*).  
 plate, *pale't*, *plet* ; 'āf *plet* (half-  
   plate). cheese plate.  
 plate-layer, *pletī'ar*.  
 platform, *pletfārm*, *pletphārm*.  
 platoon? *paṭṭan*.  
 poach (eggs), *poc* ; poached eggs,  
   *aṇḍā poc*.  
 police, *puls*, *pulas*.  
 polish, *pālaš*.  
 polo, *pollo*, *po'llo*.  
 porter, *poṭar*.



- postcard, *poskāt*.  
 postmaster, *posmāstar*, *posmāštar*.  
 pot, *pāt*.  
 potato-chop, *pate'tar cāp*.  
 poultice, *pultas*.  
 pound (money), *pāwd*.  
 powder, *poḍar*.  
 president, *prezīḍant*, *prejīḍant*,  
*parīzand*.  
 press (printing), *pres*.  
 primary (school), *præmrī*.  
 pudding, *phuṭī'n*, *puṭī'n*.  
 pump, *papp*, *pamp*.  
 putty, *phuṭī'n*, *puṭī'n*, *paṭī'n*.  
 Quaker Oats, *kuekar oṭ*.  
 quarantine, *kurāṭīn*.  
 quarter, *kuātar* (for quarter plate,  
 i.e. tea plate); see "head-  
 quarters".  
 quinine, *kuncē'n*, *kurcē'n*.  
 quorum, *koram*.  
 rail, *rel*.  
 ration, *rāsn*.  
 ream, *rīm*, *rīm*.  
 recruit, *raṅgrūt*.  
 register, *raji'star*; registered,  
*raji'strī*, *raji'strī*; registrar,  
*raji'strār*.  
 report, *ra'pat*, *ra'bat*, *rapo't*; *rabṭī*,  
*rapṭī*, *raṭbī*, reporter (village).  
 resident, *rezīḍant*.  
 rifle, *rafal*.  
 round (police), *rāwd* (dental *d*).  
 rubber, *rabar*, *rabat*.  
 ruler, *rūl*, *lūl* (pencil or ruler).  
 rum, *ram*.  
 run through, *ran thrū*.  
 sauce, *sās*.  
 sauce-boat, *sāsboṭ*.  
 school, *skūl*; *skūllī*, adj.  
 Scotch, *sakāc*, *skāc*.  
 Scotland, *sakātland*, *skātland*.  
 second (time), *skint*, *saki'nt*.  
 second (class in train), *sēkan*,  
*sækan*.  
 second (course in meal), *sīkan*.  
 secretary, *skattar*, *saka'ttar*  
 (dental *t*).  
 semolina, *samtī'nā*.  
 sentry, *santrī* (dental *t*).  
 September, *stambar*, *satambar*  
 (dental *t*).  
 sergeant, *sārjan*, *sārjanṭ*.  
 servant, *sarvanṭī* (servants'  
 carriage).  
 session(s), *śīśan*, *sisan*.  
 signal, *saṅgal*, *suṅgal*, *siṅgal*.  
 signal, down, do, *ḍāwn*.  
 slate, *sale't*, *sleṭ*.  
 sleeper (railway), *slīpar*, *slīpaṭ*.  
 slipper, *si'lpāṭ*, *slīpaṭ*.  
 soda, *soḍḍā*, *so'ḍḍā*.  
 speech, *sapī'c*, *spīc*.  
 spell, *spēll* (for noun "spelling").  
 stamp, *aśtām*, *aṣtām*.  
 station, *saṭe'san*, *ste'san*, *te'sun*,  
*tesan*, *aṣte'tan*.  
 stew, *istū*.  
 stool, *tūl*.  
 study, *ṣṭadī*.  
 stuffing (in duck, etc.), *saṭā'piṇ*,  
*ṣṭāpiṇ*.  
 sub-, *sab*.  
 superintendent, *sūprintēḍant*,  
*suparḍa'nt*.  
 tapioca, *tāpiū*.  
 tar-coal, *tārkōl*.  
 tax, *tikas*, *ṭigaṭ*.

|                                                                                             |                                                       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| team, <i>ṭīm</i> .                                                                          | trump (in cards), <i>tu'rap</i> (dental <i>t</i> ).   |
| tennis, <i>ṭənis</i> .                                                                      | trumpet, <i>tu'ram</i> (dental <i>t</i> ).            |
| thermometer, <i>tharmāmṭar</i> ,<br><i>tha'rmāme'tar</i> .                                  | trunk (steel), <i>ṭaraṅk</i> , <i>ṭraṅk</i> .         |
| third class, <i>ṭhaḍḍ kalās</i> , <i>ṭhaḍḍ klās</i><br>( <i>r</i> is a fricative cerebral). | tub, <i>ṭap</i> .                                     |
| through, <i>thrū</i> .                                                                      | ? tumtum, <i>ṭamṭam</i> (pony trap).                  |
| ticket, <i>ṭikaṭ</i> , <i>ṭikas</i> , <i>ṭigaṭ</i> ; <i>baṭiktā</i> ,<br>without a ticket.  | tumble, <i>rambaṭambal</i> (scrambled<br>eggs).       |
| tiffin, <i>ṭipan</i> .                                                                      | tunnel, <i>ṭaṇḍal</i> .                               |
| time, <i>ṭem</i> , <i>ṭəm</i> ; <i>baṭemī</i> , lateness<br>for ( <i>be-ṭem-ī</i> ).        | turpentine, <i>tārpīn</i> (dental <i>t</i> ).         |
| timepiece, <i>ṭəmfīs</i> , <i>ṭəmpīs</i> .                                                  | twill, <i>ṭūl</i> , <i>ṭull</i> .                     |
| time-table, <i>ṭəmtēbal</i> .                                                               | upper, <i>apar</i> .                                  |
| tin, <i>ṭīn</i> .                                                                           | vermicelli, <i>varmseṭī</i> .                         |
| toast, <i>tos</i> (dental <i>t</i> ).                                                       | via, <i>vīā</i> , <i>vāyā</i> .                       |
| tomato, <i>ṭamāṭar</i> .                                                                    | V.P., <i>vīpī</i> (value payable).                    |
| tray, <i>trēl</i> (dental <i>t</i> ).                                                       | waistcoat, <i>vāskaṭ</i> , <i>baskaṭ</i> .            |
| train, <i>ṭaren</i> , <i>ṭren</i> , <i>ṭræn</i> .                                           | warrant, <i>vara'ṇṭ</i> , <i>bara'ṇṭ</i> .            |
| treacle, <i>ṭrīkal</i> , <i>ṭarīkal</i> .                                                   | whiskey, <i>viskī</i> , <i>biskī</i> , <i>huškī</i> . |

#### ADDITIONAL WORDS

custard, *kastar*.  
gap, *gæb*.  
recess, *rasæ's*.  
shed, *shidd*.

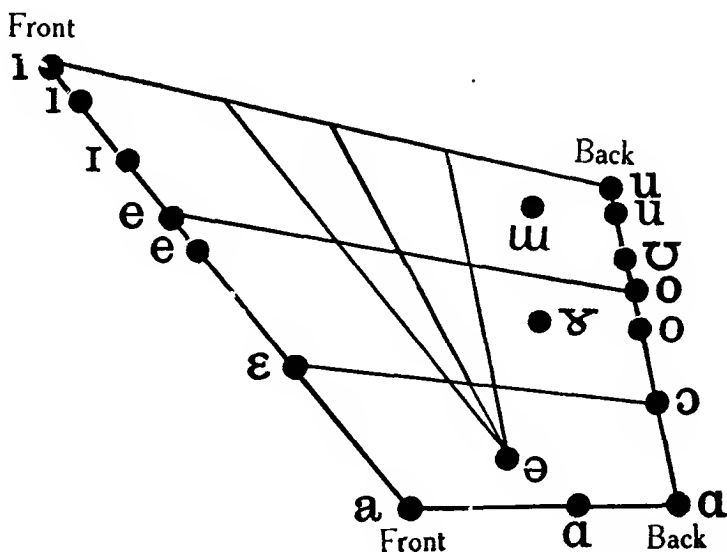
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## THE PRONUNCIATION OF MARATHI

By A. LLOYD JAMES and S. G. KANHERE

THE pronunciation recorded in this article is that habitually used by one of the writers, whose native language is Marathi. It represents the pronunciation of a native of Bombay who has for many years lectured in his own language in the principal cities of the Bombay Presidency. It is not an attempt, therefore, to represent the colloquial pronunciation of Marathi, but of the style of language in vogue in learned circles in public utterances.

The vowel sounds in this pronunciation are shown on the diagram in relation to the cardinal vowels recorded by Professor D. Jones on H.M.V. Record B.804 (The Gramophone Company, Hayes, Middlesex).



The cardinal vowels are indicated by black dots, and the Marathi vowels by red dots. There are in addition two diphthongs, *əu* and *əɪ*.

All vowels and diphthongs may be nasalized; in the case of *e* it is to be observed that nasalization has the effect of lowering appreciably the tongue position, giving the effect rather of *ē*.

Inasmuch as the length of vowel sounds is a very important feature of the language, it is well to observe at the outset what appears to be the principle governing the distribution of length.

The vowels i, e, a, o, u, ɾ are always long, while ɪ, ʊ, and ə are always short. u appears always in conjunction with either r or l, and is short. It appears long only in the names of the letters called respectively *ru:kar* रु and *lu:kar* लु.

ɪ and ʊ are the short vowels corresponding to i and u respectively : ə is the short vowel corresponding to a. When a word consists orthographically of two syllables each containing the vowel ə. e.g. *du:ga*, the final vowel is dropped, the word becomes monosyllabic, and the vowel is lengthened. This lengthened vowel constitutes the very characteristic Marathi sound ɾ.

जग = *du:ga* (world).

The diacritical marks known as əm and əha are usually counted among the vowel signs of the language.

əṁ, a dot over a vowel letter, indicates either that the vowel is nasalized, or that it is followed by a nasal consonant. It is, however, often entirely ignored in pronunciation.

e.g. आंबा āba (mango).

मंत्र = *māntṛa* (formula).

What decides which value is to be given to the dot is not clear

e.g. देहांत is pronounced *dehāt* = in the body,

whereas देहान्त is pronounced *dehantə* = end of body, death.

əha, two dots written after the vowel, indicates a strong emission of the vowel, followed by h or even x.

e.g. दुःख *du:khə* (pain).

It is to be observed that more attention is paid to “əṁ” and “əha” in the literary style of pronunciation than in the colloquial, and that nasalization of vowels is frequently omitted entirely. There is no trace of nasalization in the Marathi records 5541 A.K. and 5542 A.K. presented to the School of Oriental Studies by the Government of Bombay.

“əha” is represented in the colloquial language by a doubling of the consonant.

दुःख is not pronounced *du:hkə* but *du:khkə*.

The consonants are shown in the following table :—

|             | Bilabial | Labio<br>Dental | Dental | Alveolar | Retroflex | Palatal | Velar | Glottal |
|-------------|----------|-----------------|--------|----------|-----------|---------|-------|---------|
| Plosive     |          |                 |        |          |           |         |       |         |
| Unaspirated | p b      |                 | t d    |          | ʈ ɖ       |         | k g   |         |
| Aspirated   | ph bh    |                 | th dh  |          | ʈh ɖh     |         | kh gh |         |
| Affricate   |          |                 |        |          |           |         |       |         |
| Unaspirated |          |                 | ʈ ɖ    | ʈ ɖ      |           |         |       |         |
| Aspirated   |          |                 | ʈh ɖh  | ʈh ɖh    |           |         |       |         |
| Nasal       | m        | ɱ               | n      |          | ɳ         |         | ŋ     |         |
| Lateral     |          |                 |        |          |           |         |       |         |
| Unaspirated |          | v               | l      |          | ɭ         |         |       |         |
| Aspirated   |          | (v)             |        |          |           |         |       |         |
| Rolled      |          |                 |        | r        | (ɽ)       |         |       |         |
| Fricative   |          |                 |        | s<br>ʃ   | ʂ         |         |       | h       |
| Semi-Vowel  |          |                 |        |          |           | j       |       |         |

There appears to be some uncertainty as to the distribution of the affricate sounds, one symbol—च—doing duty for ʈ and ʈ, and one—ज—for ɖ and ɖ.

It would appear that the dental affricates are never used before front vowels, or before the semi-vowel j ; they are likewise never used in Sanskrit and Hindostani words. There are cases of words written alike but having different meanings, according to the value given to the letter. Thus :—

चार ʈar = grass.

चार ʈar = four.

जड ɖɖ = heavy.

जड ɖɖ = stupid man.

Similarly

राजा raɖa (king).

राजाकडे raɖakəɖe (to the king).

The stop element of the voiced affricates is very weak, at times

almost inaudible, and the alveolar affricates are often palatalized, resulting in an appreciable palatal off glide, j.

### राजाकडे rajakəḍe.

ŋ appears before r, v, or uh, j ʃ s h dñj səmjɾəkʂəŋ = protection, səmjɾita = text, səmjʃi = doubt.

kəmjə = bracket, sɪŋhe = lion, səmdña = designation.

v. This differs from the sound so generally heard in India by having a secondary velar articulation, giving it something of the sound of *w*: when preceded by *h*, e.g. *tehvā* (then) it is aspirated and sounds almost like English *v* with the secondary velar articulation.

ɟ. This is a subordinate member of the *ɟ* phoneme and is used in all medial positions, except when a consonant follows. The Marathi speaker is unaware of any difference between his medial sound and his initial or final sound, but to the trained observer the difference is considerable. To obviate the use of an extra symbol we have used *ɟ* throughout the transcriptions.

लांकडाचे = lākḍatse (of wood).

पडला = pəḍla (fell).

थोडक्यांत = thoḍkɟāt (in short).

The following passages represent the slow deliberate style of pronunciation used in dictation.

### I

ifuəɾaʃi ʃəkti phar moʃhi ahe. ti kiti moʃhi ahe  
ईश्वराची शक्ति फार मोठी आहे. ती किती मोठी आहे

hē apnas saɟətā jeŋar nahī.  
हैं आपणास सांगतां येणार नाही.

hē ɟuɾg vɪ tɟātil sərʋə vəstu ifuəɾanē utpənnə kelja  
हैं जग व त्यांतील सर्व वस्तु ईश्वरानें उत्पन्न केला

ahet. hē ap(ə)lē pustəkantṣē həpəʃɪts pəha; hē kəʃatṣē  
आहेत. हैं आपलें पुस्तकांचें कपाटच पहा; हैं कशाचें

kelē ahe? lākḍatṣē. pɪŋ tē ɟja dʒhaḍaʃja lākḍatṣē  
केलें आहे? लांकडाचें. पण तें ज्या झाडाच्या लांकडाचें

kelē ahe, tē dʒhaḍ koŋi utpənnə kelē, ifuəɾanē.  
केलें आहे, तें झाड कोणी उत्पन्न केलें, ईश्वरानें.

|              |       |          |           |        |               |
|--------------|-------|----------|-----------|--------|---------------|
| jhaṭṣprēmaṇē | sarvā | vastuntā | sambandhā | jevṭi  | tjaṭṭakāḍeṭṭe |
| ह्याचप्रमाणे | सर्व  | वस्तूंचा | संबंध     | शेवटीं | त्याच्याकडेच  |

પોંતો.      hi   dzəmin   vɜ   dzhɑd̪ɛ,   d̪oŋgɜɜ   vɜ   pəɜvɜt,   ʌŋi  
 પોંચતો.    હો   જમીન   વ   ઝાડેં,   ડોંગર   વ   પર્વત,   આણિ

nādja vɔ sɐmɔddrə, hī sərɔvə iʃvəranēṣ utpənnə keli ahet.  
नद्या व समुद्र, हीं सर्व ईश्वरानेच उत्पन्न केलीं आहेत.

|          |             |        |         |        |           |
|----------|-------------|--------|---------|--------|-----------|
| mānuṣjē, | ḍānav(ə)rē, | pākṣi, | ittjadī | praṇi  | iṣṭaraneṣ |
| मनुष्ये, | जनावरे,     | पक्षी, | इत्यादि | प्राणी | ईश्वरानेच |

utpannā kele ahet.  
उत्पन्न केले आहेत.

|            |         |       |         |        |        |     |
|------------|---------|-------|---------|--------|--------|-----|
| ijværatʃja | ʃæktine | gævæt | ruðætɛ, | dhanjə | piktɛ  | aqi |
| ईश्वराच्या | शक्तीने | गवत   | रुजतें, | धान्य  | पिकतें | आणि |

|         |       |    |       |        |      |     |        |
|---------|-------|----|-------|--------|------|-----|--------|
| ḍhaḍʌna | phulē | ʋr | phəḷē | jetat. | paus | toḥ | paḍito |
| झाड़ना  | फुलें | व  | फळें  | येतात. | पाऊस | तोच | पाडितो |

७४ tjaṣṭaḥ satteṇē vara vahaṭo.  
व त्याच्याच सत्तेने वारा वहातो.

servə    ʒəgəs    uʒed̪    deɳara    ha    surjə    pəha.    to  
सर्व    जगास    उजेड    देणारा    हा    सूर्य    पहा.    तो

|       |    |      |           |        |    |        |
|-------|----|------|-----------|--------|----|--------|
| nasta | tr | apɪŋ | vaŋs(a)lō | nastō, | ʋɪ | ɖʱad̪ɐ |
| नसता  | तर | आपण  | वांचलो    | नसतो,  | व  | झाडे   |

vaḍh(ə)li    nəs̥t̪i.    to    surjəhi    iṣṭaraneṭṭ    utpannə    kela.  
वाढलीं    नसतीं.    तो    सूर्यही    ईश्वरानेंच    उत्प.    केला.

tasat̪ ratri ahlad deɲara ɸəndrə uʂ ʈəməkɲare tare  
तसाच रात्री आल्हाद देणारा चंद्र व चमकणारे तारे

hehi tjanēts utpānnā kele.  
हेही त्यानेच उत्पन्न केले.

iḥṣar      apṇala    diṣṭ    nahī,    pṣṇ    apṣṇ    dē    kāhī    karitō  
 ईश्वर      आपणाला    दिसत    नाही,    पण    आपण    जें    काहीं    करितों

tĕ sərʋə tʃalə dɪstĕ.  
 तें सर्व त्याला दिसतें.

to sərūāṁṣr məməta kərīto, aṇi sərūāṁṣa səmbhaḷ kərīto.  
 तो सर्वांवर ममता करितो, आणि सर्वांचा संभाळ करितो.  
 əsa thor ʋɹ majaḷu dzo ifʋɹ, tjala apɹɳ nittja  
 असा थोर व मायाळू जो ईश्वर, त्याला आपण नित्य  
 bhəḍḍavə.  
 भजावे.

## I

The might of God is very great. How great it is we cannot tell. This world and all things in it are created by God. Look at our book-case ! What is it made of ? Of wood. But who created the tree the wood of which is used for the bookcase ? God. In this way He is the creator of all. This earth and trees, hills and mountains, rivers and oceans, all are created by God. Human beings, animals, birds and all other beings are created by God. The grass grows through His power, and so does corn, and through His power the trees blossom and bear fruit. He sends the rain and through His command the wind blows. Look at the sun which gives light to the whole world. We should not live, nor would the trees grow were it not for the sun. That sun was created by God. Also the moon that refreshes us at night and the sparkling stars also have been created by God. We cannot see God, but He sees whatever we do.

He is kind to all and protects all. We should love Him who is so great and kind.

## II

eka dhəŋgərapaɸi puḡkɹḷ məndʰrē ʋɹ kōkrē hoti.  
 एका धनगरापाशीं पुष्कळ मेंढरें व कोंकरें होती.  
 tjāɸa tsarapanjaɸi ʋjəvəstha to phar tsangli tʰevi.  
 त्यांच्या चारापाऱ्याची व्यवस्था तो फार चांगली ठेवीं.  
 ekhadja məndʰras kṁṁva kōkras kāhī aɖzar dʒhala,  
 एखाद्या मेंढरास किंवा कोंकरास कांहीं आजार झाला,  
 tɹ to tjala ətiɸi dʒəpe. dōŋgəraṁṣr tsəɖhtāna ekhadē  
 तर तो त्याला अतिशय जपे. डोंगरावर चढतांना एखादे  
 kōkrū thəklē tɹ to tjala khandjəṁṣr ghei.  
 कोंकरू थकले तर तो त्याला खांबावर घेई.



sarāṃṣe, to tja mendhrāṭṭi vṛ kōkrāṭṭi poṭṭa poraprēmaṇē  
 सारांश, तो त्या मेंढरांची व कोंकरांची पोटाच्या पोरप्रमाणें  
 niga rakhit əse. tja prēmaṇēṭs mendhrē vṛ kōkrē ranāt  
 निगा राखीत असे. त्याप्रमाणेंच मेंढरें व कोंकरें रानांत  
 ṭarst əstā tjāna rāṇḍəvinjasaṭhi to pāva vḍəvi vṛ  
 चरत असतां त्यांना रंजविण्यासाठीं तो पांवा वाजवी व  
 tjēṭṭa kəutukaṭṭi gaṇī gai. əṣa prakarē tja mendhrāna vṛ  
 त्यांच्या कौतुकाचीं गाणीं गाई. अशा प्रकारें त्या मेंढरांना व  
 kōkrāna phar sukh hot əsljamuḷē tī ṭānglī gubgubit  
 कोंकरांना फार सुख होत असल्यामुळें तीं चांगलीं गुबगुबीत  
 ḍhali hoti. matrə tjāna savəzapasun upadrəv hoū naje  
 झालीं होती. मात्र त्यांना सावजापामून उपद्रव होऊं नये  
 mhəṇun ratritṭa vėlī to dhəngər tjāna mendhvaḍjāt kōndun  
 म्हणून रात्रीच्या वेळीं तो धनगर त्यांना मेंढवाडयांत कोंडून  
 ṭhevīt əse.  
 ठेवीत असे.

tethē pəḍun tī khufal ḍhōp ghet. mendhvaḍjajṭja āt  
 तेथें पडून तीं खुशाल झोंप घेत. मेंढवाडयाच्या आंत  
 tṛr kaj pṛn aspəssuddhā saḍzas phirəktā jet nase. kākī,  
 तर काय पण आसपासमुद्धां सावजास फिरकतां येत नसे. कांकी,  
 dhəngəratse kuttre tjaṭṭjasabhōmṭi rakhṇṇ kərit phirst əst.  
 धनगराचे कुचे त्याच्यासभोंवतीं राखण करीत फिरत असत.  
 vḍjadḷjavṛ to dhəngər mēḍhvaḍjatsē dar vghḍi tevḥā  
 उजाडल्यावर तो धनगर मेंढवाडयाचें दार उघडी तेव्हां  
 ātil sərva mendhrē vṛ kōkrē baher pəḍun ranāt ṭaravəjas  
 आंतोल सर्व मेंढरें व कोंकरें वाहेर पडून रानांत चरावयास  
 ḍzat.  
 जात.

əsa krəm puṣkṛḷ drvṛs ṭalla hota, vṛ sərva mendhrē  
 असा क्रम पुष्कळ दिवस चालला होता, व सर्व मेंढरें  
 vṛ kōkrē ərəṇjāt rahli hoti. pṛṇ tjamədhjē ke  
 व कोंकरें अरण्यांत राहिलीं होती. पण त्यामध्यें एक

allṛḍḍ uṣ murkhə kōkrū hotē; tjala menḍvadjāt rəhəṇē  
 अल्लड उ मूर्ख कोंकरू होतें; त्जाला मेंडवाड्यांत रहाणें  
 avḍenasē houn tjaṭṭja manāt bhəlbhelteṣ urṣar jeṁ lagle.  
 आवडेनासें होऊन त्याच्या मनांत भलभलतेच विचार येऊं लागले.

## II

There was a shepherd who had many sheep and lambs. He looked well after their food and drink.

He was watchful if any sheep or lamb was ill. If any lamb was tired while climbing a hill, he would take it on his shoulder. In a word, he looked after those sheep and lambs just as if they were his children. Also, when the sheep and lambs were grazing in the pasture, he would play his flute to *amuse* them, and sing songs of tenderness towards *them*. Thus the sheep and the lambs being very happy had grown very fat and healthy. At night he used to lock them up in the *fold* so that they should not be harmed by any wild beast. They slept happily in the fold. Not only inside the fold but even in the vicinity of it no beast could venture, as the shepherd's dogs used to guard the fold . . . all around. In the morning the shepherd opened the gate and all the sheep and lambs came out and went to the pasture.

Thus it was going on for days and days, all the sheep and the lambs had lived in the field. But there was one silly and stupid lamb. It did not like to live in the fold and had foolish ideas.

## III

imani muṅṅus.

इमानो मुंगस.

eka bamē ek muṅṅus paṭlī hotē. tja muṅṅsala trīṣa  
 एका बाईनें एक मुंगस पाळिलें होतें. त्या मुंगसाला तिचा  
 phar ləṭa laglela hota. tē tiṭṭja ghəri ekhadja  
 फार लळा लागलेला होता. तें तिच्या घरीं एखाद्या  
 molaprəmaṇē vagṛt ase; jhamolē tja ghərāt sapakṛḍḍaṭṭi  
 मुलाप्रमाणें वागत असे; ह्यामुळे त्या घरांत सापाकिरडाची  
 egdi bhiti nase. eke dṛuṭi əsē əzhalē ki, ti bai  
 अगदीं भीति नसे. एके दिवशीं असें झालें कीं, ती बाई  
 aplja tanhja molala baḍevṛr nṛḍvun paṇi aṇavəjas  
 आपल्या ताऱ्या मुलाला बाजेवर निजवून पाणी आणावयास

nādivar geli; itkjāt ek moṭha sap gharāt firun tja  
नदीवर गेली; इतक्यांत एक मोठा साप घरांत शिळून त्या

baḍevār ṭaḍhū lagla. muṇsaṭṭi druṣṭi tjaḍevār ḍatāṭṣ,  
बाजेवर चढूं लागला. मुंगसाची दृष्टि त्याजेवर जातांच,

mulala ha ṭaṇṇar aṣē pahun tjanē tabḍtob sapavar ṣḍi  
मुलाला हा चावणार असे पाहून त्याने ताबडतोब सापावर उडी

ghatli, aṇi tjaṭṭi khāṇḍoḷi karun takilī! mulaṭṭi ai gharī  
घातली, आणि त्याची खांडोळी करून टाकिली! मुलाची आई घरी

jete tō darāṭṭṣ muṇḡus tiṭṭja druṣṭis paḍlē; tjaṭṭē tōḍ  
येते तों दारांतच मुंगूस तिच्या दृष्टीस पडले; त्याचे तोंड

raktanē bharlelē hotē. apla pṛakṛm tīla dakhmja—  
रक्ताने भरलेले होते. आपला पराक्रम तिला दाखविण्या—

karitāṭṣ ḍaṇū kaj tē tiṭṭja tōṇḍakḍe pṛhat rahilē!  
करितांच जणू काय ते तिच्या तोंडाकडे पहात राहिले!

pṛṇ tīla aṣē vatlē kī, muṇsanē a(d)z ap(a)lē mul  
पण तिला असे वाटले की, मुंगसाने आज आपले मूल

marun khallē! tevḥa tīlā ḍo rag ala, tjaṭṭja ḍhapatjāt  
मारून खाल्ले! तेव्हा तिला जो राग आला. त्याच्या झपाट्यांत

tmē bharlela handa muṇsaṭṭja dokjavār ṭakīla. tja mulē  
तिने भरलेला हांडा मुंगसाच्या डोक्यावर टाकिला. त्या मुळे

muṇsaṭṭē dokē phoṭun tē tṛkaḷ mṛṇṇ pavlē.  
मुंगसाचे डोके फुटून ते तत्काळ मरण पावले.

मुंगसाचे डोके फुटून ते तत्काळ मरण पावले.

puḍhē ti bai baḍedḍevār ḍaun pṛhatē, tō sapatṣe tukḍe  
पुढे ती बाई बाजेजवळ जाऊन पहाते, तों सापाचे तुकडे

tiṭṭja druṣṭis paḍlē, ṣṛ mulāhi khujal nṛḍljatṣ tīla  
तिच्या दृष्टीस पडले, व मूजही खुशाल निजच्याचे तिला

aḍhəḷun alē.  
आढळून आले.

आढळून आले.

tevḥa bṛṭarja imani muṇsaṭṣa apṛṇ ugatṣ pṛṇ ghetla  
तेव्हा ब्रिटार्या इमानी मुंगसाचा आपण उगाच प्राण घेतला

əsē pahun tīla phəɾɪʈ dukkhə d̪halē. ti mhaṇali, “mi  
 असे पाहून तिला फारच दुःख झाले. ती म्हणाली, “मी  
 kṛti utave|pəṇa kela! d̪ə|o maḍha rag! kṛti guṇi maḍhē  
 किती उतावीळपला केला! जळो माझा राग! किती गुणी माझे  
 muṅguṣ! tjanē sap marun maḍhja ba|as vātsavilē! əsē  
 मुंगुस! त्याने साप मारून माझ्या बाळास वांचविले! असे  
 əstā əurɪʃaranē mi tja gərribaṭa vjərthə d̪viu ghetla”.  
 असतां अविचाराने मी त्या गरिबाचा व्यर्थ जीव घेतला.”

### III

#### THE FAITHFUL MONGOOSE

A woman had a Mongoose. She was very fond of it. The Mongoose lived there just like a child. And therefore there was no fear of any snake or reptile.

One day it happened that the woman, putting her baby to sleep in a cot, went to the river to fetch some water. A large snake crept into the house and was climbing on the cot. The Mongoose caught sight of it and seeing that the snake was about to bite the baby, it jumped, and cut it into pieces! The woman came home and saw the Mongoose at the door, with its mouth covered with blood. The Mongoose fixed its eyes on her as if it was showing its valour and bravery. But she thought that it had eaten her baby! She was filled with anger and in her frenzy she dashed the pitcher on the head of the Mongoose. The head of the Mongoose was broken and it died on the spot.

The woman went to the cot and saw the bits of the snake and also the baby fast asleep. She was very sorry for killing such a faithful Mongoose. She said to herself “How impatient I was, woe to my anger! How good was my Mongoose. It saved my baby by killing the snake. I killed that poor thing through sheer stupidity.”

The opening sentences of Record 5541 A.K. are as follows:—

aple əntəxkəɾɪn he aple ghɪr hoi. tjaṭse dhəni, atmarampənt,  
 sənmetimāla, d̪njanarkəpədɪk, vəgəre amol ələŋkar, tjanɪʃa khəḍɪnɪjat  
 ahet. j(h)a aplea gh(ə)rat, mɪn ha dərvad̪za əhe. tjavɪr ənek  
 lok d̪əmle ahet, vɪ tjanī baher əgdi, kəlla manla əhe. hjastrv,

apvā dzau, tātāt sādžān ēstī, tās dārvadzā vghdun at ghetlā  
pahīge. vā dze dūgē lok, atil vēstutse, tēvriekermē kērnjas ale  
ēstī, tās hakulun lavle pahīge.

This passage, dictated in the pronunciation analysed for the purposes of this article, was as follows:—

aplē antaxkærŋn hē aplē ghŷr hoi. tjaŧe dhēni atmarampənt, sənəmətumala dnjanarkəpədŷk vɡəire əmol ələnkar tjaŧŧa khəđɡinjat ahet. hja aplea ghərat mŷn ha dərvadza ahe. tjavŷr ənək lok dəmle ahet, vŷ tjanī baher əgdī kəlla mənla ahe. hjastŷv apŷŋ dzaun tjaŧil səddɡŷn əstil tjās dərvadza vghđun āt ghət(ə)lē pahidɡe vŷ dze duŧŧə lok ātil vəstutšē ŧəvriəkərmə kərnjas ale əstil tjās haklun laurlē pahidɡe.



GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF THE JAHAI DIALECT,  
SPOKEN BY A NEGRITO TRIBE OF ULU PERAK AND  
ULU KELANTAN, MALAY PENINSULA

By PATER P. SCHEBESTA

(Translated by C. O. BLAGDEN)

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

FOR typographical reasons the Jahai words and phrases in the following grammatical sketch have been transcribed from the Anthropos alphabet into the script of the International Phonetic Association. The two alphabets do not strictly correspond, and it seems desirable to add a few explanations of some of the symbols used.

The **a** is about midway between cardinal vowel No. 4 (French "dame ") and No. 5 (the French negative "pas "); the **e** about No. 2 (German "Reh "); the **ε** about No. 3 (French "est "); the **ə** is like the Malay *ə*, a neutral vowel generally rather forward and moderately high (in some cases, e.g. in *læŋʔ*, it is something like the *i* in the English word "fin "); the **u** is a dull **o** tending towards **u** (closer than **o** and not as far back); the **o** is about No. 7 (French "eau "); the **ə** about No. 6 (German "voll "); the **ɒ** is about the English **o** in "not "; the **u** is about No. 8 (French "ou "); the **æ** is between the **ε** and the English *a* in "hat ". The **œ** is described as an open German *ö*, the **y** as resembling the German *ü* but shorter. I suspect that neither of these Jahai sounds is a true front rounded vowel, but that both (whether more or less rounded or not) are somewhat behind the front position. The combinations made up of two vowels are diphthongs, retaining the proper sound of the first vowel, the second one being subordinate. The **ĩ** and **ṣ** are nasalized **i** and **ə**, respectively. The **ĩ** and **ũ** are semi-vowels (like the English consonants *y* and *w*), respectively.

The **c** and **j** are used here to denote not true palatals, but palatalized alveolars like the corresponding Malay sounds usually written *ch* and *j*, respectively; the **ɽ** is retroflex; the **x** is nearly as strong as the German *ch*, in "ach ", and therefore has more friction than the final *h* of Malay, to which it otherwise corresponds; the **ɲ** is the nasal corresponding to the above **c** and **j** (in Malay written *ny*); the **ŋ** is the velar nasal, in English and Malay written *ng*; the **n** is further back than the last and is described as being pharyngeal; the **r**

is generally lingual, sometimes uvular : the *rr* is a strongly rolled *r* ; the *ts* is a combination of *t* and *s*.

In rapid connected speech long vowels are sometimes shortened and the glottal stop (?) and the neutral vowel ə are often omitted. The syllabic stress being on the final syllable tends to reduce the vowels of previous syllables to the neutral vowel, especially in the case of the vowel *e*.

C. O. B.

#### VOWELS

- a babo:, "woman."
- e te:g, "to sleep."
- ε εg, "to give."
- ə tɛmkal, "man, husband."
- i serig, "bad, lazy."
- u cebux, "magic stone of quartz used by the Hala."
- o babo:, "woman" ; to:bʔn, "tree."
- ɔ tɔbʔn, "water."
- ʊ mɔʔ, "nose."
- u cub, "to go."
- æ ɪa pæn, "we" (1st person plural, exclusive).
- œ bæɡʔn, "cord of urat batu fungus."
- y gydʔn, "they" (3rd person plural).
- ai pai, "thou" (2nd person singular).
- æi æi, "father."
- ɛi kɛid, "to cut."
- ei brabei, "to marry."
- ɔi hapɔi, "palmleaf thatch, atap."
- ui gigui, "to thunder."
- au bakau, "flower."
- œu bæu, "big."
- ĩ hĩd, "to rain" ; muĩd, "to eat fish."
- õ õd, "dog."
- ĩ ɪa:, "grandmother."
- ũ ãgʔn, "child."

a, e, i, ɔ, u, are often followed by a glottal stop (?) at the end of a word or of a syllable.

#### CONSONANTS

- b baũaij, "coco-nut monkey" (Malay *běrok*).
- c cadʔn, "foot."
- ɖ ɖarɔp, "white ant."



|    |                                                                                                   |
|----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| d  | de (a preposition).                                                                               |
| g  | galogʔn, "rafter."                                                                                |
| h  | ha (an interrogative particle).                                                                   |
| x  | cebox, "magic stone."                                                                             |
| ɟ  | ɟenhurl, "toothless."                                                                             |
| k  | kenməʔ, "name."                                                                                   |
| l  | la:b, "to wash."                                                                                  |
| m  | makəʔ, "egg."                                                                                     |
| n  | naɣdəʔ, "hillock."                                                                                |
| ɲ  | hap, "mouth."                                                                                     |
| ŋ  | aŋ, "this."                                                                                       |
| ɳ  | nəg, "to sit."                                                                                    |
| p  | pacog, "a kind of pain in the back."                                                              |
| r  | raŋgun, "jews' harp."                                                                             |
| rr | pərdərr, "to climb high."                                                                         |
| s  | salog, "quiver."                                                                                  |
| t  | taʔaʔ, "pith of plants."                                                                          |
| ts | tselaŋka, "collar-bone."                                                                          |
| rl | gurl, "tualang tree"; ɟenhurl, "toothless." (An <i>l</i> is faintly audible after the <i>r</i> .) |

The glottal stop also occurs after *b*, *p*, *d*, *t*, *g*, *k*, and *n*, whereby the consonant in question (especially *g*) becomes hardly audible, or (as is usually the case) is followed by an obscure nasal release, symbolized conventionally by *n*, e.g. *cadʔn*, "foot"; *galogʔn*, "rafter." In *mənʔraʔ*, "man, person, Negrito," the glottal stop after the *n* practically cuts up the word into two words.

The initial of a word may be a vowel or a consonant; so may the final, but a final glottal stop (after a vowel) is much commoner.

#### STRESS AND TONE

The stress accent falls on the last syllable of a word. I believe I have detected tones in certain words:—

| HIGH LEVEL                                 | LOW LEVEL                                     |
|--------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| ˉioʔ, "part of a blowpipe."                | ˉioʔ, "bough."                                |
| ˉnus, "sleeping mat."                      | ˉnus, "lip."                                  |
| ˉiɛʔ, "I" (1st person singular).           | ˉiɛʔ, "we two" (dual, inclusive).             |
| ˉhɛʔ, "we" (1st person plural, inclusive). | ˉhe:i, "we two" (1st person dual, inclusive). |
| ˉɛgʔ, "to give."                           | ˉɛgʔ, "belly."                                |
| ˉgus, "to rub fat into the face."          | ˉgus, "to come down."                         |

## NUMERALS

The only true numeral known to the Jahai is *nai*, "one". They derive their other numerals from Malay, and count *dua*<sup>2</sup>, *tiga*<sup>2</sup>, *ampat* ("two, three, four"), etc., with the stress on the final syllable. There is nothing to show that they ever had other numerals that have now been superseded by Malay equivalents.

There is, however, a word *bər*, sometimes rendered "two", but it really means "younger brother", and so embodies the sense of "the other". The word for "many, much" is *kəb<sup>2</sup>n*; for "how many", *maisi*.

## PRONOUNS

1. As *Subject* :—

| Personal. | Singular.       | Dual.                                                 | Plural.                                           |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| 1st       | īē <sup>2</sup> | īē <sup>2</sup> (inclusive)<br>_hei (dua) (inclusive) | hē <sup>2</sup> (inclusive)<br>ia pæn (exclusive) |
| 2nd       | pai             | ūi(x) (exclusive)<br>jux (exclusive)                  | gyd <sup>2</sup> n                                |
| 3rd       | ə <sup>2</sup>  | [as 2nd dual]                                         | [as 2nd plural]                                   |

(1) *īē<sup>2</sup> cub īē<sup>2</sup> bəla<sup>2</sup>* I go I self = I am going alone.

(2) *ha pai əb<sup>2</sup>n pai gei?* *Interrogative-particle* thou wilt thou eat?  
= Do you want to eat?

(3) *ūəg<sup>2</sup>n ə<sup>2</sup> te:g*. Child it sleeps = The child is sleeping.

(4) *əi! hē<sup>2</sup> ia cub ba hob*. Ho-thou! We will go to forest = We'll go into the forest (*or* go out): (including the person addressed).

(5) *əi! ia pæn ia cub ba hob*: (the same, but excluding the person with whom one has been).

(6) *ia pæn cub ba aŋ, gyd<sup>2</sup>n cub ba ani*. We are-going this way, you are-going that way.

(7) *gyd<sup>2</sup>n mən<sup>2</sup>ra<sup>2</sup> gyd<sup>2</sup>n kəbys*. They men they dead = Those people are dead.

(8) *hei cub ba hob*. We-two are-going (in)to (the) forest.

(9) *īē<sup>2</sup> pənsəg<sup>2</sup>n kē jux*, "ūix dua<sup>2</sup> cub ba hob." I say to you-two, "you-two are-going (in)to (the) forest."

(10) *kne<sup>2</sup> sideh, ə<sup>2</sup> pətis*. Sideh's wife, she (is) sick.

(11) *karei ə<sup>2</sup> gyr ba krpe:g<sup>2</sup>n*. Karei, he is-thundering up above.

(12) *ə<sup>2</sup> te:g ə<sup>2</sup> kasəg<sup>2</sup>n kne<sup>2</sup> ə<sup>2</sup>-t-ani*. He slept it formerly woman she that = Formerly he had that woman for a wife.

(13) *īē<sup>2</sup> əb<sup>2</sup>n əs ia tanjux*. I want fire to light (a fire).

(14) *ĩɛʔ ɛdʔɛdʔ har t-ani.* I know way that = I know that way.

(15) *hɛʔ ɪa cub ba dægʔn.* We are going to the (Malay) village.

(16) *bəɾəʔ t-ani ɔʔ ɛdʔɛdʔ.* Coco-nut-monkey that he knows = That coco-nut-monkey is clever.

(17) *ɔla! bəɾənti pai!* Hallo! Stop, thou! (Addressed to Karei, asking him to stop thundering.)

(18) *pai ũeg ba aŋ!* Thou, come here!

(19) *ĩɛʔ iiʔ.* I won't.

(20) *ɔla! cub! hɛʔ ɪa ũeg ba hapa.* Hallo! Come! We are going-back to house (= home).

(21) *leməʔ, ɟa ɔʔ ũeg cadʔn ho:bʔ?* Lemo, has he returned from forest? = Has Lemo come back from the forest?

(22) *ũi (or ũix) cub ba griʔ.* You-two are-going to Grik.

*Note.*—*oi* is used regularly as a mode of address, singular and plural, e.g. *oi! menid loi!* "You (there)! Don't run away!"

The pronoun is often repeated in the sentence, particularly when an auxiliary verb is used.

The dual and plural, inclusive and exclusive, are in common use. The inclusive dual, where the speaker includes himself, is expressed by *ĩɛʔ* (with the low tone, to be distinguished from *ĩɛʔ*, "I," which has the high tone) and *hei*. The latter is the commoner, and the combination *ĩɛ hei* also occurs.

When a person is speaking to or about two others, to the exclusion of himself, he uses *ũi*, or more rarely *ɟux*; the latter is used with reference to two persons who are not present.

The inclusive plural is *hɛʔ*. The speaker includes the person to whom he is talking. When using the plural *ɪa pæn*, the speaker excludes the person to whom he is talking or in whose presence he is.

(23) *ũi kix-kox.* Both kill-each-other.

(24) *ũi ũix blagaʔ (or ũix bətanəʔ).* The-two (buffaloes) butt one-another.

## 2. As *Object* :—

The same pronouns are used, but they follow the verb on which they depend. As a rule the accusative has no preposition, but sometimes it is preceded by the same prepositions, *kɛ*, *de*, *ba*, etc., as the dative.

(1) *ĩɛʔ pūas ɪa bəlaɟar kɛ(d) pai.* I (am) tired of learning with thee.

(2) *bule pənsɛgʔn kɛ(d) ɪɛʔ.* (He) can talk to me.

(3) *ĩɛʔ pənsɛgʔn kɛ ɟux.* I speak to you-both.

- (4) *eg d-ɛʔ ʔs!* Bring me fire!  
 (5) *eg ʔʔ-t-aŋ ba (or kɛ(d)) ɛʔ.* Bring this-(one) to me.  
 (6) *eg hɛʔ ʔʔ-t-ani jehut nai ʔʔ.* Give us that (cigar), (we want to) smoke one.

*ʔʔ* represents "it"; and *hɛʔ*, "we," has been omitted before *jehut*.

- (7) *eg ʔʔ-t-aŋ ba ɛʔ (or eg d-ɛʔ ʔʔ-t-aŋ).* Give this to me.

(8) *mənʔraʔ ʔʔ-t-aŋ ha ja pai ɛl? ja ɛʔ ɛl.* Man this *interrogative-particle* has seen you? Has I seen = Has this man seen you? He has.

- (9) *ɛl ba kɛd ʔʔ (or ɛl kɛd ʔʔ).* Look at him.

(10) *kəbet senelūal, ʔʔ maligʔn nasi kɛd ɛʔ, aket eg kɛd ʔʔ tomakoʔ.* Old (woman) wrinkled, she stole (boiled) rice from me, do-not give to her tobacco = The wrinkled old woman stole my rice, don't give her any tobacco. (This was said in jest by a young man to me about his mother.)

(11) *səmamuʔ ʔʔ təboʔ ɛʔ (or kɛ-d ɛʔ).* Sēmambu, he beats me = Sēmambu beats me.

(12) *ɛʔ təboʔ kɛ-d ʔʔ.* I am beaten by him. (But also "I beat him".)

- (13) *ʔʔ maligʔn, ɛʔ təboʔ ba ʔʔ.* (If) he steals, I (shall) beat him.

Occasionally, in animated speech, the pronoun occurs before the verb, e.g. *diɛʔ eg ɛʔ!* To-me give, *particle-of-emphasis!* Presumably *diɛʔ* is a contraction of *de + ɛʔ*.

### 3. Possessives :—

These are formed by postfixing the personal pronoun, which is sometimes preceded by the preposition *kɛ*.

(1) *ha kenmaʔ pai?* *Interrogative-particle* name thou? = What is your name?

(2) *kɛʔ ʔʔ üeg cadʔn hob.* Wife he return from forest = His wife has come back from the forest.

(3) *üagʔn kɛ(d) ʔʔ nai.* Child of he one. (Or *üagʔn ʔʔ nai.* Child he one) = He has one child.

(4) *üagʔn pai tigaʔ.* Child thou three. (Or *üagʔn kɛ-d pai tigaʔ.* Child of thou three) = You have three children.

(5) *üagʔn gydʔn tigaʔ.* Child they three. (Or *üagʔn kɛ gydʔn tigaʔ.* Child of they three) = They have three children.

(6) *ɛl kɛ mid ɛʔ.* Look at eye I = Look at my eyes.

(7) *ɛʔ hegi:g ʔʔ keʔ tənkaʔ ɛʔ.* I fear he (will) cut-off neck I = I am afraid he is going to cut off my head.

(8) *ʔʔ gus on kɛ dada ʔʔ, ʔʔ guson kɛ pətuʔ ʔʔ.* He smears (it) on

breast he, he smears (it) on forehead he = He smears it on his breast and on his forehead.

4. *Demonstratives (Pronominal and Adverbial) :—*

aŋ = "this", ani = "that", un (sometimes uŋ) = "that yonder" (more remote).

These are linked to the pronoun or noun that they follow by means of -t-.

(1) bəraʔ t-ani əʔ ɛdʔɛdʔ. That coco-nut-monkey is clever.

(2) kərja t-aŋ hɛʔ(?) serig. Work this we shun = We shun this work.

(3) mənʔraʔ ə-t-un ũa kəbys. Man he-that is dead = That man is dead. Cf. 2 (5-8), supra.

(4) ĩa pæn aŋ ĩa pæn cub ba hob, gydʔn t-ani gydʔn cub ba dəgʔn. We here, we are-going to (the) forest, you there, you are-going to (the) village.

aŋ, ani and un are at bottom words indicating place, "here," "there," and "yonder at a distance". They are also used as simple locatives, e.g. :—

cub ba aŋ = come here.

cub ba ani = go there.

cub ba un = go yonder (a long way off).

cub ba aŋ ha pənsɛgʔn = come here, we-will have-a-talk-together.

(5) brui (hɛʔ) ĩa cub aŋ ĩa gei. In-the-evening (we) are coming here to eat.

(6) ləseɓʔn cəkɛi ba ani. Rain big there = The rain is heavy there.

(7) bəkut mid-kəʔaʔ ba un. Hot sun there = The sun is hot there.

ba uŋi = in the lower reaches, or at the mouth, of a river.

ba utyx = in the upper reaches, or at the source, of a river.

ba ɔtuʔ = in the East.

ba ɔn = in the North.

ba aɲu = in the South.

ba tobʔn kəʔaʔ = in the West.

5. *Relative :—*

(1) ĩɛʔ ĩai ba dəgʔn ba gob; kopening əbʔn ũa ɛl na de: mənʔraʔ. I bring to house *preposition* stranger; European want to see what do Negrito = I am bringing the stranger into the house; the European wants to see what the Negrito has done.

I regard na here as a relative. But as a rule the relative is not

expressed, the relative clause being merely co-ordinated with the principal clause.

(2) ɔʔ ba te:g kəd babo: iɛʔ, iɛʔ denɔʔ pasat duit 25 rengget. He go sleep with wife I, I compel (?) pay money 25 dollar = I compel (anyone) who commits adultery with my wife to pay 25 dollars.

6. *Interrogatives* :—

**maken** = who ?

**mai** = what ?

(1) **maken** ɔʔ de:ʔ Who he do = Who did (it) ?

(2) **maken** de üəgʔn ? Whose child ?

(3) **maken** pai ɛl ? Whom thou see ? = Whom did you see ?

(4) **mai** ɔʔ ɔrr ? What (did) he command ?

(5) **mai** ɔʔ de:ʔ Why (did) he do (it) ? *and* What (has) he done ?

**maisi** = how many ?

**leba-te:** = where ?

(6) **maisi** nənkedʔn ? How many people ?

(7) **leba** mənʔraʔ-te:ʔ Where (is the) man ? *or* Where (are the) people ?

The usual interrogative particle is **ha**.

(8) **ha** mənʔraʔ gydʔn hegig kə gob ? *Interrogative-particle* Negrito afraid of stranger ? = Are the Negritos afraid of strangers ? *or* Why are the Negritos afraid of strangers ?

To which the answer is :—

(9) **bəra** gydʔn iə bisaʔ kə gob. Not they are accustomed to strangers = They are not used to strangers.

(10) **ha** pai cub ba dəgʔn ? *Int.-part.* thou go to village ? = Are you going to the village ?

(11) **mai** pai ɔbʔn ? What thou want ? = What do you want ?

## SUBSTANTIVES

### 1. *Number* :—

As a rule the plural can only be distinguished from the singular by the context or by the addition of a word meaning “many” (**kəbʔn**).

Some words denoting persons have plural formations :—

(a) by infixing **r** after the initial consonant ;

(b) by prefixing **tə** ; or

(c) by both methods together, e.g.

woman, **babo:** (sg.), **brabo:**, **təbrabo:** (pl.).

youth, **kejux** (sg.), **kərajux**, **təkərajux** (pl.).

man, **bakes** (sg.), **brakes**, **təbrakes** (pl.).

person, **mənʔraʔ** (sg.), **təmənʔraʔ** (pl.).

man or woman having a child, **maüəgʔn** (sg.), **mraüəgʔn**, **təmraüəgʔn** (pl.).

old man, **kəbet** (sg.), **krabet**, **təkrabet** (pl.).

child, **kədʔn** (sg.), **təkədʔn** (pl.).

(d) more rarely the plural is formed by means of the prefix **pen**, **pē**; e.g.

tree, **to:bʔn** (sg.), **pento:bʔn** (pl.).

child, **üəgʔn** (sg.), **penüəgʔn** (pl.).

This plural denotes children in general, whereas the plurals **təminüəgʔn**, **minüəgʔn** (from the same word **üəgʔn**) denote children belonging to one family.

son (or daughter)-in-law, **mensau** (sg.), **penmensau** (pl.).

In the last two cases the dual is certainly meant, so that **pen** may also be a dual prefix.

grandmother, **ia:** (sg.); **ia:**, **penia:** (pl.).

grandfather, **ta:** (sg.); **ta:**, **penta:** (pl.).

(e) in one or two cases the plural is formed by infixing **na** (or **a**) after the first syllable, e.g.

light, day, **kətoʔ** (sg.); **kənatoʔ** (pl.).

husband, **təmkal** (sg.); **təmakal** (pl.).

A few words of relationship have special plurals:—

mother, **bə** (sg.); **mə** (pl.).

father, **əi** (sg.); **bə** (pl.).

But these two plural forms are used by the Jahai to denote aunts and uncles, respectively, both in the singular number and in the plural, so that they are not really plurals of **bə** and **əi**.

Although, apart from the above, no plural formations were discovered and the plural as a rule is identical with the singular, many (though not all) substantives usually undergo a change of form when following a numeral or the word for “many” (**kəbʔn**).

The change is uniform in type and consists in inserting the infix **n** after the first consonant, e.g.

after **nai** (1), **dua** (2), **tiga** (3), etc., we find

**hnəpə** from **həpə**, “hut”

**hnəli** „ **həli**, “leaf”

**mənəkəʔ** „ **məkəʔ**, “egg”

**kənəreɪ** „ **kəreɪ**, “thunder”

**kənərob** „ **kərob**, “mat made from bamboo”

**kənəpən** „ **kəpən**, “elbow”

**kənəko** „ **kəko**, “grandchild”

**gənənun** „ **gənun**, “bamboo”

**mənisei** „ **misei**. “moustache.”

As appears from the above examples, the infix is also sometimes accompanied by modification of the vowels or even transposition of a consonant. The *n* often appears as a prefix, accompanied by the appropriate vowel, e.g.

- naia: from ia:, "grandmother"  
 nata: „ ta:, "grandfather"  
 naxiü „ iü?, "bough" (where the glottal stop of the singular is represented by *x* in the prefix).  
 nægcæg „ cæg, "basket"  
 nængurl „ gurl, "tualang tree"  
 nædmid „ mid, "eye"  
 næmtö:bʔn „ tö:bʔn, "tree"  
 nænüægʔn „ üægʔn, "child"  
 næmkædʔn „ kædʔn, "child," e.g.  
 maisi næmkædʔn? "How many children?"

The following undergo a somewhat peculiar transformation:—

- knaxpox from kælapʔ, "shoulder-blade"  
 siürl „ iürl, "ghost of a dead person."

Such changes of form after numerals, etc., occur as has been shown, in a good many words, but not in all; as a rule there is no change, e.g. öd "dog", taʔu "snake", tæmkal "husband", ranʔgup "jews' harp", palas "the palas palm", mensau "son- (or daughter-) in-law", lente:g "tongue", juæg "tiger".

It often happens that after a numeral either the singular or the special plural form may be used, e.g. ampat tö:bʔn or ampat næmtö:bʔn, "four pieces of wood."

Examples of the use of the plural:—

- (1) gydʔn tæbrabo: cub ba ho:b üai taʔaʔ. You women go to (the) forest (to) get pith-of-plants.
- (2) ba:x pentö:bʔn t-ani. Bring pieces-of-wood those = Bring those pieces of wood.

## 2. Gender:—

As a rule this is indicated by adding babo: "woman", or tæmkal "man", e.g. üægʔn babo: "girl", üægʔn tæmkal "boy", though for both of these, and also for certain animals, separate words exist to indicate sex, e.g. ai gn! "You, boy!" ai mi! "You, girl!"

## 3. Case:—

### (a) Nominative

The nominative comes first; usually the subject is repeated by a pronoun.



(1) **knɛʔ pai ũeg cadʔn ho:b.** Wife thou return from forest = Your wife has come back from the forest.

(2) **ũagʔn iɛʔ tebœu.** Child I big = My child is big.

(3) **kareɪ ɔʔ gyr ba krpe:gʔn.** Karei he thunders up above = Karei is thundering up above.

(4) **banuʔ ɔʔ bəlis ba te:.** Quiver it fell to earth = The quiver fell on to the ground.

(5) **knɛʔ sideh ɔʔ pətis.** Wife Sideh she sick = Sideh's wife is ill.

(6) **knɛʔ te:g, ũagʔn te:g kələgʔn hapa.** (The) woman sleeps, the child sleeps in (the) hut.

(7) **bəroʔ ɔʔ nəg kərpe:gʔn iux jehuʔ.** (The) coco-nut-monkey he sits up-in (the) boughs (of the) tree.

(8) **juəg ɔʔ təmpux ũa kab cəgɔʔ.** (The) tiger he came to tear-in-pieces Cəgo.

(9) **təbʔn ɔʔ jidiʔ kələgʔn priɔʔ.** (The) water it is-boiling in (the) pot.

(10) **mənʔraʔ mapu ũa gei?** Man when will eat? = When will the man eat?

(11) **ta-pədʔn ɔʔ de: gənun.** Ta-Pədn he made bamboos.

(12) **mənʔraʔ gydʔn nəg kɛ maio.** Negritos they live at Maio = The Negritos live at Maio.

(13) **iɛi əs ɔʔ gui.** Smoke fire it pricks = The smoke of the fire pricks (the eyes).

An order like the following is exceptional: (14) **ɔʔ hīd hujən panas.** It is better to say **hujən panas ɔʔ hīd.** Rain hot it falls = It is raining while the sun is shining.

The nominative can also be expressed by putting the preposition **ka** before the substantive, but in that case the predicate is put first and the subject follows, e.g. :—

(15) **ɔʔ de: ka ta-pədʔn gənun.** Ta-Pədn made bamboos.

(16) **ɔʔ ɔrr ka kareɪ, ɔʔ ɔrr kɛ juəg ũa kab kɛ mənʔraʔ.** Karei commanded, he commanded *preposition* (the) tiger to tear-in-pieces *preposition* (the) man = Karei commanded the tiger to tear the man in pieces.

(17) **sigəi ka kemupin kələgʔn kədʔn.** (The) benzoin-incense is-fumigating in (the) grave.

Peculiar expressions, in which the subject follows, are :—

(18) **ɔʔ iid-iəd kui.** He has a headache (**kui** = "head").

(19) **ɔʔ pətis ɛgʔ.** He sick belly = He has stomach-ache.

(20) **ɔʔ pətis hap.** He sick tooth = He has tooth-ache.

The word *pətis* is regularly an adjective. Perhaps the substantives are used as genitives.

*Note.*—It is not impossible that the substantive with the preposition *ka* may sometimes be not a nominative but a sort of instrumental, e.g. :—

(21) *iəʔ gos ka taji aŋei.* I split with (the) knife (the) rattan.

In that case the example (16) above would read "It was ordered by Karei, it was enjoined upon the tiger", etc., which would make the use of *ke juag* (in the dative) more intelligible. But as a rule the *ka* construction has to be regarded as a nominative.

(22) *ja ɔʔ ue:g ba haŋa ka karei.* Already he return to house *preposition* Karei = Karei has gone home.

(23) *ɔʔ loi ka karei.* He ran *preposition* Karei = Karei ran.

(24) *bulan ɔʔ kab ka caŋkēi, ja ɔʔ pətis ka bulan.* Moon it devoured *preposition* toad, already it sick *preposition* moon = The moon is being devoured by the toad, the moon is already sick.

Another form of the nominative is preceded by the preposition *de*, but I seldom heard it. In this case too the subject follows the predicate, e.g. :—

*ja cub de pai, ja sədap de pai, ja de pai ha sumpigʔn.* Already go *preposition* thou, already at-ease *preposition* thou, already *preposition* thou *particle* stick-flowers-behind-the-ears = You have gone, you are now in peace, you are adorning yourself with flowers.

Other examples are given in the appended texts.

#### (b) *Genitive*

The genitive is expressed by putting the determining word after the word to be determined.

(1) *haŋa mənʔraʔ aʒɔʔ.* Hut Negrito small = The hut of the Negrito is small.

(2) *kilad karei cəkēi.* Karei's lightning (is) big.

(3) *ɔʔ laŋan ke kɾɔʔ karei.* He pushed (it) into Karei's back. It is not clear whether there is also a genitive with *de*:

(4) *kilad de karei.* "Karei's lightning-flash."

#### (c) *Dative*

The dative is formed by adding the preposition *ke*, or occasionally *de*, or without any preposition.

(1) *ɔʔ loi ke babo: kaŋɔd.* He brings to woman bird = He brings the woman a bird.

(2) *tegʷn ha ɛg kɛ ũgʷn nus ũa te:g*. Plait and give to (the) child (a) mat to sleep (on).

(3) *ɛg diɛʷ lekəbʷn*. Give me much.

(4) *ɛg hɛʷ ɔʷ-t-ani jɛhut nai ɔʷ*. Give us that (cigar), (we want to) smoke one.

(5) *ɔʷ ɔrr kɛ juɔg*. He gives-orders to (the) tiger.

(6) *ɛg kɛd ũgʷn ũa ge:i*. Give to (the) child to eat.

(7) *ɛg durən kɛd baŋaij*. Give (a) durian-fruit to (the) coco-nut-monkey.

(8) *ɛg cɛnɛnũin kɛd tɛmkal*. Give (the) stick to (the) man.

(9) *ɛg de ɛi pai*. Give to father thou = Give to your father.

(10) *ɛg ɔʷ (or ɛg de ɔʷ)*. Give (to) him.

(11) *ɔʷ ɔi penjɔ bɛlajə kɛd kɛnʷaj*. He brings cloth European to father-in-law = He brings his father-in-law European cloth.

(d) *Locative and Instrumental*

The preposition *kɛ* also serves for the locative and the instrumental.

(1) *bɛgja:g ue: kɛd tɔbʷn*. Fish there-are in water = There are fish in the water.

(2) *ɔʷ lɔg kɛ juɔg*. He is-devoured by (the) tiger.

(e) *Accusative*

The accusative usually comes after the verb without any preposition.

(1) *ɛg ɪɛʷ ɔs (or ɛg diɛʷ ɔs)*. Give me fire.

(2) *ta-pɛdʷn ɔʷ de: gɛnun*. Ta-Pɛdn he makes bamboos.

(3) *gydʷn ɪa sox nasi*. They eat fish and rice.

(4) *ũi ɪa kugʷn hɔpa*. They-two are plaiting (the) hut.

(5) *hɛʷ ɪa plɛs dɔg*. We are cooking ipoh-poison.

(6) *ba ɔs ba cəbʷn*. Bring fire to light (a fire).

(7) *hɛʷ ɪa cub ba hɔ:b, hɛʷ ɪa bax dɔg*. We are going into (the) forest, we are fetching (i.e. to get) ipoh-poison.

(8) *akɛt ɛg kɛd ɔʷ tomakɔʷ!* Do-not give her tobacco!

There is also an accusative with *kɛ*. Thus in the following sentence the second *kɛ* may be inserted or omitted at will.

(9) *ɔʷ ɔrr kɛ juɔg ũa kab kɛ mənʷraʷ*. He orders the tiger to devour (the) man.

When emphatic, the object sometimes precedes the verb:—

(10) *cərmin ɔʷ ɛg nai kɛ babɔ:*. Mirror he gave one to woman = He gave the woman a mirror.

In answer to a question involving "where" or "where . . . to", the word of place is preceded by the preposition *ba*. It seems as if this were also verbal, with the sense of "going", e.g. :—

(11) *ba ha ɛl tɔʃi ba dɛgʷn*. Go and see (the) knife in (the) house (i.e. go and fetch the knife). The first *ba* certainly has the sense of "going".

(12) *ɔla, cub, hɛʷ ɪa ũe:g ba hapaʷ!* Hallo, come, we want to return to (the) house (i.e. home) !

(13) *lɛsbʷn cəkɛi ba ani*. Rain big there = There is heavy rain there.

(14) *ɛg ɔʷ-t-aŋ ba ɪɛʷ* (or *kɛd ɪɛʷ* or *diɛʷ*). Give this to me.

(15) *hɛʷ ɪa cub ba ho:b, hɛʷ ɪa ba(x) dɔg*. We are going into (the) forest, we are fetching ipoh-poison.

(16) *kareɪ ɔʷ gyr ba krpe:gʷn*. Karei is-thundering up above.

(17) *ɔdʷn ɪa:, ɪa: manɔid ba keɪɔbʷn!* Ho-there grandmother, grandmother Manoid down below !

(18) *ʃampun ɔs ba uɪ ba kɛ tɔbʷn*. Jampun (is) fire in (the) West, by (the) water (i.e. the sea).

(Note the double preposition, *ba + kɛ*).

(19) *ɔʷ nɔg ba krɔʷ*. He sits at (the) back (i.e. behind someone).

(20) *ɔʷ cub kɛ kenʷaʃ* (not *ba kenʷaʃ*). He goes to (his) father-in-law.

In answer to the question "whence", the preposition *cadʷn* is used.

(21) *knɛʷ pai uɛ:g cadʷn ho:b*. Wife thou returned from forest = Your wife is-back from (the) forest.

(22) *lɛsbʷn cəkɛi cadʷn un*. Heavy rain (comes) from yonder.

#### ADJECTIVES

The adjective follows the substantive.

(a) As a predicate it is regularly used without any prefix.

(b) As an attributive it usually has a prefix *t-*.

(c) In both cases, however, exceptions occur.

(1) *kɛdʷn t-ani aʃʷ*. Child that small = That boy is small.

(2) *kɛdʷn t-ani ta-aʃʷ ũa cub ba ho:b*. That small child went into the forest.

(3) *ɔʷ ɪɔi kɛ babo: tɔʃi ta-aʃʷ*. He brings to woman knife *particle-small* = He brings the woman a small knife.

(4) *ɔʷ ɪɔi kɛd ɔʷ kaũd te-bɔdʷæd*. He brings to him bird *particle-good* = He brings him a fine bird.

(5) *bɔgʷn te-mente:g*. Long cord.

(6) *cəg ɔʔ-t-aŋ aɔʔ, cəg ɔʔ-t-ani bœu.* Basket it-this small, basket it-that big = This basket is small, that basket is big.

(7) *cəg iɛʔ ta-aɔʔ aŋ bədʔæd (or te-bədʔæd).* Basket I *particle*-small this good = This small basket of mine is a fine one.

(8) *cəg ɔʔ-t-un te-bœu bəra ũa bədʔæd.* Basket it-yonder *particle*-big not is good = That big basket is not a fine one.

(9) *karɛi kətəʔ bœu.* Thunder day big = There's a great deal of thunder to-day.

(10) *kəbet senelūəl ɔʔ maligʔn nasi kəd iɛʔ.* The wrinkled old woman stole (boiled) rice from me.

### *Comparison of Adjectives*

In comparing two things the word *menæʔ* is used.

(1) *hapaʔ cəkɛi menæʔ pəʔ.* Hut big as hillock = The hut is as big as a hillock.

(2) *ha ũe tukaŋ ɔʔ ɛdʔɛdʔ kərja menæʔ t-aŋ?* *Interrogative-particle* there-is workman he know work like this? = Is there a workman who understands this kind of work?

(3) *ɛ:g pai menæʔ ɛ:g karɛi.* Belly thou like belly Karei = Your belly is like Karei's.

(4) *hapa cəkɛi saŋkato:dʔn menæʔ pəʔ.* Hut big more as hillock = The hut is bigger than a hillock.

(5) *kəid ɔʔ-t-aŋ cinhin.* Cut this short.

(6) *kəid ɔʔ-t-ani cinhin saŋkato:dʔn.* Cut that shorter.

Thus the comparative degree can be expressed by means of the word *saŋkato:dʔn*. But in general a periphrasis is used.

(7) *hapa ɔʔ-t-aŋ cəkɛi, ɔʔ-t-ani aɔʔ.* This hut is big, that one is small (i.e. that hut is smaller than this one).

The superlative is formed by adding *saŋkato:dʔn* to a sentence like the last one.

(8) *hapa ɔʔ-t-aŋ cəkɛi, ɔʔ-t-ani aɔʔ, ɔʔ-t-un aɔʔ saŋkato:dʔn.* This hut is big, that one is small, that one over there is the smallest.

### VERBS

Sing. 1 *iɛʔ te:g* "I sleep".

2 *pai te:g*

3 *ɔʔ te:g*

Pl. 1 incl. *hɛʔ te:g*

excl. *ia pæn te:g*

2 *gydʔn te:g*

3 *gydʔn te:g*

- Dual incl. *hei te:g*  
 excl. *üi te:g*
- Sing. 1 *ie? ia ge:i* (*or ie? ge:i*) "I eat, I shall eat".  
 2 *pai ia ge:i*  
 3 *o? üa ge:i*
- Pl. 1 incl. *he? ia ge:i*  
 excl. *ia pæn ia ge:i*  
 2 *gyd?n ia ge:i*  
 3 *gyd?n ia ge:i*
- Dual incl. *hei ia ge:i* (*or hei ha ge:i*)  
 excl. *üi(x) ia ge:i*
- Sing. 1 *ie? ia ed?ed?* (*or ie? ed?ed?*) *har t-ani* "I know that path".  
 2 *pai ia ed?ed?*  
 3 *o? üa ed?ed?*
- Pl. 1 incl. *he? ia ed?ed?*  
 excl. *ia pæn ia ed?ed?*  
 2 *gyd?n ia ed?ed?*  
 3 *gyd?n ia ed?ed?*
- Dual incl. *hei ia ed?ed?* (*or hei ha ed?ed?*)  
 excl. *üi(x) ia ed?ed?*
- Sing. 1 *ie? ob?n ia ge:i* "I want to eat", "I shall eat".  
 2 *pai ob?n pai ge:i* (*or pai ob?n pai ia ge:i*)  
 3 *o? ob?n üa ge:i*
- Pl. 1 *he? ob?n he? ge:i* (*or he? ob?n he? ia ge:i*)  
 2 *gyd?n ob?n gyd?n ge:i* (*or gyd?n ob?n gyd?n ia ge:i*)  
 3 *gyd?n ob?n gyd?n ge:i* (*or gyd?n ob?n gyd?n ia ge:i*)
- Dual incl. *hei ob?n hei ge:i* (*or hei ob?n hei ia ge:i*)  
 excl. *üi(x) ob?n üi(x) ge:i* (*or üi(x) ob?n üi(x) ia ge:i*).

The past tense is expressed by *ja* being put before the pronoun.

- Sing. 1 *ja ie? el* "I have (already) seen".  
 2 *ja pai el*  
 3 *ja o? el*
- Pl. 1 incl. *ja he? el*  
 excl. *ja ia pæn el*  
 2 *ja gyd?n el*  
 3 *ja gyd?n el*
- Dual incl. *ja hei el*  
 excl. *ja üi(x) el*.

Examples :—

(1) *hɛʔ ia cub ba dɔgʔn*. We are going to (the) village.

(2) *bəroʔ t-ani ɔʔ ɛdʔɛdʔ*. That coco-nut-monkey is clever.

(3) *bəroʔ t-ani ũa ɛdʔɛdʔ mənʔraʔ*! That coco-nut-monkey knows people!

(Note the alternative uses of *ɔʔ ɛdʔɛdʔ* and *ũa ɛdʔɛdʔ*. The combination *ɔʔ ũa ɛdʔɛdʔ* is also possible, but the *ɔʔ* is already included in the *ũa*).

(4) *leməʔ ja ɔʔ ũe:g cadʔn ho:b*. Lemo has returned from the forest.

(5) *ɔla! cub, hɛʔ ia ũe:g ba hapaʔ*. Hallo! Come, we'll return home.

(6) *kənɛʔ ɔʔ ũe:g cadʔn ho:b*. His wife is-back from the forest.

(7) *kənɛʔ ɔʔ ũa ũe:g cadʔn ho:b*. His wife is coming-back from the forest.

(8) *kənɛʔ ɔʔ ja ɔʔ ũe:g cadʔn ho:b*. His wife has come-back from the forest.

To the question :—

(9) *ha kənɛʔ ɔʔ ja ɔʔ ũe:g cadʔn ho:b?* Has his wife come back from the forest?

The answer is :—

(10) *ja ɔʔ ũe:g*, "She has come-back," or *ɔʔ ũe:g*, "She is-back," the use of *ja* making it more emphatic, or *ũa ũe:g ba uy*, "She is-coming-back from yonder." Cf. *ɔʔ ɛdʔɛdʔ*, "he is clever" and *ũa ɛdʔɛdʔ*, "he knows."

(11) *henləbʔn caməʔ hɛʔ ɔbʔn hɛʔ ia cub ba ho:b, hɛʔ ia ba(x) dɔgʔ*. Early to-morrow we want we are going to forest; we are fetching ipoh-poison = To-morrow morning we are going into the forest to get ipoh-poison.

(12) *hɛʔ ia plɛs dɔgʔ*. We shall cook ipoh-poison.

(13) *hɛʔ ia cub hɛʔ ia ɛl dɔgʔ*. We are going we will look-at ipoh (-tree) = We are going to have a look at the ipoh-tree. (The second *hɛʔ* may be omitted.)

(14) *ĩɛʔ ɔbʔn ia de: hapaʔ*. I want to make hut (or *ĩɛʔ ɔbʔn iɛʔ ia de: hapaʔ*. I want I will make hut) = I want to make a hut.

(15) *karei ɔʔ gyr ba krpe:gʔn*. Karei thunders up above.

(16) *ĩɛʔ ɔbʔn ɔs ha taŋkux* (or with *ia* instead of *ha*). I want fire to light (a fire).

(17) *ɔd ɔʔ jehəgʔn mənʔraʔ*. (The) dog barks-at (the) man.

(18) *ĩɛʔ pūas ia bəlaɟar kəd pai*. I (am) tired of learning with you.

- (19) *εg kε jux ha ge:i*. Give to those-two (something) to eat.  
 (20) *ue:g ba aη ha kensegʷn*. Come here, and dance (*or* we-two will dance).  
 (21) *hεʷ iā ge:i hade:dʷn*. We shall eat soon.  
 (22) *iεʷ iā cub ba ho:b iā e:gʷ*. I am going to (the) forest to stool.  
 (23) *oʷ gorta:g ūa snreg ba ho:b*. He knocks that (some one) may come-out of (the) forest. (One knocks with the woodman's chopper against a tree in order to summon from the forest some one who is there but whose exact position at the moment one does not know.)  
 (24) *iā pæn hegig krbau t-ani oʷ tanəʷ*. We are-afraid that buffalo (may) gore (us).  
 (25) *hεʷ cub ba dægʷn, hεʷ iā sasix padɛi*. We are-going to (the) village, we shall pound paddy (= rice in the husk).  
 (26) *e:g ja soj oʷ de:.* Bow already ready, he make = He has finished making the bow.

The most striking thing in the above examples is the particle *iā* (in the 3rd person singular, *ūa*). Occasionally we find *ha*. Such particles usually precede the verb; if the latter has an auxiliary verb, the *iā* or *ūa* must follow the auxiliary and come between it and the principal verb.

These particles usually express desire, will, or in general a future, but not always; sometimes they accompany the present. I am inclined to regard them as constituting the verb. In that case, without such a particle, the "verb" would have to be regarded as a predicative adjective, e.g. :—

- (27) *mənʷraʷ (oʷ) kəbys*, "(the) man (he is) dead," but  
 (28) *mənʷraʷ ūa kəbys*, "(the) man died."

When *ja* precedes the pronoun, thus indicating the past tense, no particle is put before the verb :—

- (29) *mənʷraʷ ja oʷ kəbys*. Man already he dead = The man is dead.

This explanation of the particles is, however, by no means certain. The use of *ha* instead of *iā* appears to occur in the dual (but perhaps also in other cases, cf. the texts).

#### *Active and Passive*

- (1) *iεʷ ge:i sεg juogʷ*. I eat (the) flesh (of the) tiger.  
 (2) *juog oʷ ləgʷ kəd iεʷ*. Tiger he devour *preposition* I = The tiger devours me.  
 (3) *səmambuʷ oʷ təbəʷ kəd iεʷ*. Sēmambu beats me.



(4) *ieʔ təbəʔ kəd əʔ*. I am beaten by him. (But it can also mean "I beat him".) The following sentence is unambiguous:—

(5) *ieʔ ia təbəʔ kəd əʔ*. I beat him.

(6) *əʔ maligʔn, təbəʔ ba əʔ*. He steal, beat to him = If he steals he will get beaten.

(7) *əʔ ləgʔ kɛ ʃuəg*. He is-devoured by (a) tiger.

The prefix *pi* seems to form a sort of causative: *nəg*, "to sit," *pinəg*, "to sleep with"; *muɪd*, *pimuɪd*, "to eat fish"; *ue:g*, "to come back," *piue:g*, "to bring back."

### Moods

#### Conditional

(1) *əʔ cub ba griʔ, əʔ ue:g, baɪar*. He go to Grik, he return, pay = He has gone to Grik; when he comes back, he will pay.

(2) *əʔ maligʔn, ieʔ təbəʔ ba əʔ*. (If) he steals, I (shall) beat him.

(3) *ha əʔ əbʔn*. If he will. (Here *ha* is really the interrogative particle.)

(4) *dəm gydʔn aʃer, hɛʔ ɛdʔɛdʔ*. If they teach, we (shall) know.

(5) *dəm ieʔ ue:g*. If I come-back.

The Jahai often try to express the conditional by means of the Malay word *kalau*, "if" (often pronounced *kalu* in Jahai). But generally it can only be inferred from the context.

(6) *əʔ maligʔn ka mənʔraʔ kɛ bab ieʔ, ia ieʔ sasaʔ*. He steal *preposition* man *preposition* thing I, *particle* I thrash = If the man steals my eatables, I will thrash him.

#### Interrogative

(1) *ha ʃa pai ge:iʔ* *Interrogative-particle* already thou eat ? = Have you eaten yet ?

(2) *ʃa ieʔ ge:i*. I have eaten.

(3) *ha kenməʔ paiʔ* *Int.-part.* name thou ? = What is your name ?

(4) *ue:ʔ ha iɪʔ* ? Have you or haven't you ?

(5) *mapuʔ gydʔn ia ge:iʔ hɛʔ ia ge:i hade:dʔn*. When will you eat ? We will eat at-once.

(6) *mapuʔ pai ia cubʔ* ? When will you go ?

#### Imperative

(1) *cub lɛ!* Go ! (The particle *lɛ* adds emphasis; usually the verb alone is used.)

(2) *gus, am, tabəgʔn!* Come-down, drink, (you) lotong-monkey !

(3) ɔla, bərənti pai? Hallo, stop, you!

(4) ɔd! təbɔʔ t-ani! Dog! Beat that! = Beat that dog!

### Negative and Prohibitive

menid is a strong negative and also a prohibitive.

bəraʔ is the usual negative with verbs; it sometimes causes alliteration in the following verb (e.g. bəraʔ beʊaŋ, "there is no money" = "I have no money").

aket is a prohibitive.

(1) ha ʃa ɔʔ ʊə:gʔ bəraʔ ʊa ʊə:g lagi. *Interrogative-particle* already he come-back? Not is come-back yet = Has he come back? He isn't back yet.

(2) ɔʔ bəraʔ ʃibʔn, ɔʔ bəraʔ bebəʔ. He does-not cry, he has no mother (to hear him cry).

(3) bəraʔ ʊa ge:i menhəd. He does not eat sugar-cane.

(4) aket ʃirinüis! Do-not make-a-wry-mouth!

(5) ɔi ta, aket serig kə gydʔn! O grandfather, be-not angry with them!

(6) bəraʔ iɛʔ te:g təmkal ani. I do not sleep with that man.

(7) aket ʊə:g, ɔʔ ʃiʊid. Do-not scrape (the wound), it will-become-big.

(8) bəraʔ iɛʔ kəbys, iɛʔ gəs. I am-not going-to-die, I (am) young (literally, "alive").

(9) bəraʔ ʊa celai. He (has) not hit (the animal with his blowpipe-dart).

(10) bəraʔ ʊa lemaʔ, iɛʔ laʊa ka-ʊŋ, acux. He has not found (it), I looked-for (it) there, it-was-not-there.

(11) ɔi, menid ləi! You (there), don't run (away)!

(12) pai ha ʊə: bab? menid. You, have (you any) eatables? No.

### ADVERBS

(1) cub letegoʔ (or tegoʔ)! Go carefully!

(2) cub lehakɔi (or hakɔi)! Go slowly!

(3) pənsegʔn hakɔi! Speak slowly!

(4) cub lekedüot! Go quickly!

(5) eg diɛʔ lekəbʔn! Give me plenty!

(6) ha bux letegoʔ! Do-not fill up (the grave with earth)!

(7) rebet letegoʔ! Bind tightly.

The adverb is regularly formed by means of the prefix le, but this prefix can be dispensed with.

## FORMATION OF WORDS

*Reduplication*

|             |                                                      |
|-------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| ge:i . . .  | gi-ge:i, "to eat."                                   |
|             | babo:, "woman."                                      |
|             | edʔedʔ, "to know."                                   |
|             | dəl-durl, "heel."                                    |
|             | təm-təbʔn, "cord made of urat batu fungus."          |
| cub . . .   | cib-cub, "to go."                                    |
| te:g . . .  | ti-te:g, "to sleep."                                 |
|             | hid-həid, "to sneeze" (?).                           |
|             | iəm-iəm, "mist."                                     |
| nəg . . .   | ni-nəg, "to sit, to squat."                          |
| judʔn . . . | jidʔn-judʔn, "to hang down (like a hanging branch)." |
|             | ɪb-ɪb, "to stare."                                   |
|             | tigʔn-tugʔn, "to pound with bamboos."                |
| six . . .   | sa-six, "to pound (rice)."                           |

In verbs reduplication occurs very often, especially after the verbal particle *ia*, without however having any significant effect.

## TEXTS

## ABOUT KAREI AND THE HALA

(By Kēladi)

|                               |              |                 |                     |                  |           |         |                           |
|-------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|---------------------|------------------|-----------|---------|---------------------------|
| pəntis (or pətis),            | hɛʔ          | dɛs             | halaʔ               | təbœu            | ũa        | tulugʔn | hɛʔ                       |
| (When) sick                   | we           | fetch           | (the) great Hala    | to               | help      | us      |                           |
| t-aŋ, ũa                      | ɛl           | hɛʔ             | pətis.              | ja               | ɔʔ        | ɛg      | cərmin ka-uŋ,             |
| here, to look-at              | us           | sick.           | Then                | one <sup>1</sup> | gives     | mirror  | yonder,                   |
| ka                            | halaʔ        | ũa              | pərlɔi <sup>2</sup> | kɛ               | karei;    | hɛʔ     | ia gos ũa                 |
| for (the) Hala                | to           | waft-up         | to                  | Karei;           | we        | shall   | live <sup>3</sup> (if) he |
| pərlɔi                        | cərmin       | kɛ              | karei.              | taapɔlə          | bule      | iɛʔ     | tulugʔn                   |
| wafts                         | (the) mirror | up-to           | Karei.              | Certainly        | I         | can     | help                      |
| kɛ                            | serlantes.   | kalu            | bəraʔ               | halaʔ,           | hɛʔ       | kəbys.  |                           |
| (the) Serlantes. <sup>4</sup> | If           | (there were) no | Hala,               | we               | (should)  | die.    |                           |
| ɔʔ                            | ɛg           | nemsəbʔn        | ka                  | karei;           | kalu      | ũe      | halaʔ, hɛʔ                |
| Karei                         | gives        | diseases;       | if                  | there-is         | (a) Hala, | we      |                           |

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "he."<sup>2</sup> Literally, "cause to run," from *lɔi*, "to run."<sup>3</sup> i.e. "get well".<sup>4</sup> The servitor of the Hala.

gos, bule ɔʔ parloi kɛ karei; kalu baraʔ halaʔ,  
 live, he can send-up to Karei; if there-is-no Hala,  
 heʔ kabys; baraʔ heʔ ia ɛdʔɛdʔ parloi kɛ karei. ɔʔ  
 we die; we do not know (how to) send-up to Karei. the  
 halaʔ ɔʔ semai<sup>1</sup> kɛ karei, ka halaʔ ɔʔ hagi cəmin.

Hala prays to Karei, the Hala gives (him a) mirror.

karei ɔʔ nɔg<sup>2</sup> titui, ɔʔ byrl nus kɛ syr ɔʔ  
 Karei sits upright, Karei has-spread (a) mat at his side  
 kɛ dadaʔ<sup>3</sup> karei. sampei cəmin ɔʔ parloi ka halaʔ,  
 to his chest. (When the) mirror arrives, that the Hala sent-up.

sampei krpe:gʔn nus cəmin, ɔʔ leglug<sup>4</sup> ka karei, ɔʔ hemhobʔn  
 (the) mirror arrives on the mat, Karei laughs, he likes

cəmin. ɔʔ perlub ka karei kɛ halaʔ, ɔʔ ɛg  
 (the) mirror. Karei breathes into (the) Hala, he gives (him)

cebux. ɔʔ perlub ka halaʔ kɛ heʔ tepətis,  
 (the) ceboh (-stone).<sup>5</sup> (The) Hala breathes into us (when) sick, (and)

ja heʔ sejuʔ.  
 then we get-well.

baiaŋ harei bəkud; sampei hapa, heʔ  
 Karei's shadow<sup>6</sup> (is) hot; (if it) approaches (our) hut, we  
 kabys.  
 die.

### THE BLOOD-THROWING CEREMONY

(By Kēladi)

karei ɔʔ gytt, gydʔn kəbʔn gydʔn babo:, gydʔn  
 (When) Karei thunders, (the) women cut themselves, they

se:i kɛ(d) karei, gydʔn ciəʔ ba te:  
 throw (blood) up-for Karei, they pour (it) on (the) ground

<sup>1</sup> Literally "asks".

<sup>2</sup> Or "dwells".

<sup>3</sup> i.e. "he has a mat spread near his breast".

<sup>4</sup> i.e. "is pleased".

<sup>5</sup> Karei helps the Hala by breathing into the magic ceboh stone for him. To cure the sick, the Hala takes the magic stone in both hands and blows upon it.

<sup>6</sup> Or "radiance".

**kəd manəid?** **kalu** ɔʔ **bərənti** ɔʔ **kareɪ**, **yadi-lɛ**, **kalu**  
 for Manoid. If Karei stops (thundering), it-is-all-right, if (he)  
**bəraʔ ũa bərənti**, ɔʔ **gyrr lagi**, **kəbʔn ka hɛʔ təmakaɪ**,  
 does-not stop, he thunders still, we men (also) cut (ourselves),  
**kalu bəraʔ ũa bərənti**, **kəbʔn cadʔn enla:gʔn ketɛ:gʔn**.  
 if (he) does-not stop, (we) cut on both-sides legs.<sup>1</sup>

## A FUNERAL

(Described by Kēladi and Cenbis)

ɔʔ **kəbys kanərr duaʔ nənkedʔn, renca har**  
 The deceased is-carried-by two men, (who) clear (a) path  
**ba-segʔn; \_ɪɛ(x) ɪa kanərr sarəʔ. hɛʔ ɪa bai**  
 beforehand; we-two carry (the) corpse. We dig  
**pakal bəliogʔn, duaʔ \_ɪɛ(x) ɪa bai ku:dʔn,**  
 (with the) point (of a) hatchet, we two dig (the) hole,  
**cincagʔn karəb. hɛʔ ɪa dərr cadʔn keɪəbʔn,**  
 (and) split bamboos. We spread-(them)-out at (the) bottom,  
**sarəʔ cadʔn krpe:gʔn karəb. hɛʔ**  
 (the) corpse on (the) top (of the) split-bamboos. We  
**de: demigʔn enlagʔn enlagʔn ku:dʔn, hamkal**  
 make slats of-bamboo along-the-sides-of (the) grave, lay-over  
**jehuʔ ampat, cincagʔn karəb, hɛʔ dərr**  
 (them) four (pieces of) wood. (we) split bamboos, we spread  
**cadʔn krpe:gʔn,<sup>2</sup> hɛʔ dədʔn te: krpe:gʔn**  
 (them) on (the) top (of the pieces of wood), we put earth on-to  
**karəb. jele:gʔn jehuʔ, hɛʔ ɪa kugʔn**  
 (the) split-bamboos. (We) stick-in (a piece of) wood, we plait  
**hapəi. krpe:gʔn sarəʔ; bux bəlau**  
 (a) palmleaf-screen over (the) corpse: (we) lay (the) blowpipe  
**keɪəbʔn hapəi, banu bux səkali kəd**  
 under (the) screen, (the) quiver (we) lay also with

<sup>1</sup> i.e. both legs, along the shins.<sup>2</sup> **cadʔn krpe:gʔn** is a curious phrase; the primary sense of **cadʔn** is "foot" and hence "from"; so here "from above" really comes to mean "on to the top of".

bəlau, siap, bux krpe:gʷn sarəʔ keiəbʷn  
 (the) blowpipe, ready, (we) lay (it) over (the) corpse under  
 hapəi. heʔ kələbʷn əs, cəbʷn əs  
 (the) screen. We bring firewood, (and) light (a) fire  
 enlagʷn enlagʷn.  
 on-both-sides.

ja<sup>1</sup> heʔ ia ũe:g, heʔ ia do:g, heʔ ia nəg  
 Then we return-home, we shift-our-camp, we (go and) live  
 ba ani. ja six bras, ja heʔ  
 over there. Then (we) pound rice, then we  
 ia haluʔ ai.  
 shoot game (with the blowpipe).

de gydʷn tani, gydʷn ia laŭa begʷag; de heʔ taŋ,  
 Those there, they catch fish; we here,  
 heʔ ia halu(x) tabəgʷn. ja  
 we shoot lotong-monkeys (with the blowpipe). Then

paagʷ gydʷn tebrabo:, ja  
 they, (the) women, cook (rice in internodes of bamboo), then

ũas, habux  
 (they) split (them open), (and) pour-out (the contents)

krpe:gʷn gadaŋ; ja heʔ ia ge:i; sudah,  
 on straw-platters; then we eat; (when we) have-finished,

ja simpen gənun, ha cantugʷn,  
 then (are) got-ready bamboos, to stamp (on the ground),

heʔ ia piŋləin, gydʷn tigaʔ tebrabo: kense:gʷn.  
 we sing, they, (the) three women, dance.

<sup>1</sup> ja, usually indicating the past tense, has the force of "and then" in this and the following sentences where it occurs.

## CHANSONS DE PAGAYEURS

Par J. TANGHE<sup>1</sup>

LES différents motifs musicaux que nous avons réunis ici sous le titre de "Chansons de Pagayeurs" ont été recueillis et annotés au cours d'excursions en pirogue sur le Fleuve, du côté de Nouvelle-Anvers et pendant des randonnées à travers les nombreuses voies d'eau sinueuses, qui sillonnent la forêt marécageuse de la contrée des Bangala.

Si tel est le titre que nous avons choisi pour désigner ces premières manifestations d'activité musicale, c'est par ce que la chanson est la forme d'expression à laquelle non seulement elles font immédiatement songer, mais aussi à laquelle elles doivent directement conduire et aboutir.

Dans son stade actuel, la chanson nègre n'est à côté de nos chansons populaires qu'une simple ébauche, qu'un esprit cultivé serait naturellement porté à compléter et à développer, mais que le Noir, avec son imagination primitive, abandonne à l'état embryonnaire.

La chanson de pagayeur accompagne une action. Elle encourage le pagayeur dans son travail ; elle stimule son énergie et augmente son ardeur. Le travail de pagayeur s'exécute par un groupe d'hommes et en mesure. Il consiste dans la répétition régulière et périodique des mêmes mouvements. Grâce à cette régularité, l'effort de chacun s'en trouve diminué et l'union des efforts, rendue possible, augmente l'efficacité du travail. Le geste du pagayeur s'accomplit en deux temps et se compose de l'alternation régulière d'une tension et d'un repos musculaires.

C'est sur ces considérations-là, que nous nous sommes basés pour diviser nos "chansons" en parties d'égale durée, c.à.d. en mesures. Car, la mesure de la chanson correspond à celle du travail qu'elle accompagne.

Par conséquent, la mesure de la chanson sera binaire. Elle compte deux temps : un temps fort et un temps faible. Le premier temps coïncide avec la tension des muscles (coup de rame), le deuxième avec le repos. Ces deux temps sont d'égale durée, mais ils diffèrent considérablement au point de vue de l'intensité. En effet, le premier est

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Tanghe was a student at this School during the Session 1923-4, and subsequently joined a research expedition to the Belgian Congo, where he made an intensive study of Mabale (a dialect of the group usually called Ngala).—A. W.

fortement marqué aussi bien dans la chanson que dans l'accompagnement du gong ou du tam-tam ; sur lui tombent également les syllabes accentuées du texte ; le deuxième, au contraire est relativement faible. Dans la mesure de  $\frac{6}{8}$ , chaque temps vaut une blanche et dans celle de  $\frac{6}{8}$  une noire pointée.

Nous avons dit que la chanson nègre n'était qu'une simple ébauche, une tentative de production, une formule de quelques notes, ne remplissant souvent qu'une seule mesure.

La structure est tout-à-fait élémentaire. Elle est basée sur le procédé de répétition.

- (1) Répétition de la même formule avec ou sans pause intermédiaire.
- (2) Répétition de la même formule, avec légère variation.
- (3) Alternation de deux formules.
- (4) Alternation de deux formules, avec variation.

En désignant la formule par une lettre, (A, B, C) la pause par un tiret (-), et la variation par un accent derrière la lettre (A', B'') nous pouvons représenter comme suit les différents types de structure que nous rencontrons dans notre série de chansons :—

I. (a) A, A, A, etc. (sans pause) ; Nos. 1 et 2. (b) A, -, A, -, A, etc. (avec pause) ; Nos. 3, 4, 5 et 6.

II. (a) A, A', A, A', etc. ; No. 7. (b) A, A, A', A'', etc. ; Nos. 8 et 9.


III. A, A, B, B, A, A, B, B, etc. ; Nos. 10, 11 et 12.

IV. (a) A, B, A', B, A, B, A', B, etc. ; No. 13. (b) A, B, A, B', A, B, A B', etc. ; No. 14.

Le type I (a) est clair. Les motifs se succèdent régulièrement et sans arrêt. Remarquons que dans I (b) la pause établie entre les formules est de la même durée que la formule. La variation est réalisée par l'augmentation de l'intervalle. Ainsi, la formule initiale du No. 7 est : la, la, si, la, sol, mi, sol. Dans la variante, l'intervalle compris entre la deuxième (la) et la troisième (si) note est augmenté : la, si devient la, do. Voici comment se décompose le No. 13 : la première formule est fa #, fa #, mi, sol # ; la deuxième, fa #, fa #, mi, fa # ; la troisième est une variation de la première : la tierce constituée par les deux dernières notes (mi, sol #) devient une quarte (mi, la) ; la quatrième formule est identique à la deuxième. Dans le No. 8, la tierce descendante (si b, sol) de la formule initiale est successivement portée à la quarte (do-si b, la-sol) et à la quinte (ré-do, si b, la-sol) dans la troisième et dans la quatrième formules. Cette succession





d'intervalles progressivement augmentés constitue un procédé très heureux de variation et produit un effet mélodique d'une originale beauté. Le No. 15 comprend deux parties : un solo débutant par un unisono, légèrement nuancé sur la syllabe pi de kapita et se terminant par une cadence harmonieuse réalisée par la chute d'une tierce (sur embe dua e), répétée en écho par tout le chœur des pagayeurs (sur é e : e, é, e : e).

Deux traits caractéristiques, se rencontrant fréquemment à la fin d'une chanson, sont en outre à signaler respectivement dans les Nos. 7 et 8. Le premier est la chute finale de la mélodie au moment où la pirogue va aborder. La chanson, au lieu de se terminer sur sa véritable finale, est suivie par une note longuement soutenue et d'un ton plus bas que la finale (voir No. 7). Il est évident que cette note finale (fa, ) ne fait pas partie de la chanson. La seconde caractéristique est la longue modulation de la note finale (No. 14).

Les Nos. 15 et 16, méritent au point de vue de leur forme, une attention spéciale. Ils n'ont rien de la rigueur et de la régularité de construction qui caractérisent si bien toutes les autres chansons. Dans le No. 16 on rencontre une certaine liberté d'allure, un certain élan rythmique qui en font une véritable phrase musicale. Le No. 17 est un air de danse triste. Il est exécuté par deux voix de femmes, l'une pleurant la mort précoce de son enfant, l'autre répétant les mêmes notes plaintives après chaque formule.

Le contour mélodique de la chanson est très restreint. Le plus souvent celle-ci se meut dans l'intervalle d'une quinte ou d'une quarte. Ces mêmes intervalles se rencontrent dans la langue parlée, le premier à la fin d'une interrogation (quinte ascendante) le second en terminant une phrase affirmation (quarte descendante). Nous trouvons des exemples de l'emploi de l'unisson dans les Nos. 2, 3 et 15.

L'allure de la chanson est lente, monotone et plaintive. Dans la mesure de  $\frac{6}{8}$   = 60 ; de même, dans celle de  $\frac{4}{4}$   = 60. Exceptionnellement le mouvement des Nos. 2 et 6 est accéléré. Le même mouvement rythmique imprime la même formule indéfiniment répétée. Les mesures se succèdent régulières et uniformes. La monotonie est encore augmentée par l'accompagnement constant et sourd du gong (mbonda) et par les batteries nerveuses et précipitées du tam-tam (mokoto). Nous avons donné des exemples de cet accompagnement aux Nos. 6 et 7. L'intervalle des deux notes du tam-tam est d'une tierce mineure.

Généralement la chanson de payeur est exécutée par tout l'équipage. Un homme entonne un air, d'autres suivent, et voilà bientôt tout le monde entraîné. Mais avant qu'un air ne soit entonné, la mesure a été marquée par le tam-tam et le gong (ex : Nos. 6 et 7). Des fois, il se trouve un jeune homme parmi la bande, réputé pour sa belle voix et ses belles chansons, et alors c'est lui qui se fera entendre au cours du voyage. Cet homme, appelé *moto wa ndzembo* (l'homme de la chanson) est d'office exempt de paye. Le *moto wa ndzembo* se fera l'interprète de tous et dans ce cas-là il alternera avec le chœur (Nos. 6, 7 et 9) ou bien il donnera libre cours à ses propres sentiments. C'est parmi ces chansons-là que se comptent les plus belles (Nos. 8, 12 et 16).

Il nous reste à dire un mot au sujet du texte. Celui-ci ne possède qu'une valeur secondaire et accessoire. Bien souvent les paroles sont insignifiantes et banales et le Noir se trouverait embarrassé de vous dire la véritable signification de sa chanson.

Le Noir chante les différents phénomènes de la nature, qu'il divinise et que son imagination peuple d'esprits. Vis-à-vis de ceux-ci il éprouve une véritable crainte qu'il s'efforce de dissimuler et qu'il veut dissiper par la chanson. Il invoque la forêt peuplée d'ombres, les îles mystérieuses, les eaux profondes ; il appelle les mânes de ses ancêtres ; il chante la puissance des Blanc ou bien il célèbre quelque événement de son village dont le souvenir lui est resté fidèle. Par sa chanson, il veut, en les invoquant désarmer les forces mystérieuses qui l'entourent et qui le hantent.

Voici la traduction des textes qui nous avons su noter : 1, île. 2, ekouloulou, qui rames incessamment. (Comprenez : est-ce que nous autres, hommes, serons obligés de ramer, jour et nuit, à l'instar de l'ekouloulou ?—un petit poisson qui ressemble à une sardine et qui nage incessamment. Véritable *ad hominem* de mes payeurs qui après un long trajet n'avaient pas encore atteint le but du voyage au tomber de la nuit. 3, hippo, fusil, casserole, lance, etc. 4, ? 5, O malle, avance. 6, Chef o, waza, waza ; chef e, waza, waza ; ventre e, w. w. ; fusil, e, w. w. ; malle, e, w. w. ; sel, e, w. w. ; imitons-le (Blanc), w. w. ; ebe. 7, ? 8, ? 9, Les herbes, o ye ; les herbes, o, ye ; etc. 10, J'avance. 11, ? 12, Hélas, mère ; hélas, mère ; un homme est tombé ; un homme est mort ; (le reste est incohérent). 13, Manzoni ? 14, ? 15, Porte le chef, porte le kapita ; chante le Fleuve. Comprenez : Si le chef a une palabre, le kapita y sera également mêlé. Le mot palabre, sujet (dzikambo) est sous-entendu. 16, Un jour, en arrivant

dans un village, un de mes payeurs, ayant découvert une belle femme, se mit à chanter des paroles obscènes qui ne manquèrent pas de faire éclater de rire toute l'équipe. 17, Hélas, mon enfant ; hélas, je le pleure ; hélas, avec douleur ; saurais-je l'oublier, hélas.

On le voit, non seulement le texte est souvent quasi incompréhensible mais au point de vue du vocabulaire il est un meli-melo de termes, empruntés aux différents dialectes du Fleuve. A titre d'exemple, citons le No. 15 où les premiers mots sont Mabale et des derniers (embe dua) ngombe.

Il eut été facile d'harmoniser ces différents motifs dont certains sont de toute beauté, mais cela n'aurait pas contribué à une meilleure compréhension et à une présentation plus naturelle du sujet.

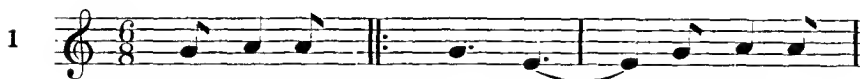
La musique nègre ignore les consonnances et les partitions qui constituent précisément la base de l'harmonisation.

En publiant ces textes musicaux, nous avons simplement voulu susciter de l'intérêt pour un aspect de la civilisation noire, jusqu'ici trop souvent négligé.

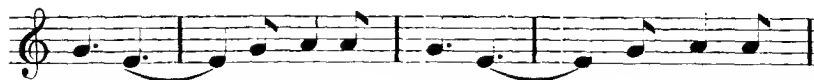
## CHANSONS DE PAGAYEURS

(Ndzambo ja bato ba nkai)

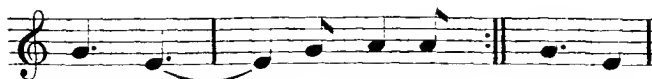
♩. = 60



*Tutti:* E - a - nga e e ; e - a - nga



e e ; e - a - nga e e e - a - nga



e e ; e - a - nga e - e

2  $\text{♩} = 88$

*Tutti*: E - ku - lu - lu ja - bo - lu - ka ntek'; e ku - lu - lu  
ja - bo - lu - ka ntek'; e - ku - lu - lu ja - bo - lu - ka  
ntek'; e - ku - lu - lu ja - bo - lu - ka ntek'; e - ku - lu - lu

3  $\text{♩} = 60$

*Solo*: Ngu-bu, fa - ta - ki, li -  
sa - si, li - ko - nggo,

4  $\text{♩} = 60$  *Tutti*

*Tutti*

5  $\text{♩} = 60$

*Tutti:* O, li - ndza-ndza, ta-mbo-la o, li-

ndza - ndza, ta - mbo - la o, li-

ndza - ndza, ta - mbo - la o, li-

ndza - ndza, ta - mbo - la o, li-

ndza - ndza, ta - mbo - la

6  $\text{♩} = 72$

*Mokoto*

*Mbonda*

*Tutti:* wa - za,

*Solo:* Mo - ko - ndzi e ;

wa-za ;

Mo - ko - ndzi

wa-za, wa - za ;

o,

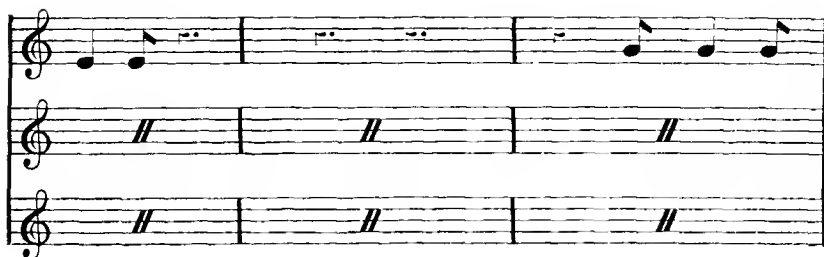
wa - za, wa - za ;

li - bu - mu e,  
sa - ndu - ku e,

wa - za,

mo - na - na e ;  
to - me - ka e ;

wa - za



$\text{♩} = 60$

7





♩. = 60 *Solo.*



♩. = 60

*Tutti:*

o je, o je, o je



*Solo:* Ki-nga; ki-nga ki-nga ki-nga



ki-nga

♩. = 60



*Tutti:* Na-ko-ta-mbo-la; na-ko-ta-mbo-la; na-ko-



ta-mbo-la; na-ko-ta-mbo-la; na-ko-la-mbo-la,



♩ = 60 *Tutti*

11

♩ = 60

12

*Solo*: Ba - jo-ma-ma, ba, jo ma-ma, ba jo mot'a-kwei, ba

jo mot'a-wei, a - le lando - ko ja mo - li - ma, ba

jo ma-ma, ba jo ma-ma, ba jo ma-ma,

♩ = 60

13

*Tutti*: ma-nzo-ni e . . . . .; ma-nzo-ni o . . . . .; ma-nzo-ni

e . . . . .; ma-nzo-ni o . . . .; ma-nzo-ni e;

♩ = 60 *Tutti*: *Solo*:

14

*Solo :*  $\text{♩} = 60$

15 *Dzi - pe - la - ka mo - ko - ndzi dzi - pe - dzi ka - pi - ta E -*

*mbe du - a e e . . . . e . . . . . e . . . . .*

$\text{♩} = 60$  *Solo :*

16

1 2

## AIR DE DANCE TRISTE

$\text{♩} = 66$

*Solo I :* je fo je je fo je je fo je 3 je fo

*Solo II :* mwa-na wa ngai ;

je 3 je fo je je fo je 3 je fo

na - mo - le - la ; na ma - wa ; na - bo - so - na ?

je je fo je

AN OLD WAR SONG OF THE BABEMBA<sup>1</sup>

By R. O'FERRALL

TEXT IN CHIBEMBA

- § 1 1. Kale ilyo pali BaMwamba na BaNkulu baletuma fita,  
2. fileya ku mishi ya bantu aba Mambwe.  
3. Babasanga, baikatana, balapikana no kulasana na mafumo.  
4. Awishyo mubiye panshi, amumo mutwe. amumo mutwe,  
5. asenda, atwala ku mfumu. Balaimba amalaila, baleti,  
6. "Sompā, sompā, sompā, sompā, sompā," ne mitwe ya abantu  
7. Mfumu aiti: "Mwasalipeni." Yalabanaila ubwali.  
8. Baikala uluchelo.  
9. Yatuma bambi. Baya, baya, basanga :  
10. kabili balalasana abashili na bukali.  
11. Babutuka ulubilo, babwelela ku mfumu.  
12. Mfumu yabasula, aiti: "Tamukalipe."  
13. Yatuma bambi. Baya apopene babutwike, balalwa,  
    babakoma.  
14. Babwela, baleimba amalaila, abati :  
15. "Makoshi sompā, sompā, sompā, sompā, sompā."  
16. Batuma ununabo ku mfumu, abati :  
17. "Kasobele wati, 'Nabakoma abantu.'"  
18. Mfumu aiti: "Chisuma; mwawanya, mwe bantu bandi."  
19. Bafika bonse. Ne mfumu yaima, yalayanga.  
20. Balabika ne mitwe kwilinga. Balatota, abati: "Chilyo,  
    chilyo."  
21. Mfumu aiti: "Mwasalipeni, mwe bantu bandi."  
22. Yafumya ne kunku ya nsalu, yalalepula.  
23. Ilebafwika umo umo. Bonse bakumana.  
24. Aiti: "Kekaleni, mwe bantu bandi." Baikala.
- § 2 25. Kabili limbi yafwaya ukuya kumbi.  
26. Yabakuta, yalonganya ifilolo fyonse. Yasosa, aiti :  
27. "Ndemutuma ku mishi ku kulwa ulubuli."  
28. Bati: "Chisuma." Basumina.  
29. Yalabula na maluti, yalabapa bonse, yakumanya :  
30. yafumya ne mfuti, yalabapa.

<sup>1</sup> Also called Wawemba or Awemba. Probably the right spelling is wa vemba.

31. Yafumya ne nsalu shakashika. yalalepula.
  32. Ilebapa ne miala ya kuya nayo kwilinga.
  33. Baya, bayafika, babasanga abanabo.
  34. Balalwa ulubuli abashikalipe. Babutuka ulubilo.
  35. Basosa, abati: "Tulelwa nenu."
  36. Bati: "Nomba ifwe twanaka. Tuleisa tota ku mfumu yenu."
  37. Baisa, batota, abati: "Twanaka, we mfumu."
  38. Aiti: "Chisuma. Ikaleni." Baikala.
  39. Yabapele no mushi. Baikala aba bantu ba mfumu.
  40. No kuleka baleka: ninshi chapwa.
  41. Ne mfumu yasulako, aiti: "Chapwa." Baikala.
  42. Epela.
- § 3 43. Bamo, nga baisa ababekete abanakashi.
44. balaposa ku Balungwana.
  45. Balebashita nsofu ne nsalu ne mfuti
  46. na mapipa ya maluti: ninshi chapwa.
  47. Ne mfumu yasosa, aiti: "Muli bashya bandi."
  48. No kuleka yaleka.

## NOTES

1. 1. *Bamwamba na Bankulu*. Honorific Plurals.
1. 3. *Balapikana*. Kupika is now commonly used for firing a rifle. Its original meaning seems to refer to a short, sharp sound.<sup>1</sup> (Compare *kupika hodi*, "to warn someone of one's presence"; *kupika sankyu* "to say 'Thank you'".)
11. 6, 15, 20. *Sompa, Makoshi, Chilyo*. Archaic words the meanings of which are no longer remembered. They are still used on such occasions as the slaying of a lion.
1. 5. *Ba-le-ti*. Imperf. Pres. Cf. *ti* "say", *le* being the tense infix.
1. 6. *Ne mitwe*. The narrator explained that the warriors carried the heads to the chief and then danced round them.
1. 7. *Mwasalipeni*. Lit. "Be fierce". Cf. the old word *musalifi* "a warrior".

<sup>1</sup> Is this a genuine umbra word or borrowed from the Swahili *piga*? *Piga bunduki* is the recognized expression in the latter language, and *piga hodi* means to announce one's presence at a door by crying "Hodi!" (from the Arabic حدى). The change from *g* to *k* is what might be expected in umbra, where the former sound only exists in combination with its homorganic nasal (i.e. as *ng*)—A W.

l. 20. *Tota* "prostrate oneself in salutation", as to a chief.—A. W.

l. 44. *Balaposa* seems to be a future, and *posa* properly means "throw away" (cf. Zulu *ponsa*), perhaps implying that the captives are so numerous as to be given away practically for nothing. Contrast with *shita* "sell" in line 45, when it is a question of ivory.

l. 46. *Mapipa*, properly "barrels", pl. of *pipa*, Portuguese loan-word in Swahili. *Maluti* is evidently a corruption of *baruti*, also a loan-word in Swahili.

#### ENGLISH TRANSLATION

- § 1 1. One day of old, Mwamba and Nkulu sent out their warriors  
 2. To war against the homes of the sons of Mambwe.  
 3. They find them, they seize them, they fight and wound each other with their spears.  
 4. Each one throws his man to the ground, he strikes off his head,  
 5. He carries it and brings it to the chief. They sing songs of victory, saying,  
 6. "Sompā. sompā, sompā. sompā. sompā," with the heads of the slain.  
 7. The chief says, "Greeting, my braves." He cooks food for them.  
 8. They remain till dawn.  
 9. He sends others. They go. they go and find them.  
 10. Again they fight with those who are not brave.  
 11. They flee quickly. They come back to the chief.  
 12. The chief despises them and says, "Ye are not brave."  
 13. He sends others. They go to the spot whence their fellows have fled: they fight and they slay.  
 14. They return and sing songs of victory, saying,  
 15. "Makoshi sompā. sompā, sompā, sompā, sompā."  
 16. They send one of their fellows to the chief, saying,  
 17. "Go. tell him. 'They have killed their foes.'"  
 18. The chief says. "Very good. Ye have done well, O my people."  
 19. They all come and the chief rises up and dances.  
 20. They put the heads on the stockade and praise him, saying.  
     "Chilyo, chilyo."  
 21. The chief says. "Greeting. O my people."  
 22. He brings out rolls of cloth and tears it up.

23. He clothes them one by one. All have their share.  
 24. He says, "Stay here, O my braves." They stay.
- § 2 25. Again another day the chief wishes to go elsewhere.  
 26. He calls his men, he gathers all his elders and says,  
 27. "I will send you to the villages to strive in battle."  
 28. They say, "Very good." They agree.  
 29. He brings out powder and gives plenty to all.  
 30. He brings out guns and distributes them.  
 31. He brings forth red cloths and tears them in pieces.  
 32. He gives them to his men as tokens that they may go with  
     them to the stockade.  
 33. Off they go and arrive and find their foes.  
 34. They strive in battle with those who are not brave. They  
     flee quickly.  
 35. They say, "We will fight you."  
 36. They answer, "Now we are tired. We will come and honour  
     your chief."  
 37. So they come and honour him, saying, "We are tired. O  
     chief."  
 38. He says, "Very good. Stay here." So they stay.  
 39. He gives them a village. They stay as men of the chief.  
 40. They cease from fight for all is over.  
 41. And the chief scorns them and says, "All is over." So  
     they stay.  
 42. That is the end of the story.
- § 3 43. And when those came who had captured women,  
 44. They sold them to the Arabs.  
 45. They sold them ivory in exchange for cloth and guns  
 46. And vessels of powder. Thus was the end.  
 47. And the chief spoke, saying, "Ye are my slaves."  
 48. So he ceases from war.

NOTE.—The writer has not been able to discover the nature of the metre, so the arrangement of the lines both in the text and translation is arbitrary.

#### SOURCE

The song was obtained in January, 1925, from a native of Chandamukulu's village, near Kasama in North-East Rhodesia. Chandamukulu is now the name of a district chief: the name originally

was that of the sister of Chitimukulu I (Chilesnyi), who was the mother of the four paramount chiefs who in turn succeeded Chitimukulu I.

The narrator was a man of thirty-five years of age, who had heard the song in his youth in his village and had himself sung it many times and could still sing it. He himself had only heard it sung round the camp fire; though he says it was originally sung by warriors dancing round the heads of the slain and brandishing their spears on high. He says the song was never accompanied by any instrumental music, nor by drums. He could repeat the song again and again with hardly any variation in the words.

#### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The three names mentioned in the song give some idea of the occasion of its original composition. Mwamba and Nkulu (= Chewe) were brothers of Chitimukulu VIII (= Kapalakashya). The Chitimukulus were the paramount chiefs of a tribe of Bantu who migrated about 1740 from Lubaland, west of the Lualaba River, now in the Belgian Congo. This tribe worked round the south of the Luapula River, and eventually settled to the south of Lake Tanganyika and north-east of Lake Bangweolo. One of the tribes which they encountered and fought when they entered the land was that of the Bamambwe. Either the latter tribe gave further trouble in the time of Chitimukulu VII (about 1870), or the chief wanted to extend his kingdom; for we hear of great wars in his reign. His successor, Chitimukulu VIII, and the latter's brother, Mwamba, continued these wars. Mwamba seems to have been a strong man; for, when Chitimukulu IX succeeded, he received large grants of land from him and became virtual ruler of the Babemba till his death in 1898.

(Ref. "The native tribes of N.E. Rhodesia," Coxhead, *Pub. Royal Anthropological Institute*, 1914.)

#### DATE AND ORIGIN

The problems of the date and origin of this song are much affected by the view taken as to whether it is a single whole or a combination of two or three older songs. Manifestly in its present form it was used not earlier than the time of Mwamba and celebrates one of the later raids of the Babemba against the Bamambwe, some time between the years 1880 and 1890.

But there are indications that the song in its present form is in three distinct sections. Section one contains archaic words, talks

of head-hunting, and makes no certain allusion to rifles. Rifles were introduced into the country by the Arabs about 1860, but the presence of the archaic words suggests a far earlier date. In this case the names Mwamba and Nkulu must have taken the place of earlier chiefs' names, if they do not even refer to earlier chiefs of the same names, and the one possible reference to guns and the distribution of cloth may be an addition. In the second section firearms take a prominent place, and the capture of heads is not referred to. It has, too, a definite beginning and end.

The third section looks like a piece added on, possibly at the time sections one and two were combined.

To summarize we may say that section one may possibly have been composed to celebrate one of the earlier fights between the Babemba and the Bamambwe at the time of the first invasion, sometime about the middle of the eighteenth century. Then about the time of renewed fighting between the peoples, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the old war song was revived and additions were made.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE TIBETAN BOOK OF THE DEAD, or the After-Death Experiences on the *Bardo* Plane, according to Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English rendering. By W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ. M.A., D.Litt., B.Sc., with Foreword by Sir JOHN WOODROFFE. pp. xlv + 248. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. 1927.

In this volume Dr. Evans-Wentz has made available for English readers the remarkable ritual manual of the lamas, entitled in Tibetan *Bardo Thödol* (*Bar-do-thos-grol*) "Liberation by hearing on the After-Death Plane", and read over the dead throughout Tibet in slightly differing versions. His title *The Tibetan Book of the Dead* succinctly indicates the character of the subject matter of an ancient manuscript, obtained from a lama of the semi-reformed Kargyutpa (*Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa*) sect. It was translated, in close co-operation with the editor, by the well-known Tibetan scholar, the late Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup (*Zla-ba-bsam-hgrub*), himself a member of the Kargyutpa order, and initiated into the higher, or esoteric, teachings of Northern Buddhism, in particular those of the Great Perfectionist School of Guru Padma-sambhava, to whom the compilation of the original text is ascribed.

In the words of Dr. Evans-Wentz, the *Bardo-Thödol* is an "epitomized exposition of the cardinal doctrines of the *Mahāyāna* School of Buddhism", besides being "based essentially upon the Occult Sciences of the *Yoga* Philosophy"; many parts are highly symbolical and abstruse; the language is often figurative, and when it appears to express a simple and easily understood idea, it is, as often as not, pregnant with a rich meaning, completely hidden from the uninstructed. For, though, as this book shows, in Tibet Northern Buddhism with amazing boldness claims the fullest knowledge as to the State after Death, and the power to instruct the deceased at each stage, it, in common with other religions, speaks in parables to the world, and reserves the complete explanation of its profound doctrines to the few qualified to receive them. This it does by oral instruction conveyed from *guru* to *chela* (*śiṣya*).

The above will show the necessity for, and the great value of, the wealth of matter elucidatory of the text, which this volume contains. This consists of a commentary in the form of annotations to the text, a comprehensive introduction—both of which embody

the translator's own notes dictated by him to his disciple, the editor—and seven concise and scholarly essays on *Yoga*, Tantricism, *Mantras*, Initiation, Reality, Northern and Southern Buddhism and Christianity, and the Medieval Christian Judgement in the Addenda. We may also mention an unusual, but welcome feature of the book, the detailed explanations of the well-reproduced photographic illustrations, notably of two illuminated folios of the manuscript, two conclaves (*maṇḍalas*) of deities, which appear among the phenomena of *Bardo*, and the Judgement of the Lord of the Dead, *Dharma-Rāja* (*Gśin-rje*).

Formidable though the task was, Dr. Evans-Wentz has succeeded in presenting within a reasonable compass and in a convenient shape, a rich store of information, much of it not available elsewhere, on the teachings underlying the *Bardo Thödol*. His aim, as he informs us, has been to present these teachings "as he has been taught them by qualified initiated exponents of them, who alone have the unquestioned right to explain them". His standpoint has been avowedly that of the Northern Buddhist, convinced of their truth. But to render his exposition more intelligible to the Western student, he has often "referred to Occidental parallels of various mystic or occult doctrines current in the Orient". Among these may be named the ancient Egyptian belief as to the after-death state and description of the Judgement; the Orphic story of rebirth told by Plato in the tenth book of the *Republic*; primitive Christian Gnostic belief in rebirth; and the remarkable medieval *Lamentation of the Dying Creature* quoted in the Addenda VII.

The Foreword, styled "the Science of Death", serves as a key to the whole. In it Sir John Woodroffe, the first European authority on the Indian *Tantras*, and, indeed, pioneer in that amazingly vast and complex world of thought, has concisely and acutely analysed and reviewed the contents of this volume. A careful perusal of this Foreword and after it of the first five sections of the Addenda will afford to the general reader an admirable preparation for the main task of digesting the translated text and introduction. We may here mention Sir John Woodroffe's estimate that both text and introduction "form a very valuable contribution to the Science of Death from the standpoint of the Tibetan Mahāyāna Buddhism of the so-called 'Tantrik' type".

The *Bardo Thödol* is itself a ritual, tantric in character, though not a *Tantra*, and as the editor has remarked, "some general acquaintance with Tantricism, as with *Yoga*, is desirable for all readers

of this book." Condensed information on these very difficult subjects of Tantricism and *Yoga* is provided in the Addenda among the sections, which it has been suggested above should be studied prior to the text and its exposition. Another suggestion for the serious student is that, if he has not already done so, he should read Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's translation of the *Demchog (Bde-mchog) Tantra*, published with a foreword by Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe) in vol. vii, *Tantrik Texts*. That *tantra* may be regarded in its teaching as complementary to the present text, in that it instructs how to practise mental concentration and meditation in this life with the aim of enabling the mind eventually to realize Reality. If before death the mind has been fully trained in this way, then the deceased at the very moment of death will recognize the "Clear Light of Pure Reality" and obtain Enlightenment.

So Perfect Enlightenment, according to the text, can in exceptional cases be reached without entry upon the *Bardo* Plane, the intermediate state between death and either Enlightenment or rebirth. It is this teaching that certain sects in China and Japan have emphasized and developed. The transference, or liberation, of the consciousness-principle from the worldly body, which it is the first concern of the officiating lama to effect in ordinary cases and for which the manual lays down remarkably precise instructions, will be easy and automatic for the proficient devotee, who will be able to die without losing full consciousness. For him liberation from the body, the vision of the Clear Light of Reality and recognition of it as such will be an instantaneous process by virtue of his training, knowledge, and freedom from *sangsāric* bonds. For him there is at death no need of the help of the *Bardo Thödol*, as he has already assimilated its teachings in life, and so is fully prepared (p. 135).

If we have dealt at some length on this, it is because of the importance of comprehending the significance of the statement of the text (p. 89), "Without any Intermediate State, they will obtain the Unborn *Dharma-Kāya* by the Great Perpendicular Path." For this sentence sets forth the peculiar and basic doctrine of Northern Buddhism "that spiritual emancipation, even Buddhahood, may be won instantaneously, without entering upon the *Bardo* Plane and without further suffering on the age-long pathway of normal evolution, which traverses the various worlds of *sangsāric* existence. The doctrine underlies the whole of the *Bardo Thödol*" (p. 89, note 3).

The manual treats the moment of death, and also the three and

one-half or four days following it, as the first division of *Bardo* under the name *Chikhai* (*Hchi-khai*) *Bardo*, "the Intermediate or Transitional State of the Moment of Death." Should the deceased fail to recognize the primary Clear Light, which first dawns, he may still, if the appropriate instructions are conveyed to him by the officiant, obtain the *Dharma-Kāya* by recognizing the secondary Clear Light, which is the first Clear Light now somewhat obscured by *Māyā*. In this first *Bardo* the spirit, when set face to face with the Clear Light of Reality, is in a state of ecstasy and is not yet distracted by *karmic* visions and desire for a material body, as it will be later. The spirit, or consciousness-principle, which fails to win emancipation here, as will usually be the case, will descend into lower and lower stages of *Bardo*. But there, too, will be several turning points, at which liberation may be achieved. As the editor has pointed out (p. 130, note 2), "Although, theoretically, *Nirvāṇa* is ever realizable from any stage of the *Bardo*, practically, for the ordinary devotee, it is not, meritorious *karma* being inadequate".

In the second *Bardo*, called *Chönyid* (*Chos-ñid*) *Bardo*, or "Transitional State of (the Experiencing or Glimpsing of) Reality", the spirit, which by now has awakened out of its after-death ecstasy to the fact that death has occurred, may obtain Buddhahood in the *Sambhoga-Kāya*; and in the third *Bardo*, the *Sidpa* (*Srid-paḥi*) *Bardo* or "Transitional State of Rebirth", it may obtain the *Nirmāṇa-Kāya*.

Without venturing on any discussion of the profound *Tri-Kāya* doctrine of Buddhism, which in outline, at least, is familiar to students of Buddhist philosophy, and which is treated in part v of the introduction, we may say that in each successive division of *Bardo* the liberation that is likely to be effected becomes less complete. For, as a rule, Buddhahood in the most complete form, *Dharma-Kāya*, the Essential Body, or Ultimate Reality, that is both all and beyond all, from which there is no return, is only obtainable from the first *Bardo*. Entry into the *Sambhoga-Kāya* will be followed by a return to the human world as a Divine Incarnation for the good of mankind; and the attainment of *Nirmāṇa-Kāya* involves "spiritually enlightened birth on one of the higher planes, *deva-loka*, *asura-loka*, or the human-*loka*" (p. 135, note 3). However, as already mentioned, the text admits the possibility of Perfect Enlightenment being gained at any stage, even in the *Sidpa Bardo* (see pages 168, 174).

In many cases the spirit, in spite of the instruction and oppor-

tunities for emancipation offered, will have to proceed through all the stages of *Bardo*, which usually occupy forty-nine days. This number forty-nine is, of course, symbolical like the various colours of the *Bardo* radiances and much else in the text, as the introduction explains. Each day of the fourteen of the second *Bardo* there will dawn upon the consciousness of the deceased, one by one, apparitional visions of numerous deities, which, we are informed, are "the hallucinatory embodiments of the thought-forms born of the mental-content of the percipient". First appear the Peaceful Deities, "the personified forms of the sublimest human sentiments, which proceed from the psychic heart-centre"; and next the Wrathful Deities, which "are the personifications of the reasonings and proceed from the psychic brain-centre." Each separate deity has "a definite psychological significance". A similar explanation of the Peaceful and Wrathful Deities is to be found on pp. xxii-xxiii, *Tantrik Texts*, vol. vii.

Though from one point of view these deities are the creations of the mind of the percipient, the chief of them, at least, the radiant *Dhyāni* Buddhas, who appear on the first six days, also represent aspects of reality. If the deceased understands the divine apparitions rightly, he will be led upwards to Liberation; if not, he will fear them and be attracted towards *sangsāric* existence by the illusory dull Lights of the Six *Lokas*, that appear concurrently with the *Dhyāni* Buddhas.

The third *Bardo*, which begins about the fifteenth day, is a period preliminary to rebirth in one or other of the Six *Lokas*, though here too escape from such rebirth is still possible. The spirit may go to Hell, after the Judgement. The Lights of the Six *Lokas* again dawn to attract to rebirth. If it is not the lot of the spirit first to be reborn in a *loka* other than the world of men—which is preferable to even those of the Gods and Demi-gods, and in which rebirth will follow later, if not now—visions of men and women mating will appear. Thereupon desire for a material body, if not overcome, will result in re-incarnation on earth. So attraction to *sangsāric* existence, which is scarcely perceptible in the beginning of the Intermediate State, gradually increases in intensity till in the end it prevails. At the same time the Light of Reality, which at the moment of death shines in all its full dazzling splendour, becomes dimmer and dimmer, as the percipient's vision becomes more and more obscured by *karmic* propensities.

It is ever the aim of the *Bardo Thödol* to enable the deceased at the earliest possible stage in *Bardo* to remove his veil of ignorance and to gaze steadfastly at the Clear Light of Reality, and so to obtain Enlightenment. This it does by closely instructing him as to the nature of everything he sees, so that he will no longer regard phenomenal apparitions as real, or yield to attraction towards *sangsāric* existence. Though, as the spirit sinks deeper into *Bardo* among the *karmic* distractions of the *Chönyid Bardo*, emancipation becomes more difficult, the spirit is instructed how to make the best of each situation. The manual repeatedly insists that the apparitions of deities, even of the Lord of Death himself, which appear in this and the *Sidpa Bardo* are the creations of the mind, and not to be feared. Later, in the *Sidpa Bardo*, instructions are given how to avoid attraction to rebirth in any of the Six *Lokas* or realms of *sangsāric* existence, but, if and when rebirth becomes inevitable, every help is afforded the deceased to make the best choice. To express it shortly and very crudely, the manual is a guide to lead the deceased to Buddhahood, or as far along the path thereto as may be possible. L. A. Waddell's description in his *Buddhism of Tibet* (p. 492) of the "*Thos-grol*" as "the guide for the spirit's passage through the valley of horrors intervening between death and a new rebirth", is incomplete, in that it suggests that every spirit will have to proceed through *Bardo* to rebirth, and fails to mention that the prime aim of the guide is to avoid rebirth at all. Enough has been said to indicate that the full title of the manual, *Thos-pa-tsam-gyis-grol-ba-thob-paḥi-chos* "the doctrine by the hearing of which a man is instantly saved" (see Jäschke's Dict., p. 239, and S. C. Das's Dict., p. 596), errs on the other extreme. Its extravagant claim needs qualification. For the text itself admits that many who hear the doctrine will not be instantly saved, because they are not prepared to receive the teachings, being under the influence of evil *Karma*, weak in devotion, or subject to evil propensities.

It may well be asked, as it has been in the Foreword, what is the use of instructing the deceased, when *karma* determines everything for him, or, as Sir John Woodroffe states the problem, "If the *Karma* ready to ripen determines the action, then advice . . . is useless. If the 'soul' is free to choose, there is no determination by *Karma*." Without dwelling long on this all-important question it may at once be stated that the *Bardo Thödol*, in common with other *Mahāyāna* works, insists that progress towards Enlightenment is capable of being

hastened by the imparting of right knowledge. It is the main aim of *Yoga* to provide, as it were, a short cut to Enlightenment, which at the normal rate of evolution might not be reached for inconceivable ages. How this can be reconciled with the *Karma* doctrine we are not told in the text, but some tentative explanations are offered in the Foreword, which will, perhaps, stimulate the reader's interest, rather than provide a complete answer.

Perfect Enlightenment brings with it release from the domination of *karma*. For, as the translated text eloquently expresses it, “. . . *karma* controlleth not. Like the sun's rays, for example, dispelling the darkness, the Clear Light on the Path dispelleth the power of *karma*” (p. 100).

Escape from *karma*, of course, implies a cessation of such individualized consciousness, or personality, as the spirit of the deceased has continued to retain after its separation from the human body. The possibility of personal immortality has no place in the teachings of Buddhism. As long as the mind or consciousness is individualized, it will consider phenomena to be real, and will be unable to realize Reality. This is well brought out in section v on Reality in the Addenda, where Dr. Evans-Wentz sums up, “Once the mind becomes free from all *karmic* obscurations, from the supreme heresy that phenomenal appearances—in heavens, hells, or worlds—are real. . . . personality ceases, . . . the mundane consciousness becomes the supramundane and one with the *Dharma-Kāya* . . .”. Attention may be drawn to the extracts from Aṣṣvaghosha's “The Awakening of Faith”, given in the same section. These show that the teachings as to Ultimate Reality found in that treatise composed in the first century A.D. substantially confirm the philosophy of the *Bardo Thödol*.

In this review we have only given the slightest indication of the highly interesting contents of this remarkable text, and we have noticed but a fractional part of the problems, that arise from it and doctrines that underlie it, which are ably and lucidly expounded in this volume. It is not easy to convey any adequate idea of the extraordinary wealth of detail, with which the text describes all the different symbolical phases of *Bardo*, or of the completeness of the directions, which it gives for releasing the spirit from the body, and for meeting each situation, in which the spirit will find itself in the course of its journey in the Intermediate State.

But sufficient, we think, has been said to show not only that the *Bardo Thödol* is an unusually important text—even if we hesitate

to claim with the editor that it "is, among the sacred books of the world, unique", and "perhaps, one of the most remarkable works the West has ever received from the East"—but also that the undoubtedly thorny and intricate task of translation and interpretation has been successfully carried out with scholarly ability, backed by comprehensive and sympathetic knowledge. In this volume there is much of profound human interest for the more serious general reader, not afraid to venture on difficult ground. In it students of comparative religion and mysticism will find a treasure-house of diverse and often unexpected information. But only the few Orientalists, who have made a special study of the Buddhism of Tibet, will be able to appreciate in full the value of the rich fare, which Dr. Evans-Wentz presents in the *Tibetan Book of the Dead*.

H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

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THE CONCEPTION OF BUDDHIST NIRVANA. By TH. STCHERBATSKY, Ph.D. pp. 246. Leningrad: Publishing Office of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR., 1927.

As a work of constructive information, this book should be a valuable aid to students of mediaeval dialectic, in that it contains a translation of chapters i and xxv of Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamika-Śāstra* to wit, on Causality and on Śūnyatā (rendered by the translator "Relativity"), followed by a translation of Candrakīrti's Commentary thereon entitled *Prasannapada* "The Clearworded". The translator's own commentary, lexicographical and thematic, will also prove an interesting guide, as will further the 29 pages of Indexes, dealing not only with names and subjects, but also with Sanskrit, Pali, Tibetan, and Mongolian words, and lastly with those "technical terms" by which architects of word-structures tempt some of us away from reality, and find their pleasure in wordy fights.

Introductory to all this valuable applied scholarship is a collection of short essays or notes on points in the history of Indian philosophical thought, also containing much that is newly worded and stimulating. Where he refers to "early", or "primitive" Buddhism it is apparently always at second-hand, and his dicta about it, were I to go into them, are such as I should contest at every turn. Somewhat I have said about them in a previous review of the *Bulletin* (III. Pt. II. 1924). More I have been saying and am saying elsewhere. A review may have only the author reviewed as its reader, wherefore *kim idha*



*bahunā* ? May this author live long to bring much to us into which his genial erudition has dived so deep at first hand !

C. A. F. R. D.

THE ZOROASTRIAN DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE. From Death to the Individual Judgment. By JAL DASTUR CURSETJI PAVRY, A.M., Ph.D. pp. 119. Columbia University Series, vol. xi. New York : Columbia University Press, 1926.

Claiming no novelty in his subject-matter, the author finds that there is "room for a new presentation which should collect and co-ordinate the material from every period of Zoroastrianism in the light both of its age-long tradition and of the most recent Iranian research". Hence in this monograph he gives a critical translation of all passages relevant to its subject from both earliest and latest Zend-Avestan sources. These he supplements with references to the Pahlavi books and, with illustrations, to modern Parsi beliefs, giving Manichæan parallels, the last being a subject with which he has already dealt in his *Manichæism and Zoroastrian Influence upon the Manichæan Doctrine of Eschatology* (1922). The present work is to form the first part of a trilogy of studies, and takes the reader only into the teaching of "soul" parting from body, and his reception in the new life.

I find this book very happily inspired and to the general educated reader of profound utility. I had been about to say : to the student of comparative religion, but Iranian experts will here be the fit counsellors. I fall back on "the general" (in Shakespearian meaning). And I hardly hope that, for another few generations, he *will* see here a reading deeply useful for himself. He has for the present turned away from something that lies right across his path, whether he be Parsi or of any or no -ism, and judges old documents about it as pure myth. I venture to think, on the contrary, that he might wisely expand his cramped forward view in his own individual case, and carefully read, among other such studies, this book, both the translations in it, and the notes.

To take only the first note (p. 9) : what deeply important questions does it not suggest ? We start out at once with the word "soul", a very unsatisfactory word. So thinks modern psychology, and carefully puts it to bed. I think it might also be put to bed, but for a different reason from psychology, with its misplaced emphasis on

"complex". We allow "soul" to usurp the "man"; it is he (and she) we are shelving together with "soul". The Avestan word for "soul" is one that, according to Professor Williams Jackson's derivation, fits the man, the "I" (who am not my body, not my mind; these if you will, are the complex) much better than "soul". It is *urvan*, the "worther", the "valuer", the "chooser". Mind is the "worth-ing"; matter, and especially body, is the thing worthed. Now the whole history of man may be summed up in that word *urvan*, as it is not in "soul". And I much regret that Dr. Pavry did not break with our traditional English, and our foolish habit of speaking of "man's soul", instead of man, and use a word in his translation corresponding to his learned master's "suggestion". There might then have been an outcry, but so much the better! For this is not a subject for the "general's" armchair, although he nowadays treats it as such. It is possible that *urvan* may convey the sense (etymologically) of *worthing*, more than *worther*. . . . I am unwise as to the final *-an*. But if we *mean* "minding", when we *say* mind, conversely the Zoroastrian may have meant *worther* when he said *worthing*. We of to-day are not bound by the past unless we let ourselves be. Let us anyway use *worther*, *chooser*, for "thee" and "me", rather than "mind" or "soul".

I am, I repeat, unwise as to whether *-an* is a neuter or a masculine affix; I wish the author's note had helped us here. He persistently, again after the foolish modern fashion, uses "it", "its" as the pronoun of "soul". Thus herein again we lose "the man", who passes death's "bridge" to the "Worthing" awaiting him. It is noteworthy that about the individual judgment in Buddhist Suttas, just after death, there is no question of that mental complex (of four groups) about which Buddhist schoolmen are so complacent, appearing, without the deceased body, before the (once human) judge Yama. It is the man himself, the *purisa* (*puruṣa*) who stands there and hears: "*Ambho purisa* (see here, man)! by *you yourself* have these things been done, not by another." Now here surely is the *attan*, the "self", whose reality, whose going over, is so strenuously denied. Is it then a mere complex, a label, who at that awful moment is addressed, and not the very real thing? Perhaps this is the reason why Buddhism pushes these Suttas into a corner, in maintaining, as it does *to-day*, its curious dogma of An-atta.

But let readers get this book. Let there be soon a popular edition of it.

C. A. F. R. D.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA. From the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty. By HEM-CHANDRA RAYCHAUDHURI, M.A., Ph.D. pp. 389, with five maps. 2nd edition, revised and enlarged. University of Calcutta, 1927.

The first edition of this notable effort to chart us a period covered by no history or chronicle of early date has been out of print for some time. In revising and rewriting for this second edition, the author has been at pains to bring his work into line with new research, and to tell us beforehand where to find the more important additions or wherein these consist. Materials continue to grow, but they do not yet, and probably never will, suffice to body out the course of Indian history from the fight between Kurus and the Pandu clan down to Bimbisāra of Magadha—to go no further—as can be done, relatively, between Bimbisāra and the Guptas. This the author of course recognizes, but he makes a brave attempt to make those far-off days live, wisely considering that Parikshit first of that name, was, as was very possibly Wodin of our North, a real man of earth, whatever deifying may have befallen him later. He has dipped into every available source, and to one, associated now for many years with a Society for the redaction of Buddhist texts, it is very gratifying to witness the growing service rendered by these editions in supplying incidentally historical *aperçus*, in a way scarcely dreamed of by their compilers. For myself I put little faith in the historical truth of political events accepted by those compilers. I refer especially to the editors of (a) the Piṭakas at Patna, before these were, at least fully, written down, (b) of the full writing carried out according to the epics in Ceylon. The Commentaries are even less worthy of credence, recording as they do from a point of time still more remote, and recording by a longer and laxer oral tradition. From them Dr. Chaudhuri quotes once off his guard, unaware perhaps that it is a Commentarial record—that is, unless I err. This is in the reference to a “letter” “sent by Pukku-sāti of Gandhāra to Bimbisāra” (p. 124). I have met this in the Commentary on the Majjhima, not elsewhere. The Commentary on the Theragāthā also mentions letters between Pippali Kassapa and Bhaddā of the Kapilas (*Pss. of the Brethren*, p. 360), but this is not evidence that *in those days* such postal amenities had begun, however much they had become a feature of life in the Commentators’ era. In the Piṭakas it is invariably: “Here, my man (or another), go and tell so and so from me, or the like.”

But as giving a purview of such materials as can be pressed into

service in this work of charting the map of perished centuries, Dr. Chaudhuri has made debtors of us all.

C. A. F. R. D.

A HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE TERMS HĪNAYĀNA AND MAHĀYĀNA AND THE ORIGIN OF MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM. By RYUKAN KIMURA. pp. xii, 203. University of Calcutta, 1927.

This is the sixth in a series of "theses" in which the author contemplates achieving a History of Indian Buddhism. I have had so far the advantage of seeing only the first of them, entitled "What is Buddhism?" I regret that these brief comments on the sixth are not guided by an acquaintance with the fourth: "Historical Discussion on Buddhology"—the author persists in calling it "Buddhalogy". The rise of Buddhology in Japan:—"How you came to regard the man Gotama as so much more than man": inquire into this! write about it!"—this was the dying injunction my husband gave to his last visitors from overseas, fellow-countrymen of Mr. Kimura. I am not saying that Mr. Kimura's discussion is on Japanese Buddhology only. On the contrary he, teaching, among other things, Pali in India, comes to take up the lower lying strata of Indian Buddhology. And he approaches it from the Mahāyānist standpoint. Or at least from his own standpoint, but under the *dominating* influence of Mahāyānist tradition. Now this is, for pure disinterested historical criticism of the inception of Buddhology in India, something approaching what the world of sport calls "disqualification". How is this?

He has a theory which may, or may not be shared by all Mahāyānists. I have but to state it. Comment will be superfluous. He divides Buddhism into "Original" and "Developed". With this we may all agree. But the former "is the doctrine preached by Buddha himself in public"; the latter, implicit in his perception after "enlightenment", the times did not allow him to preach in person, so it was "left in the hands of his disciples to be manifested" at the proper time . . .

Here the testimony of the Piṭakas themselves Mr. Kimura passes over: (a) These state repeatedly, that the founder admitted two sources of his knowledge: his own judgment or intuition, on the one hand, and information given by men of the next and the Rūpa world clairaudiently, on the other. The Piṭakas show Gotama repudiating (in one Nikāya passage) the attribute of omniscience, and

appealing to the very "man" (*puruṣa*). His followers, in unwisdom, made the "man" ("you" and "me") unreal, but overworthed in Gotama the superman.

(b) Again, the author seems content to accept Nāgārjuna's distinction of esoteric and exoteric teaching as practised by the Buddha (p. 16). Has then the venerable old Man spoken to deaf ears *all* the time? "Desito Ānanda mayā dhammo AN-ANTARAM a-bahiram katvā ; na tattha me dhammesu āeariya-muṭṭhi"—"Taught, Ānanda, has been by me the Right, making no 'esoteric', no 'exoteric'; not herein is mine the teacher's fist!" holding back now this now that. Nāgārjuna knew not the Pali Piṭakas, if I err not, but Mr. Kimura has not his excuse.

But the substance of this thesis and its historical value lies in a detailed inquiry into how the terms Hinayāna and Mahāyāna arose. Readers who have to meet with the terms full-blown have here an opportunity of learning how much and how little is known as to that, and will have reason to be grateful for the painstaking research put before them.

C. A. F. R. D.

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BARHUT INSCRIPTIONS. Edited and translated with critical notes by BENIMADHAB BARUA, D.Litt., and KUMAR G. SINHA, M.A. pp. 139. University of Calcutta, 1926.

The editors here give us a fresh presentation of the inscriptions on the Barhut Stupa, that is in a grouped method as being (a) Votive Labels, or (b) Jātaka Labels, together with a fresh and critical translation. A third section is appended of notes on the lettering, language, and names in the inscriptions. There is also a good (Prakrit) Index. Review of the workmanship shown in the details is here impossible, and specialized expertness were needed. But if I were visiting the stupa, or looking at reproductions of the fascinating scraps of the history of Indian values and outlook presented on the stupa, I should wish to have this work in my hand.

C. A. F. R. D.

THE BOOK OF THE CAVE OF TREASURES. A History of the Patriarchs and the Kings their successors from the Creation to the Crucifixion of Christ. Translated from the Syriac text of the British Museum MS. Add. 25875 by Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, Kt., M.A., Litt.D. pp. xvi, 319. 8vo. London: Religious Tract Society, 1927.

The Canonical books of the Old Testament were followed by a series of mostly anonymous writings designed to interpret and expand the Scriptural narratives in the light of the authors' historical experiences and doctrinal views. The earlier works of this kind were Jewish—typical examples are the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*—and they combined with more or less new religious and mystical ideas a considerable number of *Agadoth* or edifying stories, in which were incorporated old legends and scraps of folklore, some of which are extremely ancient. In due time the Christian Church adopted this method of exposition, and produced similar works of edification, using a good deal of the same material *mutatis mutandis*. An early example of such Christian writings—perhaps the earliest that can be definitely dated—is the *Book of Adam and Eve*, composed in the fifth or sixth century. Another specimen is the present “Cave of Treasures,” *Me'ārath Gazzē*, a Syriac work which is ascribed to Ephrem Syrus (ob. A.D. 373), but in its present form at any rate is probably not earlier than the sixth century. Sir Ernest Budge gives us a new translation of this book based upon an excellent manuscript in the British Museum, with notes supplementing the narrative by excerpts from germane writings such as the *Book of Adam and Eve*, the *Book of the Bee*, etc., and by data from the latest archaeological discoveries, and he has added an introduction and appendices containing not only extracts translated from the *Testament of Adam* and the *Book of the Bee*, but also a summary of the results of Mr. Woolley's latest excavations at Ur, which have shown to an astonished world that Ur was a centre of advanced civilization in the fourth millennium B.C., and perhaps earlier still.

The author of the “Cave”, who has borrowed copiously from the book of *Adam and Eve*, besides drawing on other sources that cannot be identified, is, like many of his congeners, addicted to fanciful and arbitrary theory-spinning and deeply infected with the *odium theologicum*. The bold assurance with which he claims for himself a knowledge of Biblical genealogies which he denies to all other writers (p. 194 f.) is equalled by the ignorance that he shows in classing Hebrew, Greek, and Latin together as written from left

to right (p. 132). Nevertheless his book has value, not only as a specimen of a once popular class of literature, but also because some of its statements seem to be derived from legends in which were faintly preserved memories of very ancient times. Thus, to quote some of the examples noted by the translator, the stories of the rise of idolatry in the days of Serug, of the custom of making golden images of deceased fathers, and of the storm that destroyed Ur and Erech become intelligible in the light of recent archaeological discoveries, which Sir Ernest Budge ably focusses upon them. The tale of the destruction of the Jewish Scriptures and genealogies on the capture of Jerusalem by Sennacherib (pp. 189, 192, 194 f.) is also curious and interesting ; we suspect, however, that the author or his source invented it *θέσιν διαφυλάττων*, though as regards the genealogies he may unconsciously have come near the truth.

The book is excellently produced,<sup>1</sup> with sixteen full plates and eight illustrations in the text depicting some striking finds of archaeological research in Ur and elsewhere, and it lays us under a new obligation to the translator, to whose vast learning and tried skill in bookcraft the world is already so deeply indebted.

L. D. BARNETT.

DIE BILDLICHEN DARSTELLUNGEN DER INDISCHEN GÖTTERTRINITÄT  
IN DER ÄLTEREN ETHNOGRAPHISCHEN LITERATUR. VON ERNST  
SCHIERLITZ. pp. 94. Hannover. 1927.

Dr. Schierlitz is a pupil of Professor Scherman, the well-known Sanskritist and ethnographer of Munich, and from him he has got the inspiration to busy himself with the pictures and descriptions of the Hindu triad of gods as found in the old literature of voyages and ethnography. The present writer has, at times, found opportunity to busy himself with kindred topics of a very fascinating nature, and he thus feels able to assure that the subject is both a prepossessing one and also one of no small interest to the history of Hindu religion. It was certainly a lucky idea of Dr. Schierlitz to write a monograph on this topic ; he has succeeded well with what we understand to be his first work of research, and we shall be happy soon to meet with other investigations of his concerning related topics.

<sup>1</sup> We take the opportunity to point out two slight misprints : on p. 46, l. 9 from bottom, "sold" should be "solid", and on p. 129, l. 14 from bottom, "thou" should be "thee".

A short introductory chapter deals with the earliest descriptions of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva in European literature from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Then follows what is the main part of the treatise, viz. researches on the pictures of the above-mentioned deities in Dutch, French, German, Italian, and English sources from about 1650 up to the first issue of Moor's *Hindu Pantheon* in 1810. Most of the authors dealt with here are well-known, as e.g. Roger. Ath. Kircher, Baldæus, La Flotte, Sonnerat, Ziegenbalg, Paulinus, etc. Further materials no doubt exist buried in libraries and archives, especially perhaps in Portugal, but it seems difficult or impossible to obtain sufficient information concerning them. The Library at Evora, e.g. undoubtedly possesses a set of pictures belonging to one of the Portuguese treatises edited by Caland; but although Professor F. W. Thomas several years ago was kind enough to apply for them on my behalf, no satisfactory reply to his request was ever received.

Of additions and corrections the present writer has little to offer. That the Latin text of Father Pimenta's relation of the Kingdom of Pegu reads *Pyrama* (p. 7), which may well be = Brahmā, seems to be beyond doubt; but the French edition of that same text<sup>1</sup> just as undoubtedly reads *Pitama*, which looks suspiciously like *Pitāmaha*. That *Unitir* should be a corruption of *Rudra*—one would have to suggest some form like *Ruttiren*—is possible, but scarcely probable. *Unitir* is repeated by Purchas<sup>2</sup> from Pimenta, and in Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, vi, p. 287, we find the suggestion that *Unnitiri* means "the venerable boy"<sup>3</sup> which, for lack of materials I am not able to control. Most puzzling is the expression in a letter from Father Pietro d'Almeida<sup>4</sup>: ". . . si narra del principio & creatione delli loro Dei & come erano venuti in questo mondo in diverse figure cioè di tartaruca, porco, pesce & giacinto & altre simile pazzie." The tortoise, hog, and fish clearly refer to Viṣṇu, but what is meant by the "giacinto"? To suggest that we ought to read "gigante" and refer this expression to the Narasiṃha would be a very poor way out of the difficulty. There is, however, in the *Harivaṃśa* the story of

<sup>1</sup> *Relations des PP. Loys Froes et Nicolas Pimenta de la Compagnie de Jésus au R. P. Claude Acquaviva, Général de la mesme Compagnie, concernant l'accroissement de la foy Chrestienne au Jappon et autres contrées des Indes Orientales es années 1596 et 1599.* Lyons, 1602.

<sup>2</sup> *His Pilgrimage*, p. 555.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Unnima* = *Umā*, Thurston, l.c. v, p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> *Nuovi arvisi* (1556-9), iii, fol. 191r.



Viṣṇu's incarnation in the shape of a blue lotus-flower (*puṣkara*). Might not this have some connexion with our passage ?

On p. 14 the heading *Dahasar* (v.l. *Dahser*) from Ath. Kircher<sup>1</sup> is wrongly interpreted by *Dāśaratha*.<sup>2</sup> The addition "decem capita" clearly indicates that it means something like *Daśaśiras*, and that Kircher considered Rāvaṇa to be the main figure of the incarnation.<sup>3</sup> Besides, in Kircher's book Rāma has already been enumerated as the second avatāra (*Ramchandra*, *Ramtẏander*).

A slip must have occurred on p. 28, and in note 40 where the author speaks of "Briareus" or "Briareo" and tries to identify the name with an Indian one—"perhaps Bhairava." As far as the present writer's memory goes Briareus is a well-known figure in classical mythology, a giant with a hundred arms.

Concerning the *Ezour-Védam*, cf. the articles by the present writer in the *J.A.* 1922, ii, p. 135 sq., and by M. J. Vinson, *ibid.*, 1923, ii, p. 169 sq. Why the work of Bernier should be quoted in the edition of 1699 is not quite clear. Materials for the study of the *Relation des erreurs* and connected texts are to be found also in the India Office Library, but cannot be dealt with here.

These scanty remarks are in no way meant to detract from the value of the work of Dr. Schierlitz, and we sum up repeating that it will be a pleasure to meet with new researches of his on his favourite topic.

J. C.

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CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON. Part V: Rājput Painting. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. pp. 272 + cxxxi pl. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1926.

Dr. Coomaraswamy holds the rank of one of the foremost living authorities on Indian art, and his numerous publications betray a thorough and all-round acquaintance with that subject. This descriptive work is admirable though we must own up to not always feeling convinced by his theories. He has previously published several articles dealing with Rājput painting; and his two big volumes on that subject, published in 1916, are in the hands of everyone interested in

<sup>1</sup> *China illustrata* (1667), p. 156 sq.

<sup>2</sup> More common, of course, is the form *Dāśarathi*.

<sup>3</sup> He is said to have been killed by Lakṣmaṇa and Hanumān which, judging from the picture, is incorrect. On Hanumān killing Rāvaṇa cf. Stevenson, *Notes on Jainism*, p. 93.

Indian art. He has now followed up his researches by publishing a magnificent catalogue of Rājput paintings in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, most of which were collected by himself and bequeathed to that institution by the munificence of Mr. Denman W. Ross.

There is scarcely any need to expand upon the value of the catalogue as such. It is certainly most carefully put together, and the plates are numerous and most illuminating. The introduction deals with Rājput painting from different aspects, the historical, the technical, etc. Altogether it gives, in a modified form, the results at which Dr. Coomaraswamy had arrived already in his previous work. But he tells us that he has also incorporated in his new volume the results of certain investigations carried out by Dr. Hermann Goetz, of Berlin, and by some other scholars during the interval of ten years between the publication of his two chief works on Rājput art.

The present writer, not being himself an expert on Indian art, shall refrain from any detailed appreciation of Dr. Coomaraswamy's valuable work. But he cannot quite suppress the observation that in a work of this scope and value somewhat more accuracy might have been bestowed upon minor details. We feel a little astonished to meet with slips like *sthanāvarana*, *sthanottariya* (for *stanāvaraṇa*, etc., p. 32), *viduṣaka* (p. 68), or with names like *Udho* and *Jurāsindhu* (p. 59) instead of the well-known forms *Uddhava* and *Jarāsandha*—this to quote only a very few but significant instances. Nor do the representations from Indian mythology—e.g. the *Samudramanthana* (p. 50), the *gajendramokṣa* (p. 51), etc.—seem to be wholly accurate. And the *Gitagovinda*, uncertain as its precise date may be, was scarcely composed in the thirteenth century (p. 58).

But, as Dr. Coomaraswamy's work is mainly intended for students of art and art history and does not always, perhaps, aim at detailed philological accuracy, we may well leave such minor slips alone. They do not in any appreciable way detract from the real and lasting value of the work.

J. C.

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THE EMBASSY OF SIR THOMAS ROE TO INDIA, 1615-19. As narrated in his Journal and Correspondence. Edited by Sir WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. pp. lxxix + 532. New and revised edition. London: Oxford University Press, 1926.

Sir William Foster, whose all-round knowledge of Mogul history need not be expanded upon here, has rendered another signal service

to the students of that interesting period of India's past by re-editing the account of Sir Thomas Roe of his embassy to the Court of Jahāngir. The Hakluyt Society edition of that remarkable work, published nearly thirty years ago, has long been out of print. And valuable new material has been unearthed which throws more light on the dealings of one of the first English Ambassadors to the Court of an Eastern ruler.

De Laet, in his well-known book on the Mogul empire, points to Roe as being the most trustworthy authority on the affairs of that great but incoherent state. And certainly Roe during his stay in India found enough opportunities for acquiring a somewhat profound knowledge of the peculiarities of its political system and the sinuous methods of its leading politicians. His interest, of course, was mainly a political one; on Hindu society and life in general during that period, he has little to tell. But as a source for the personal and Court history of Jahāngir's days, his account, no doubt, is invaluable.

Jahāngir himself, in spite of assertions to the contrary, was not an essentially evil man. But probably his nervous system was never very strong, and he had become a wreck by constantly drugging himself with alcohol and opium. In fits of temporary madness he committed acts of fiendish cruelty; but while fairly normal he seems to have been rather a weak, kind-hearted and invariably courteous sort of person. He totally lacked his father's eminent military and political skill, and his almost superhuman energy, and he soon became a mere tool in the hands of wicked and unscrupulous schemers amongst his own relatives. Foremost of those were Asaf Khān, his brother-in-law, an avaricious and rascally arch-plotter, and Sultān Khurram, the future Shāh Jahān, one of the most unprepossessing figures that has ever moved across the confused and blood-reeking stage of Indian history. The sharp-witted Ambassador of James I soon discovered their real nature, and he does nothing to embellish the repulsive features of these and other minor worthies. His task was a difficult and even an impossible one. But through his clear-sightedness and his courageous and sometimes rather high-handed demeanour, he saved his own and his country's dignity and achieved as much as was ever possible under singularly unfavourable circumstances.

It goes without saying that introduction and notes are alike excellent and up to date. Some thirty letters which were not used in preparing the first edition have been drawn upon here, and have no doubt, furnished valuable new material. The text has been carefully

collated with sources in manuscript and print. As, however, nothing but the greatest carefulness was to be expected from Sir William Foster, we need not further emphasize these points here.

Slight suggestions sometimes present themselves to the reader. But they are generally of far too vague a nature to be even touched upon here. One would fain know where and when the story originated connecting Delhi with Porus and Alexander the Great (p. 492). And when, in this connexion, Roe speaks of "a pillar with a Grieke inscription" as being found at Delhi, one may perhaps suggest some faint recollection of the Aśoka pillars brought thither by Firōz Shāh Tughlak.

The geographical account—especially when compared with the map—presents some rather striking difficulties. What e.g. is *Bankish* (or *Banchish*), of which "the cheefe citty is called Beishur" (p. 491)? As, according to the map, it is clearly situated within the Rechuā Doāb it seems rather far-fetched to identify it either with Bangash and Bajaur or with Peshāwar. Clearly no modern names so far suggest themselves for identification. Jaunpur, situated on the Gūmti, is said to be "upon the river of Kaul" (p. 493); now Sārdā in its upper part is certainly known as the Kālī (Gaṅgā) but, unfortunately, that does not help us at all. Most bewildering of all is the notice on p. 494: "*Vdeza*. The cheefe citty called Jekanat. It is the utmost east of the Mogulls territories beyond the Bay, and confines with the kingdome of Maug, a savuage people lyeing betweene Udeza and Pegu?" Now, the obvious inference is—as Sir William Foster has duly pointed out—that "Udeza" and "Jekanat" simply mean Orissa and Jagannāth, which have here been grossly misplaced. Moreover, there is in the account itself no mention of Orissa; but the map has it in the Portuguese spelling "Orixa" and in its correct place. Probably the thing is a quite simple mistake; but we still feel beset with a slight doubt whether it is really as simple as that, the information concerning the position of this mysterious "Udeza" being singularly complete and decisive.<sup>1</sup>

But we prefer to leave aside idle and unprofitable speculations, and sum up our short review with repeated thanks to Sir William Foster for his latest splendid service to Indian historical research.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

<sup>1</sup> There is certainly in Eastern Bengal in the Tangail subdivision of the Mymensingh Districts a place called *Jagannāthganj*. But it is a wholly insignificant one; and it has an earlier history it is, unfortunately, totally unknown to the present writer.

WARREN HASTINGS' LETTERS TO SIR JOHN MACPHERSON. Edited by Professor HENRY DODWELL, M.A. pp. 218. London: Faber and Gwyer, 1927.

Gradually private archives are yielding up their treasures, partly through the instrumentality of the Historical MSS. Commission, partly (as in the present instance) by the spontaneous action of their owners. How valuable such material often is in taking us behind the scenes need not be stressed; and we are grateful to the Macpherson family for permitting these important letters to be published, and to the publishers for issuing them in so attractive a form and for selecting so capable an editor as Professor Dodwell. His introduction is an admirable piece of work, packed with interesting information; while his notes provide sufficient explanation of the text without overloading the page with mere comment.

The collection comprises over a hundred documents. With a few exceptions (of which a note from Mrs. Hastings is the most interesting) they are all private letters from Hastings to Macpherson. A dozen were written when Macpherson was either at Madras or in England, and two are dated after the departure of Hastings from India; but the bulk of them belong to the period from the autumn of 1781, when Macpherson joined the Bengal Council, to February, 1785, when he succeeded Hastings as Governor-General. The letters are somewhat unevenly distributed over this period, being naturally more frequent when one of the correspondents was absent from Calcutta. This renders the course of events less obvious and the reader cannot altogether dispense with the concurrent study of other sources of information.

One thing at all events these letters show, and that is the absurdity of the statement made in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that throughout their nominal co-operation "Macpherson offered a regular, but unintelligent, opposition to the measures of Warren Hastings". At no time was there persistent opposition, and what there was cannot be stigmatized as unintelligent. On Macpherson's arrival we find him welcomed with effusion by Hastings, who calls him his "dear friend" and is "certain that we shall ever have one opinion"; and it is only by degrees that the correspondence grows constrained, though outwardly still friendly. This divergence seems to have arisen partly from Hastings' own character, which had the defects of its merits. It is evident that he always went into the Council with his mind already made up, and was inclined to regard any difference of opinion with

a certain amount of impatience. If all his colleagues disagreed with him, this did not shake his faith in his own conclusions, but merely led him to suspect an intrigue against himself. Naturally, such an attitude was apt to nettle his associates ; and it is significant that of all the latter the subservient Barwell was the only one that did not become restive under such treatment. So far as one can judge, Macpherson at first did his best to avoid controversy with his masterful friend ; but he had his own responsibilities and interests to consider, and clashes of opinion were bound to occur at times. The chief subject of these appears to have been of a financial character. Hastings, strained and overworked, with his attention fixed on broader issues, listened with small patience to counsels of economy. Macpherson, on the other hand, fresh from England and well aware of the importance attached at home to the making of large retrenchments in expenditure, lost no opportunity of advocating this course. How far he was actuated by lofty motives, how far by consideration of his own interests, can hardly be determined ; but we can scarcely blame him if he took a line which he knew would commend him to the home authorities. He was only 36 when he arrived in Calcutta ; it was known that Hastings would retire before long, and Wheler, who alone stood between the two, was a dozen years older than Macpherson. The latter's prospects of succeeding to the supreme post were therefore bright, provided the Directors were sufficiently satisfied with the men on the spot to refrain from sending out a new Governor-General from home. In such circumstances it is no wonder that Macpherson persisted in his endeavours to secure economies and in his opposition to Hastings' policy in other directions. The latter in his turn began to suspect his colleague of intriguing against him ; and thus the friendship, once so fervent, gradually died.

There are four illustrations to the volume, viz. two portraits (Hastings and Macpherson) and two facsimiles. Of the latter, one is of the note from Mrs. Hastings already mentioned ; the other reproduces a short communication from Hastings himself, scribbled on a slip of paper an inch broad, and evidently intended to be rolled up and placed in a quill. for concealment on the person of the bearer.

W. FOSTER.

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THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1668-9. By Sir WILLIAM FOSTER. pp. x + 343. Clarendon Press, 1927. 18s. net.

No student of Indian history but will learn with regret that the present volume is to bring Sir William Foster's series of calendars to a conclusion. The thirteen volumes that he has published are marked by an unvarying standard of scholarship and accuracy ; and to have achieved this over so long a period and through so extensive a work is no uncertain sign of qualities that every historian must envy. The principal topic of the two years here covered is the transfer of Bombay to the Company ; and with this beginning (as indeed it was) of the Company's dominion in India, it is singular to note how men immediately turned to matters of administration and policy in a way that curiously anticipates the future course of events. When Bombay is fortified and peopled with Englishmen, we read, " you [the Company] will be in a better condition to call your neighbours to accompt for past affronts," while the factors of Surat, Aungier at their head, hope to make the " Moors " instrumental in its settlement, " and this we hold and declare to be a more successful policy . . . than . . . an high and violent deportment." It was indeed with the willing co-operation of Indians that the Company's dominion was to be established and expanded. Another remarkable and significant episode was the visit of certain Hindu merchants of Surat to Aungier asking to receive asylum at Bombay from the persecutions of the Qazi of Surat. Aungier thought that the time was not ripe to comply with such requests, but the proposal was significant of the changes that were taking place. Along with this incident should be noted the proposal to print " the ancient Braminy writings " and to teach English to the inhabitants of Bombay according to their desire. The other main topic recorded in this volume is the recovery of Madras from Sir Edward Winter who was more than half expected to offer armed resistance to the orders sent out. Accordingly elaborate precautions were taken, both in regard to the forces sent with, and to the instructions given to, the commissioners empowered either to accept Winter's submission or to compel his surrender. They proved needless, since Winter submitted on condition of security of person and estate ; but the events were curious, and Sir William Foster's narrative contains many details that are not to be found in Colonel Love's account.

H. D.

THE CLASH OF CULTURES AND THE CONTACT OF RACES. By G. H. L. PITT-RIVERS. pp. xiv + 312. Routledge, 1927. 18s.

This volume is specifically concerned with the influence exerted over the population of the Pacific islands by contact with European and especially English civilization. But its interest is wider than that, for it evidently has a close bearing on the general question of culture-contacts. Mr. Pitt-Rivers discusses the usual explanations of the decline of subject-populations, but finds them all inadequate. New diseases, alcohol, insanitary habits, infant-mortality, and so on, are all, he contends, insufficient to explain the progressive decline which set in only after contact with European civilization had been established. The idea that this decline was already in progress before that event he very properly dismisses as unsupported by valid evidence. The real explanation he finds in the psychological factors introduced by foreign dominion and missionary enterprise. These two in combination have led to the destruction of the native cultures and the disruption of native society. "Every weakening of the clan tie," he truly says, "every blow aimed at the authority of the clan or tribal chief, destroys the social purpose of each member of the clan or tribe. That alone in a true and literal sense demoralizes him." The power of the sorcerer, the mystic tabus, the polygamous family, all of which, Mr. Pitt-Rivers holds, have their real value in the circumstances in which they arose, are attacked by well-intentioned administrators and missionaries, who in the past seldom really attempted to understand what they were attacking. This has given rise to a deep-seated moral unrest. The motives for action are destroyed; the sanctions of tribal morals disappear; the society disintegrates. These moral phenomena are accompanied, we are told, by a singular physical phenomenon. There arises a tendency for male to predominate over female births, which leads to the gradual disappearance of the race.

Some of the links in the author's chain of argument are doubtless weaker than others. But two points seem clear enough. One is that the indiscriminate destruction of native social customs is a terrible error; the other, that the psychological results of modifications in the social system deserves more study than they have actually received. It is easy enough to change culture-forms and culture-accessories; to abolish a people's traditions, customs, and social organization on the one side, and to give them a whole new set of tools and implements on the other. But the culture-potential—the ability to react in a given manner to a given social environment—is a very different



matter. In fact the Pacific islanders react to our social ideas by dying out. It may be added that the Indian seems to react to our political ideas not at all in the manner in which we expected.

Even if we cannot go all the way with Mr. Pitt-Rivers, we should all agree on the need both for the administrator and the missionary closely to study the world in which they are to act ; and we should all confess that wherever we have come into contact with cultures different from our own, we have always been over-eager to substitute ours—our law, our faith, our ideas—for theirs. The heaviest errors that we have committed in the course of our long history in India have been due to such well-intentioned but ill-fruited endeavours. And from this point of view the studies of Mr. Pitt-Rivers may very profitably be considered even by those who have no direct interest in the world of the Pacific.

H. DODWELL.

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CHEIKH MOHAMMED ABDOU. *RISSALAT AL TAWHID*: Exposé de la Religion musulmane. Traduite de l'arabe, avec une introduction sur la vie et les idées du Cheikh Mohammed Abdou, par B. MICHEL ET LE CHEIKH MOUSTAPHA ABDEL RAZIK. pp. lxxxviii + 147. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1925.

The object of this handsomely produced volume is to reveal to a Western audience the life and doctrines of one of the most notable Egyptians of recent times, who indeed stands out as the leading figure of Modernism in Sunni Islam. The biographical introduction, written by two sympathetic scholars and enlivened with extracts from the Sheikh's autobiography, together with the notes furnished by the translators, will be of great service to the general reader in his perusal of the *Risālah*.

From *Fellāh* to Grand Mufti, from Sufism to Rationalism, this, very briefly, was the course of 'Abdu's eventful life in its outward and inward aspects. How Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī shook him out of his mystic speculations and headed him for the turmoil of politics, his term of professorship at the Dār al-'Ulūm where his contempt for *Taklīd* enraged the conservative party, his three years' banishment for having supported Arabi Pasha, the reunion with Jamāl ad-Dīn in Paris and their short-lived propagandist venture "‘Urwat al-Wuthqa", his return home, to resume, with notable success, the campaign of educational and religious reform, his election to the Legislative

Council, soon followed by promotion to the highest dignity open to a learned Moslem—all this, together with a resumé of his religious views, is set forth sympathetically in the introduction.

The *Risālah* is much more than an 'Aḳīdah of the ordinary type. It is a complete exposition of the Muhammadan religion, in which morals receive equal treatment with dogma. The author's aim is to present a rational interpretation of Islam; indeed he is convinced that only in this faith do religion and reason meet. Like many other reformers, 'Abdu insisted on an unprejudiced scrutiny of the title-deeds of the faith. He must first restore the primitive simplicity of Islam, and in his fight against *Taḳlīd* he went further than any of his predecessors. All he would accept as dogmatic sources is the Koran and a few Ḥadīths. His method recalls that of some Protestant reformers, and indeed he goes so far as to assert that certain Protestant sects are in complete accord with pure Islam, save for their attitude to the question of Muḥammad's status. The compliment once paid by Queen Elizabeth to the religion of the Prophet is here returned with interest.

His proof of the existence of God is of the traditional Aristotelian kind. God's attributes—life, knowledge, will, omnipotence, freedom, unity—may be apprehended by reason alone. The "revealed" attributes, however, sight, hearing, etc., are to be accepted metaphorically. On the once momentous question as to whether the Koran is "created" or not, 'Abdu takes the middle road, namely, that the "source" of the word of God is an eternal attribute of His essence, but that all manifestations of this attribute, including the words composing the Koran, are part of creation. Here his modernist fervour causes him to credit some of the great orthodox Imams with views similar to his own, and to suggest that even Ibn Ḥanbal was somewhat of a Mu'tazilite at heart.

"L'Histoire . . . nous a transmis aussi que certains imams refusèrent de professer que le Coran est créé. Il faut en voir la cause simplement dans leur désir de s'abstenir dans une querelle aussi passionnée et dans un excès de politesse vis-à-vis de leur adversaire; on ne peut l'expliquer autrement, car nous croyons que l'imam Ibn Hanbal était d'un esprit trop distingué pour croire que le Coran est incréé, tout en le lisant chaque nuit avec sa bouche et en le reconstituant ainsi par sa voix." (p. 33.)

That Ibn Ḥanbal was in deadly earnest about the eternity of the Koran is difficult to deny; the jail and the lash both failed to make

him confess otherwise, and to endure such things out of "un excès de politesse" would appear to be carrying politeness much too far.

There is an interesting chapter on free will, in which 'Abdu rightly repudiates the subtle and impotent logic of the schools. Properly understood, man's control of his actions does not imply *Shirk*.

"Je le répète, le dogme de l'Unité de Dieu n'exige du croyant que deux choses : d'abord la croyance que Dieu a chargé l'homme d'exercer ses facultés, et que par conséquent, l'homme acquiert par lui-même sa foi et la force d'accomplir les devoirs religieux que Dieu lui a imposés : en second lieu la croyance que la puissance de Dieu est au-dessus des facultés de l'homme, qu'elle seule a le pouvoir suprême pour parachever ce que l'homme entreprend, en levant les obstacles qu'il trouve sur son chemin." (p. 44.)

Here follow some words of wisdom deploring the tyranny of pre-conceptions. However, his exposition of the "Seal of Prophecy" (which, like much else in the book, shows influence of European thought) illustrates how hardly shall an apologist escape that same tyranny.

"Les religions vinrent à un moment où les hommes étaient . . . dans un état semblable à celui de l'enfant qui vient de naître. . . . De même ces religions prirent les hommes par des ordres catégoriques et des prohibitions rigoureuses . . . elles leur imposèrent des préceptes qui étaient faciles à comprendre. . . . Puis des siècles passèrent . . . les hommes acquirent un sentiment plus délicat que le sens . . . mais ce sentiment ne dépassait pas celui qui émeut le cœur de la femme . . . et une religion vint qui parla à ce sentiment, qui fit appel à l'amour. . . . Cette religion apporta aux hommes des préceptes d'ascétisme qui éloignent de ce monde . . . Enfin arriva un âge où l'humanité parvint à sa maturité . . . alors vint l'Islam qui s'adressa à la raison . . . qu'il associa aux sentiments et aux sens, pour conduire l'homme à sa félicité dans ce monde et dans l'autre." (pp. 112-15.)

In clearer terms, the Torah, the Psalmists, the Prophets of Israel, the Hakhamim, Jesus and St. Paul offer interpretations of life suitable only for primitive epochs. Man's mental and spiritual faculties reach maturity about A.D. 600, in time for the Koran to fit neat and triumphant into a theory of religious evolution.

On the question of Islamic tolerance we have no opinion to express,

but Sheikh 'Abdu's method of exposition is here too startling to pass unnoticed. He makes eloquent statements, some of them doubtless in accord with documentary evidence, which group themselves in the following order and amount to this (pp. 124-30): (1) Islam's attitude to subject races was pacific; (2) If at times it was not pacific, neither was that of other dominant religions; (3) If at times it was not pacific, this was the will of God.

"On dit que l'Islam était animé d'un esprit de combat, nous répondrons: la loi de Dieu veut que dans ce monde la lutte ne cesse jamais entre la vérité et l'erreur, entre la bonne voie et l'égarement, jusqu'à ce que Dieu prononce son jugement entre eux. Lorsque Dieu envoie sa rosée sur une terre stérile, pour la vivifier, l'abreuver et augmenter sa fertilité, est-ce que la valeur de cette eau est diminuée par le fait d'avoir franchi une digue ou détruit une maison qu'elle a rencontrée sur son chemin?" (p. 130.)

The translators in a footnote condemn this as a "justification plutôt faible", their rationalist author being for the moment submerged by a wave of undiluted theocracy.

Leaving aside, however, such extravagances which are more or less incident to all apologetics, one cannot fail to recognize in the *Risālah* the work of a vigorous and ingenious mind. In this translation we have a welcome addition to the researches of Professor Horten in the same field, and the general reader will get from it a clear idea of how a considerable section of Moslem intellectuals in contact with Western thought have faced the moral and theological issues of Islam.

A. S. FULTON.

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1925. Volume I: The Islamic World since the Peace Settlement. By Professor A. J. TOYNBEE. 10s. 6d.

This well printed, accurately written and amply documented book which if printed on thicker paper and adequately advertised might well sell at forty-two shillings or so, is in all respects a remarkable contribution to the comparatively modern art of writing history without bias.

"Pour bien scavoir les choses," wrote La Rochefoucauld, "il faut en scavoir le détail." But he lived before the days of "open diplomacy" and at a period when, alike in diplomacy, science, art,

and letters, the written counted less than the spoken word, and personal rather than national ambitions made history and swayed States.

Agreeably to La Rochefoucauld's maxim, Professor Toynbee has studied the details of every political movement in the countries dealt with in this volume, so far as they are accessible to him in documentary form and in European languages, and a large part of the book may not unfairly be described as a masterly and scholarly précis of these documents. But he is well aware that to make the dry bones live something more is required, and he is at pains, in almost every chapter, to throw some light on the principal personalities on the stage, and on the national or sectional feelings of which they were, sometimes successively, the inspirers, the leaders, the tools, and the victims. He has succeeded in doing so only less notably than in the difficult art of compiling a continuous narrative from the unwieldly mass of literature of very unequal value which pours upon his table from half a dozen different countries.

To attempt within the compass of a brief review to criticize his presentation of the facts cited regarding any particular State is impossible, and indeed a careful perusal by the present reviewer of those chapters dealing within his purview discloses remarkably few passages to which exception could reasonably be taken.

Professor Toynbee's summaries are seldom tendencious, and almost never unfair to the contending parties; his mission, under the conditions of Sir Daniel Stevenson's endowment of the Chair of International History at the University of London, is to write history "internationally and *as far as practicable* without bias".

The italics are the writer's, but we fancy that Professor Toynbee must often have been tempted mentally to italicize the saving reservation. For history without bias, like a woman without virtue, as say the Afghans, is an egg without salt.

But the volume before us is by no means insipid, nor is it uncoloured by the mental attitude of the author, whose wholesome optimism, and readiness to give credit, where due, for good intentions, strike a note which is notably absent from the works of writers of the type of Mr. George Young, whose recent book on Egypt not only lowers the tone of the series to which it belongs, but seeks to rouse in Egypt that very spirit of distrust which his party professes so earnestly to deplore.

Perhaps the most questionable thesis in Professor Toynbee's

work is implicit in its title. Is there an "Islamic World"? In other words, are the principal races professing Islam (for this book does not attempt to deal with the great Islamic populations of East and West Africa, Zanzibar, China, Netherlands India, or even of Oman. knit together by a common bond of sentiment, of interest or of ideas in virtue of their religion and peculiar thereto? The question is fundamental; to ask it is to invite a variety of answers. Our author obviously holds that the Islamic world does in fact possess cultural and social unity; he claims that it has shown no tendency to become divided against itself on racial lines (p. 2), a statement which is not borne out by the relations between Persia and Turkey or between Persia and the Turkman tribes for the past three centuries, nor by the attitude of the subjects by the present ruler of Nejd towards Egyptian and Indian Muslims.

On the contrary, the origin of the schism which has since the eighth century sharply divided the people of Persia and the bulk of the Arabs of Mesopotamia from the rest of the world was in its origin primarily racial, and the racial factor is in the Middle East to-day as powerful as it ever has been.

The present reviewer feels, moreover, that in the present volume the conflict of Islamic with Western countries, and the geographically "commanding position" of Islam is overstressed.

"The prolongation of the Black Sea route—overland to the oilfields of Baku and across the Caspian to Central Asia", says our author, "was commanded by the Muslim countries of Azerbaijan and Trans-Caspia." Both these regions have in point of fact been little more than downtrodden satellites of Russia for the last thirty years or more, and have to-day no corporate existence as Islamic entities. The new Mediterranean route from Europe to India could not be "commanded" as Professor Toynbee states by the Moroccan coast unless the latter were in the hands of one of the great powers, and he has, in our opinion, greatly over-estimated the importance of the automobile and air routes which have been opened since the war leading from the Eastern Mediterranean to Iraq and Persia. The immediate effect of these routes has been, if anything, to emphasize the antipathy of Iraqis towards Syrians, and of Persians towards Iraqis—antipathies which there is some reason to fear will leave more than a transitory mark on the political developments of the next ten years in these countries.

Nor are we disposed to accept Professor Toynbee's estimate of

the positive importance in international politics of post-war renaissance movements in Turkey, Persia, Egypt, and Iraq, still less the suggestion (p. 5) that mineral oil deposits in Iraq may, if successfully developed, confer great wealth and power upon whatever parties obtained territorial control thereof.

Let us for the sake of argument assume—and it is a very large assumption—that within ten years the export of oil from Iraq will reach the stupendous figure of five million tons annually. The royalty payable to the Iraq Government by the concessionaires at the rate of four shillings a ton (a very high figure) will then amount to one million pounds—say 6s. 8d. per head of the population, or one-fifth of the present gross revenue from all sources—a substantial sum but not sufficient radically to alter prevailing economic conditions. It is true that on the analogy of Persia development of an oil industry on this scale might well give employment to some 20,000 or so of the present inhabitants of Iraq, and would involve a remunerative expenditure in the country on wages and local supplies, etc., of some £2,000,000 a year: but even 20,000 is less than 1 per cent of the present population, and there would be a much more marked tendency in Iraq than in Persia for them to be drawn from agriculture, and the net gain to the country, though very substantial, would be less than appears at first sight, and the rapid development of industrial concerns in a pastoral country, however carefully and however benevolently undertaken, is liable to bring other troubles in its train. The truth is that it is not the possession of mineral resources that brings wealth or power so much as the ability to harness them for the service of man: only if Iraq and Persia can effectively utilize their soil, their water, their agricultural products, and in the case of Persia their forests and fisheries, by their own enterprise, may they hope to recapture their ancient glories.

These and other speculations arise naturally from this suggestive and stimulating book, which will long remain an indispensable work of reference.

But it is not possible to regard it as a safe guide in every case: the presentation of the facts regarding Ibn Saud's dealings with the British, and the comments on his policy, admittedly a highly controversial subject, will scarcely be accepted by those with personal knowledge of these matters without reservations. Ibn Saud's services to us were greater than Professor Toynbee admits, and it is impossible to take seriously the suggestion, in a communicated footnote (p. 283),

that the military importance of the operations of the Hijazi forces in Syria is to be gauged by the fact that they accounted for 65,000 Turkish troops at a cost of £100 a head of subsidy, whereas in the British army's operations against the Turks, each Turkish casualty cost from £1,500 to £2,000 !

In the first place we have been given to understand that Hijazi co-operation cost the British taxpayer £6,000,000 (p. 273) or according to another authority £10,000,000 (T. E. Graves, *Sunday Times*, 30th July, 1927) not £650,000 ; in the second place, if this argument is sound, the British Navy was surely an inefficient weapon during the War, seeing how few enemy nationals it killed, and at what high cost, compared to the Army. Such comparisons have only to be made to be rejected as ridiculous.

It remains to testify alike to the excellence of the printing and of the indexing, by a member of the Library Staff of the School of Oriental Studies, and to draw attention to the system of transliteration employed, which is in certain respects unique and must have cost more labour than would have been involved by the adoption of the system of the British Academy, which Professor Toynbee rejects on what will seem to many readers insufficient grounds. Surely the people of Persia belong to the Shi'ah (not Shi'i) persuasion : the name of the former wife of Mustafa Kemal should be written Edib Khanum (not Khanym), and the anglicized plural of Turkman should not be "Turkmens". It may be also pointed out that Mr. Ameer Ali would be more correctly described as the Right Hon. Syed Ameer Ali, P.C., and that the British representative in Bahrayn is a Political Agent, not a Consul.

A. T. WILSON.

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AN ENGLISH-ARABIC DICTIONARY OF MEDICINE, BIOLOGY, AND ALLIED SCIENCES. By Dr. MUHAMMAD SHARAF, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P. Cairo : Government Press, 1926.

This work is something more than an ordinary dictionary of technical terms. For many years there has been considerable controversy in the Arabic world on the possibility and advisability of advanced scientific, and especially medical, instruction in Arabic. At present the medium of instruction in all scientific subjects is French or English, except at the medical school in Damascus, where Arabic was substituted for Turkish as the language of instruction



during the Faysal regime, and has remained so until now.<sup>1</sup> The opponents of Arabicization urge that the absence of a technical vocabulary in Arabic militates against sound teaching, and further that it is inadvisable in any case, since it would involve the severance of Arabic medicine and scientific study from direct contact with European research. The new dictionary is almost certain to play a part in these controversies, whether Dr. Sharaf had them in mind or not.

It is necessary in the first place to pay a very high tribute to the skill and scholarship displayed by the author. To undertake single-handed a work, which would be no light task for a commission, and to produce in six years a dictionary of this size, the most complete of its kind in Arabic,<sup>2</sup> based on the great mediaeval lexicons and treatises as well as modern scientific works, is evidence of an industry and energy which, if it had been more general, would long since have solved these problems. The labour and thought given by Dr. Sharaf to its compilation is scarcely to be realized by those who find a technical vocabulary ready to their hands in any emergency. The result is a dictionary which, whatever its deficiencies, is of the greatest value and utility, and it is with no intention of minimizing real achievement that the following criticisms are made. For, in view of what has been said, the main question to be asked is not whether this dictionary supplies accurate renderings of European technical terms, but whether it does in fact supply a satisfactory technical vocabulary in Arabic for the medical and other sciences.

It is of the essence of technical nomenclature that each word shall express accurately and unmistakably one and not more than one concept, within the limits of a given science, with the corollary that in a technical vocabulary there will be few or no synonyms. For this reason technical writers have found it necessary to avoid in general simple terms taken from the ordinary vernaculars and possessing an undefined range of meaning, as well as a large number of terms

<sup>1</sup> In the Medical School at Cairo, founded by Clot Bey in 1826 and transferred to Qasr el-'Ayni in 1837, all lectures were either given in or translated into Arabic, until its reorganization in 1898, when English was made the language of instruction. See Zaydān, *Ta'rikh ādāb al-lughah al-'arabiyyah*, vol. iv, pp. 37-43.

<sup>2</sup> An English-Arabic medical dictionary by Dr. Khalīl Khayrallāh was published in Cairo in 1892 (see *al-Hilāl*, vol. i, 287) and a second by Dr. Ibrāhīm Maṣṣūr a few months later (*ibid.*, ii, 63). The famous traveller at-Tūnisī (d. 1857) compiled a dictionary of medical terms, now in Paris (*Bibl. Nat.*, Fonds arabe 4641), but it seems never to have been published (*Zaydān*, *op. cit.*, 206-7).

employed in earlier stages of scientific development. The European scholar, fortunately for him, has found in the classical languages an almost inexhaustible source upon which to draw for new technical terms, with the further advantage that words so coined are easily adaptable for international scientific intercourse.

Those who would create an Arabic technical vocabulary are faced with considerable difficulties. What is the basis of such a vocabulary to be? A large number would and do use the European terms outright; but this apparently most reasonable course is hindered by the clumsiness of accurate transliteration, which leads most writers to retain Roman characters for such words, in addition to the æsthetic objection that they can never be anything but a monstrosity in Arabic vocabulary. Others seek to adapt European terms to the genius of the Arabic language by a process of hybridizing. They propose, for example, كبريتاة (*sic*) for Sulphate. دبسروز for Glucose.<sup>1</sup> It would be a long and difficult task to supply equivalents of this type for all European technical terms, and it is scarcely surprising that any movement in this direction is confined to philological experts, in spite of the precedent set by the Arabicization of Greek and Persian terms in the ninth and tenth centuries. The third, and at present most congenial course open to Arabic scientists, is to utilize the resources of the Arabic language itself, either by resuscitating the technical terms used by the mediaeval physicians, etc., or by creating new words on recognized Arabic formulae, such as محرار for thermometer. The difficulty of satisfactorily applying many of the mediaeval terms to modern conceptions needs no elaborating, but there is a much more serious problem than this. In the absence of any co-ordinating authority, every man is a law unto himself, to choose, apply, convert, or invent his own terms. No one familiar with the Arabic language will have any difficulty in picturing the result, and how fatal it is to any hope of attaining uniformity and precision.

It will be clear after all this that at present there is no little confusion in the matter of Arabic technical nomenclature, and that scientific work would find it hard to make shift without recourse to European terms in case of need. To bring order out of chaos requires the bold handling and judgment of a *mujtahid*. It may be said at once that such was probably not the aim, as it is certainly not the effect, of Dr. Sharaf's work. The dictionary as a whole reflects the

<sup>1</sup> See the Baghdad journal *Loghat el-Arab*, vol. iv, 33 ff.

present state of hesitation between purely European terms and purely Arabic terms, gives not infrequently half a dozen synonyms for the commoner technical terms, and finds itself in consequence using the same word to express totally different concepts. In other words, Dr. Sharaf has often confined himself to listing the translations actually used without subjecting them to thorough examination. No other explanation can account for such facts as the appearance of the same word (ذَرَى) to translate both "atomic" and "molecular", while on the other hand "atomic weight" (وزن ذرى) is distinguished from "molecular weight" (وزن جُزئى). If the dictionary shows any tendency at all, it is rather towards the employment and resuscitation of Arabic terms, though without showing any aversion from European terms. One would have liked more stressing of preferences when alternative words are given, though occasionally a preference is shown indirectly. *Fossa*, for example, is rendered by four different words, but حفرة is used in all cases but one of twenty-nine specific *fossae* grouped under the main heading.

The dictionary is weakest, as might be expected, when it registers attempts to adapt old Arabic terms to new uses. It is worth while looking a little more closely into an instance of this. Under "Rachitis, Rickets" we are given the following entry: — كَسَاح — حَثَل — كَسَاحَة. كَسَح. A very brief investigation of these words will show that كَسَح is used of being crippled in legs or arms, defined more closely in *Lisān al-'Arab* as "having a heaviness in one leg and dragging it in walking". It may be urged in reply that even if كَسَح or كَسَاح had originally a different meaning, every doctor nowadays would take them to mean rickets. But in the first place any modern dictionary (Bustani, Elias, Spiro, or the new Centennial) is evidence that كَسَح and its derivatives are constantly used for "lameness", "crippled", etc. Secondly, if كَسَاح is satisfactory in spite of this, why حَثَل, which flies even more wide of the mark, since the word means simply "mal-nutrition" (سوء الرضاع, see *Tāj al-'Arūs*)? Granted that mal-nutrition may be the cause of rickets, surely cause and effect are scarcely so identical as to be rendered by the same word. For "rickety" we are given مَكْسَح — نِهِيك — مِنْهوك. In ordinary usage

مَكْسَح simply means crippled, as we have seen; as for نَهِيك the nearest among its six or seven possible meanings is "enfeebled by disease", and Dr. Sharaf himself gives it (along with three alternative adjectives) for "debilitated". Let it be added, however, that Dr. Sharaf is in no way responsible for these and similar instances of "technical" terms. It is to be feared that the same fortune awaits most attempts to adapt old words. If Arabic roots are to be used, it is clear that the case can be met only by devising new formulæ, such as (to suggest a formula purely by way of illustration) كَاسُوحَة, with كَاسُوحِي as its adjective.

There is still one other point, if a minor one, in regard to which care is required if confusion is to be avoided. Owing to the absence of the short vowel signs, terms which are distinct in pronunciation may be ambiguous in print. أَمْرَاضٌ مَعْدِيَّة may mean, for example, either "infectious diseases" (مَعْدِيَّة) or "gastric diseases" (مَعْدِيَّة). Dr. Sharaf puts مَعْتَد first in his list of synonyms for "infectious", and however it may shock linguistic purists, it is certainly an improvement on the more commonly used مَعْد from the point of view of clarity.

Dr. Sharaf's dictionary, then, is clearly not the last word on these subjects, but it will disappoint all observers of the modern Arabic revival if it does not lead others to take stock of the situation. Those upon whom his mantle may fall should indeed be grateful for the pioneer labours of him who, with great personal effort, has cleared the way and made it possible for them to take that indispensable step for any further progress, a comprehensive survey of the field.

H. A. R. G.

#### A GRAMMAR OF THE COLLOQUIAL ARABIC OF SYRIA AND PALESTINE.

By G. R. DRIVER, M.A. London: Probsthain, 1925. 12s. 6d. net.

Mr. Driver would have been better advised had he omitted the words "A Grammar of" from his title. To say this, however, in no way disparages the value of the materials collected in this book. The grammatical and syntactical structure of the common speech of Syria, with its local dialect variations, is very fully set out, and each rule is admirably illustrated by practical examples, the collection of which must represent no small labour. A bibliography of European

books and articles on Syrian colloquial is added. The omission from this of Arabic works on or in Syrian colloquial was probably intentional ; though one reader at least would have welcomed some reference to such books as the late Ilyās Bey Qudsi's translation of Lafontaine's fables into Damascene colloquial (*Nawādir rafukāhāt*, Damascus 1913). Such criticisms as the present reviewer feels competent to make are based mainly upon his own experience of its use as a practical manual.

It is a little difficult to decide the exact aim which Mr. Driver set himself. It would appear from the introduction that his first draft consisted of a manual of spoken usage compiled on the spot, to which a survey of dialect forms was afterwards added from the published works of other investigators. From the student's point of view it is a pity that this was done, Its effect has been to turn the work into a description of Syrian colloquial rather than a practical grammar, and has rendered it difficult to follow and confusing to anyone who aims at acquiring a working knowledge of average Syrian speech. A further complication is provided by the introduction of details of "classical" written usage (e.g. the orthography of hamza), and it is curious to find in a professedly colloquial grammar words and forms constantly labelled "(coll.)". Enough attention has hardly been given to the problem of accent, and the section which deals with it specifically is brief and unsatisfactory, pitch and length not being clearly distinguished. There are occasional signs of an effort to attain theoretical completeness ; it is, for example, difficult to imagine that the clumsy and ambiguous phrase given on page 158 for "the dirty blade of the second-hand knife" would ever in practice be used. But these criticisms amount after all to little more than that Mr. Driver has produced a book for the scholar rather than the student. With this reservation it can be heartily commended.

H. A. R. GIBB.

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MANUEL DE BERBÈRE MAROCAIN (DIALECTE RIFAIN). Par Commandant JUSTINARD. pp. viii + 168. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1926.

This is a useful little book on the Riff dialect. This dialect is very much the same as that spoken in Kabylia, near Algiers, although, as René Basset, says, the Riffs soften several of the Kabyle consonants.

The book consists of a grammar, some useful phrases, a vocabulary which is full of Arabic loan-words, and a few tales.

P. P. H. HASLUCK.

## A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE MELANESIAN ISLAND LANGUAGES.

By SIDNEY HERBERT RAY.  $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ , pp. xvi + 598, 6 maps.  
Cambridge: University Press, published for the University of  
Melbourne in association with the Melbourne University Press,  
1926.

This is the biggest piece of work that has been done on the Melanesian languages, and it constitutes a fitting counterpart to Codrington's great pioneer volume (*The Melanesian Languages*, 1885) without overlapping it to any appreciable extent. Mr. S. H. Ray has for a long time past been the recognized authority on the comparative study of this group of languages (as well as on a good many other forms of speech) and his present work is the mature fruit of many years of patient labour.

The task of a student of Melanesian is not an easy one. The languages are numerous and very various. They are written in a bewildering variety of systems of spelling, so that the same Roman letter often represents quite different sounds in different languages and sometimes it is not altogether certain what sound is meant. The sources are in many cases very inadequate, occasionally merely scrappy vocabularies, often translations of Scripture in which the given language may or may not have been distorted by the European medium through which it has passed; genuine native texts taken down *verbatim* are comparatively rare.

With all these difficulties the author has had to grapple, and some of them, e.g. the diverse symbolization of sounds, also inevitably affect the reader, although in the comparative portions of his book Mr. Ray has done his best to introduce uniformity of representation. I confess that, as a non-expert in Melanesian tongues, I should have preferred to have all the material presented throughout on a uniform system. But the book includes grammars of about thirty different languages, and having regard, no doubt, to their use alongside of the corresponding texts already published elsewhere, there is a certain advantage in retaining the spelling of the latter in the grammars also.

In the first part of the book (to p. 74), after defining the limits of his work (i.e. substantially the central portion of Melanesia, from the Loyalty Islands to Buka, north of Bougainville), the author deals with the early records of these languages (beginning with the sixteenth century) and the history of their comparative study, the representation of sounds (already referred to), the lexicographical relation of Melanesian to Indonesian (with a short comparative vocabulary in

illustration of it), the Melanesian root and word-formation, and Indonesian grammar in Melanesian. These last few sections are justified by the peculiar nature of the connexion between the Indonesian and Melanesian families, a relation which some recent authors have minimized, misrepresented, or even denied altogether, and which still awaits more precise definition.

The second part of the work treats in detail the various Melanesian groups, that fall within its limits and includes the numerous grammars (mostly of New Hebridean languages) already referred to. It also deals with the comparison of the Melanesian groups with Indonesian, especially as regards their phonology and lexicography. In these numerous comparative sections the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands, taken together, constitute the *pièce de résistance*. The grammars seem to have been done very carefully. No general comparison in detail is made between them, and perhaps this would at present have been premature. But they will serve as materials for the comparative grammar of the future, which, as they appear to differ a great deal amongst themselves, will be no simple matter. The comparison of the recognizably Indonesian element in the Melanesian languages brings out the important fact that it is very much more prominent in some of the languages than in others. This, we are told, appears most clearly in their lexicography, and has a vital bearing on the question of the relation of Melanesian to Indonesian.

A brief final chapter is devoted to the statement of this problem. It is a difficult one, the old problem, really, of what should constitute the basis of a classification of languages. In dealing with inflected forms of speech the matter is comparatively simple; the morphological system has been taken as the principal, or sole, criterion. When, however, as in the present case, we have practically nothing that can be strictly called inflection, the problem becomes much more difficult to handle. Throughout Melanesia, apparently, the greater part of the vocabulary of any given language or small local group stands by itself and cannot be linked up with anything else, while a minority of the words (varying in percentage of the whole vocabulary from a very small proportion to a substantial amount) is clearly Indonesian. The fact (if it is indeed already an established fact) that, apart from the Indonesian element, there are no cross-connexions between the several Melanesian groups, is of the very first importance. It amounts to a very strong argument against the existence of a Melanesian family of languages in any proper sense of the word. That each sub-group

should have a large number of words peculiar to itself, would not prove much against the unity of the whole, any more than it does in Indonesian or Indo-European. But if they have nothing in common amongst themselves but varying percentages of Indonesian, the case looks very weak.

Anthropologically, as Mr. Ray and others have made quite clear in previous works, the Melanesians are alien to the bulk of the Indonesians and they originally spoke quite alien languages. Their cousins, who speak the so-called Papuan languages, do not apparently constitute a unity but merely a number of linguistically unconnected groups. Seemingly the case of the Melanesians was formerly quite similar. Their original languages have now been modified, in varying degrees, by Indonesian influences, but can they, or any of them, in their present state be classified as a sister family with the Indonesian one? Plainly not, if they do not themselves constitute a true unity. It does not appear to me to help their case that in the Indonesian element (which we are told is all that they have in common amongst themselves) there are embodied undeniable relics of the Indonesian morphological system. There is no reason why Indonesian words should not have been borrowed in derived forms (i.e. with prefix or suffix attached to them), as readily as in their simple forms. Unless the Indonesian morphological system was taken over as a living thing, still capable of growth in the sense of being applicable to originally alien Melanesian words, it seems to me that survivals of it in Melanesian do not suffice to stamp any given Melanesian language as being of kin with Indonesian. In some cases this suggested proviso may have been fulfilled, in others, not, and a classification based on it might cut right across the Melanesian family (so-called at present). At the same time it has to be borne in mind that such important parts of speech as the pronouns, numerals, and prepositions in Melanesian are often clearly of Indonesian affinity. But even these might conceivably be in the category of mere loanwords.

The whole thing is really, from one point of view, a logomachy, and the simplest way out would be to say that we have here several groups of mixed languages having little in common but a varying proportion of imported matter. But then we run counter to the high priests of comparative philology, who assert dogmatically that there is no such thing as a mixed language; and of course it must be admitted that, from their mainly Indo-European point of view, the suggested short cut rather shirks the problem. Mr. Ray's own conclusion is



that the precise relation of the Melanesian groups to Indonesian must await the publication of their vocabularies. I entirely concur, but would add that the texts must also be called in as evidence, and not morphology alone, or together with lexicography, but syntax, phonetics, and semantics as well must be weighed, before final judgment can be passed. When it is, it will be just the kind of abstract proposition that delights the heart of the comparative philologist.

In the meantime we are bound to thank Mr. Ray for the very large and carefully arranged collection of concrete facts contained in this work. I have noticed very little in it that is open to criticism. The Indonesian for "hair" is not *buluh* (p. 36) but *bulu* (or *wulu*). In Bugis it is the glottal stop (rather than *k*) that replaces other final sounds (p. 51). For "Javenese" (a mere misprint, p. 61) read "Javanese". The Indonesian formative *-an* (p. 64) should be *-an*. For *tĕkĕn* (p. 144) read *tĕkĕn*. In a book of such size and varied contents such trifling matters as these do not count. They are extraordinarily few in number and it is evident that the author has done his work with exceptional accuracy and care. The book will be a safe guide for future students for many years to come, and is hardly likely ever to be superseded.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

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THE AMARNA AGE. A Study of the Crisis of the Ancient World.

By JAMES BAIKIE, F.R.A.S. pp. xvii + 458. London: A. and C. Black, Ltd., 1926.

Never, perhaps, in the history of the ancient world, was there such a phenomenon as that age when Akhetaten, the most original of the Pharaohs, overthrew the gods of Egypt, preferring instead one god symbolized by the sun.

This is the period that is known to the world as the Amarna Age, from the fact that we derive most of our information about it from the site of the ruined city of Akhetaten in the district now called Amarna, which lies about 200 hundred miles south of Cairo on the west bank of the Nile. One day a woman of the district found a tablet. This was the beginning. Unhappily, through native ignorance and general misunderstanding, the find was not at once acknowledged, and as a result many of the tablets were destroyed in one way or another. At length the importance of the discovery became manifest and the inestimable value of the material was soon discovered. Thus the

teeming world of Akhenaten's far-off time was illuminated as with a piece of magnesium wire. The importance of the remains of Akhenaten's city takes second place to that of the tablets. For after all, finds, however artistic they may be and however much light they may throw on the history of one country, can never be so important as those which illumine world history at some distant date. Meanwhile other finds were made in various parts of the East. And these formed the links which the Amarna letters were to weld into a strong chain.

It is at the death of Amenhotep III that the critical period of the Amarna Age begins. Outwardly this event was marked by the utmost calm throughout the Empire, except for vague rumours of the struggle between Mitanni and the encroaching Hittites. It was only a mask, however, to hide the mutinous ideas which were being fostered in Asia. Amenhotep III had been a pleasure-loving king, and instead of setting his mind to the Asiatic question which constantly faced each Pharaoh, gave himself and his court over to the brilliant luxuries of Thebes. The accession therefore of Amenhotep IV was something akin to tragedy. For in eastern countries the life of an empire depends entirely on the character of its ruler. One march into Asia would have been enough to impress those countries that he was within easy reach of them. But no, probably owing to his religious scruples, Amenhotep IV preferred to let matters slide and thus sacrificed his Empire. Mr. Baikie points out the former fact; but does not show why the problem that confronted Amenhotep IV needed far more strength than that which usually confronted the king on his accession. In his home affairs, however, Amenhotep was more alert. For, if it had been otherwise, the country would soon have been in a turmoil through the spread of propaganda by the priests of Amen.

Amenhotep IV, or Akhenaten as he is better known, has been called the world's first idealist, and by some the first pacifist. In many of his theories he is almost ultra-modern; and it would probably have been his greatest joy in life if he could have seen the League of Nations, not as it is now but as we hope it will be, that is, coming to a binding agreement over world peace. Akhenaten believed that his god was the father of all men, and he therefore hated to see brothers, as all men must be, indulging in orgies of strife and hatred. It is interesting to note that Akhenaten was the first man in history to conceive of monotheism. But it is going rather far to say that all men previous to Akhenaten were fumbling in not perceiving monotheism.

The rudiments of Akhenaten's religion were Love, Nature, and

Truth, and all through his life, in his words and deeds, he maintained these principles. Akhenaten chose as the symbol of his religion the sun-disk. Mr. Baikie clearly points out the Spiritual aspect of the creed, which was the first to possess one. It was the vital, formless, life-giving substance behind the sun which was worshipped: not the actual glowing orb. Aten, as the god was called, has been compared with the Hebrew Jahveh, and in many respects they are identical. But they differ in one main aspect, and that is that Jahveh was a god of war while Aten was "Lord of Peace". Atenism was, however, totally unsuited for the needs of the people, who wanted a more personal type of god. If Aten had come in as one of the gods he might easily, through his solar aspect, have gained popularity. This, however, was actually impossible, because Aten was a jealous god. One wonders, therefore, that there should have been no open rebellion when this new god was foisted on the land and every other god destroyed. It is probable, as Mr. Baikie points out, that sun-worship would have become popular again. First, because the growth of the Empire widened men's views and the necessity of a single god to bind the Empire was seen. What god could be more appropriate than the sun who was connected with all lands? Secondly, Amenism was becoming politically a menace to the throne. This is not pointed out. Thirdly, there was a need for freer thought away from the old channels of iron convention. Mr. Baikie, however, says that foreign influence in favour of the sun-god was almost non-existent. This is not true. In fact, it is fairly certain that if the kings had not begun to marry foreign princesses, and there had consequently been little Asiatic influence, Akhenaten's religious revolution would never have taken place. The introduction of Mitannian solar worship was the hot-house that brought out the flower of the sun-cult in an exaggerated form before it was due. The influence originated in Mutemuya, Thothmes IV's queen; and she it was who brought to the front of Egyptian politics Tiy, one of the greatest female characters in history. It is probable that, because Tiy's parents were the most powerful adherents of the sun-cult, Mutemuya chose her for the bride of her son Amenhotep III.

From the very beginning Tiy asserted her powers in her husband's affairs, and before long she was the ruling force of the kingdom. There is no ground for the idea that Iuaa, Tiy's father, was the controlling force behind Tiy. When Amenhotep III died Akhenaten was very young, and Tiy continued to rule. And it is more than likely that she brought her son up in her own way and with the same ideas as

herself. We can thus trace the Asiatic influence from Mutemuya, through Tiy, to Akhenaten. However, not enough prominence is given to Tiy. She makes her appearance in Mr. Baikie's pages here and there. But on the whole her importance is not stressed enough in the light of what we know of this wonderful woman, for she appears to have been by far the most powerful figure of the period.

Akhenaten's religious principles had a great influence on art, the expression of which became rejuvenated with a naturalness of effort. Mr. Baikie even goes so far as to say that this was the first time in Egyptian history when the human figure was dealt with in a natural fashion. He asserts that it had always been stiff and rigid. However, one has only to refer to the reliefs in the tomb of Ptah-hetep and others of the Old Kingdom, to judge whether this remark is correct.

In dealing with the ancient world in general, Mr. Baikie gives a clear and sound setting for the Egyptian drama. The Hittite nation and the policy of the Hittite kings are particularly well described; and it easily becomes apparent how quickly opposition to Egyptian supremacy in Asia must have grown out of the plotting of such kings as Shubbiluliuma. Too much space, however, is given to Crete, which after all had not such a great influence on the period. The Asiatic turmoil which confronted the Egyptian government is dealt with in detail. And it is shown how difficult it was to receive correct information owing to slow communication, etc. But the enumeration of all the perplexities with which Akhenaten was confronted are hardly necessary, because it may be justly surmised that he never intended seriously to cope with them owing to his religious scruples. If he had meant to deal with them, two or three punitive expeditions would have been quite sufficient to have restored order.

Previous Egyptian history is related clearly and concisely. An idea is formed of the debt we owe to Ahmes, son of Ebana, for his diary from the walls of his tomb. Too much space is given to the details of Thothmes III's campaigns, which have no bearing on the story and are quite superfluous. The reign of Amenhotep III is treated in masterly fashion; and it gives a brilliant and vivid picture of the affluent times of the Egyptian Solomon.

The book on the whole gives us an admirable account of the ancient world at this extremely interesting period. And it is a book that will be appreciated alike by the casual reader and the specialist.

C. J. C. BENNETT.

UNIVERSITÉ DE PARIS: TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES DE L'INSTITUT D'ETHNOLOGIE. Tome I. "Les Bas-Reliefs des Bâtiments Royaux d'Abomey (Dahomey)." Par EM. G. WATERLOT, Chef de l'Imprimerie Officielle de Madagascar. pp. 56, 23 plates (18 coloured);  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ . 1926.

Tome III. "La construction collective de la maison en Kabylie. Étude sur la coopération économique chez les Berbères du Djurjura." Par RENÉ MAUNIER, Professeur à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université de Paris, Ancien Directeur de l'Institut de Sociologie de l'Afrique du Nord. pp. 80; 3 plates, 9 figures in text;  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7$ . 1926.

Tome IV. "La Littérature Populaire à la Côte des Esclaves. Contes, Proverbes, Devinettes." Par RENÉ TRAUTMANN, Médecin Major de 1re classe des Troupes Coloniales. pp. 104. 1927. Paris: Institut d'Ethnologie. 191 Rue Saint-Jacques.

These beautifully-produced monographs fitly open a series, edited by Professor Lévy-Bruhl, M. Marcel Mauss, and Dr. Rivet—names which will be familiar to all anthropologists. The second volume, which we do not notice here, deals with the art of New Caledonia. We are further promised *Les Tribus du groupe Lobi, Volta Noire Moyenne*, by Professor Henri Labouret, formerly of the (French) West African Civil Service, which should prove of outstanding interest. M. Waterlot's book seems at first sight to contain a very small amount of letterpress in proportion to the pictures; but his 56 pages give an admirable précis of Dahomean history and a very clear account (illustrated by two plans) of the remarkable buildings at Abomey, for which the term "palace" is not altogether inappropriate. Moreover, a wealth of information is packed into the explanatory notes appended to the plates which constitute the real *raison d'être* of the book. The majority of these represent the polychrome terra-cotta bas-reliefs which decorate the buildings above-mentioned, and which are interesting, not only for the new light they throw on African art, but for their significance. They constitute a kind of hieroglyphic history of the reigns they commemorate, sometimes more or less literal (as in Plate XI, where a Dahomean warrior is shown carrying on his shoulder an enemy prisoner), or symbolical, as in Plate X, where King Ghezo appears in the figure of a buffalo, alluding to an expedition against the Mahi, in which "the Dahomeans rushed through the country like a herd of mad buffaloes". (This figure, however, has also been explained as an allegorical representation of the thunder-god.) Elsewhere, Ghezo is

figured as an elephant and as a horse; in Plate XIII we see his favourite wife, Sôfignan, planting a flag on a rock outside an enemy village. In Plate VIII the Thunder-god is figured as a ram holding in his mouth a double-headed axe—of a somewhat different shape from the Cretan *labrys*. (The association of axe or hammer with thunder is so obvious that one need not resort to any theory of diffusion.) In Plate IX the Rainbow-god, Djiso, “the servant of the Thunder,” is represented in the form of a serpent—white, with coloured bands—swallowing its tail.

Unfortunately, the oldest of these sculptures, those belonging to the palace of King Agadja (1708–28) no longer exist. It is some consolation that M. Waterlot was able, in 1911, to take squeezes of them, which are now in the Musée d’Ethnographie at Paris. The last King of Dahomey did not, like his predecessors, construct a new palace on his accession; he occupied that of his father, Glele (Burton’s Gelele), and the reliefs referring to the events of his reign are to be found there. One of them represents him as a shark, in allusion to the words he is said to have used on hearing that the French had occupied Kotanu: “Le requin audacieux a troublé la barre,” meaning that he was the shark who, by stirring up the surf, would prevent them from landing. A son of King Gbehanzin was one of those who explained the meaning of the various figures to M. Waterlot.

I should like to call particular attention to a note by M. Le Hérisse (author of *L’ancien royaume du Dahomey*, 1911) in elucidation of Plate XXIII. This depicts the *récales* of nine Dahomean rulers. A *récale* (the word is Portuguese; the native name is simply *Kpo* “a staff”) is in the nature of a crest or coat-of-arms carried out in iron or brass and surmounting the staff of office. Thus Gbehanzin’s is a shark, Glele’s a lion, Agadja’s a boat; for the interpretation of these symbols the reader is referred to the text.

M. Maunier’s study of industrial co-operation among the Berbers (in the vernacular *twiza*) is interesting in quite a different way. It is well known that this kind of work in common is applied to agricultural operations in various parts of the world (e.g. by the Anyanja, the Zulus, and others) but not so much attention has been paid to co-operation in other departments. There are numerous examples of this in North Africa: “La vie industrielle, en Kabylie, présente des applications diverses de ces modes coopératifs. La réparation des chemins, le nettoyage des fontaines, l’enlèvement

des immondices, le transport de divers objets, donnent lieu proprement à des réquisitions, qu'ordonne le chef du village ou *amin*. La coutume kabyle veut même parfois que l'on doive prêter appui pour relever et recharger les bêtes, alors pourtant qu'il s'agirait de secourir un ennemi."

But the work more especially studied here is that of house-building, which is described in all its stages, with the ritual appertaining to each—e.g. the sacrifice on digging the foundation. The division of labour between men and women is also a point to be noted.

Dr. Trautmann's collection comprises tales translated from Fon and Popo (which are dialects of Ewe) and Nago (a dialect of Yoruba). Many of them are variants of themes well known in African folk-lore; thus, the story of Aminatu and Abalo (p. 12) is a novel version of the "Holle" motive. An anecdote illustrating the moral "Il ne faut pas avoir de fausse honte" is curiously reminiscent of the Yao story of "The Man with the Bran Porridge" in Macdonald's *Africana* (ii, 369).

"Pendant une famine, un gendre alla rendre visite à sa belle-mère. Il la trouva occupée à faire bouillir les haricots. Au bout de quelques instants la femme sortit. . . . L'homme s'empara aussitôt d'une cuiller, déroba une bonne partie de haricots bouillants qu'il dissimula au fond de son bonnet. Le belle-mère revenant à l'improviste, le gendre se recoiffa en hâte et eut le cuir chevelu atrocement brûlé. Ne pouvant bientôt plus supporter la douleur, il lança à terre sa coiffure et les haricots accusateurs jonchèrent le sol. Pourquoi cet homme n'a-t-il pas dit qu'il avait faim?"

The set moral appended to each story seems to me to be a trait of sophistication—perhaps added as supposedly more acceptable to a European auditor.

The riddles are much of the usual African type: "What is the long stick which reaches from the sky to the earth? The rain." "What passes the king's door without greeting him? The water in the moat," etc., etc. I quote a few specimen proverbs:—

If the white man stammers, it is hard work for the interpreter.

Two sheep cannot drink from the same calabash.

Do not run after happiness; it is behind you.

The stone thrown in anger does not kill the bird.

If you have been bitten by a snake, you will take fright when you see an earth-worm.

If a task proves too much for me, I say it is useless.

A. W.

AN AFRICA FOR AFRICANS By ARTHUR S. CRIPPS. With a Preface by PHILIP H. KERR, C.H., Secretary of the Rhodes Trust. 200 pp., map. Price 9s. net. London: Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., 1927.

Mr. Cripps has, during nearly thirty years' residence in Mashonaland, acquired a thorough knowledge of the native and his problems. He is already known to a limited circle, and more especially to his Oxford friends, as a poet of rare distinction in his own line and a writer of short stories (*Faëry-Lands Forlorn* and other collections) which convey with marvellous vividness the colour and atmosphere of Africa, as well as by his longer novels, *The Brooding Earth* and *Bay-Tree Country*, which—however hotly their themes may be debated—can, once read, never be forgotten.

The present volume is concerned with the native question, and more especially the land question, in Southern Rhodesia. When it is remembered that the white inhabitants of that territory number under 40,000, and the natives over 830,000,<sup>1</sup> the fact that 31,486,095 acres have been alienated to the former, while 21,203,498 acres have been allotted for Native Reserves, certainly supplies food for thought. It is disconcerting to hear that the Land Commission of 1925 proposed to allot to white settlers an additional 17,423,815 acres out of the unalienated remainder, while less than half that amount was recommended to be added to the Native Reserves.

The above statement may be said to form the text of Mr. Cripps's book, which is an eloquent plea, well supported by evidence, for "territorial segregation" in Southern Rhodesia. It may be explained, for the sake of those to whom the term "segregation" is anathema, that its implications in Mr. Cripps's territory are somewhat different from those which it bore when proposed in the provinces of the Union, where it would certainly be both impracticable and unfair. That the assignment of reserves must be conducted by an authority both disinterested and competent is evident from the fact that much of the land assigned for this purpose is either "arid bush-veld" or malarial, or infected by sleeping-sickness (as the Sebungwe District).

Mr. Philip Kerr, who contributes a preface, though approving of the book on the whole, thinks that "Mr. Cripps may be a little unsympathetic to modern civilization". In order to discuss this proposition, it would be necessary first to inquire what exactly is meant by civilization.

A. W.

<sup>1</sup> The figure given in the current issue of *Whitaker's Almanac* is 834,473.



DIE WESTLICHEN SUDANSPRACHEN UND IHRE BEZIEHUNGEN ZUM BANTU. VON DIEDRICH WESTERMANN. Mit einer Sprachenkarte von HERMANN BAUMANN. Beiheft zu den Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen. Jahrgang xxix. pp. 313; 10 × 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ . Berlin (In Kommission bei Walter de Gruyter u. Co.). 1927.

The problem of the West African languages is not nearly so simple as that of the Bantu family. Fifty years ago, indeed, they seemed to constitute a hopeless chaos, and the only way to deal with them appeared to be that adopted by F. W. Müller, of gathering into a "Negro Group" all those tongues which could not be otherwise classified. Cust's words on the subject may well seem, at this time of day, to have been prophetic. Writing in 1883, after quoting Munzinger's remarks to the effect that "though it may be a convenient, it is not a logical method to lump together under one name a lot of people of unknown ethnological and linguistic types", he goes on to say: "No existing name can be produced more suitable, and I protest against the coining at this period of our knowledge of any new name. Nothing was more illogical than the use of the word 'Turanian' in Asia a quarter of a century ago; it has dropped out of use now or been restricted to a limited significance, but it had its use until a more perfect knowledge enabled names of new families and groups to be struck out. So will it be with the Negro group. Twenty-five years hence it will give way to some more accurate and scientific terminology."

This prediction has certainly been fulfilled—almost, in fact, to the letter, for the term "Sudanic family" came into use, if not within Cust's twenty-five year limit, at least very shortly after its expiry. In 1911, Professor Westermann published *Die Sudansprachen*, which sets forth his reasons for believing that the miscellaneous "group" is in reality (Hausa, Musgu, and perhaps some others being eliminated) a homogeneous family, extending in an irregular zone across the continent from the neighbourhood of Cape Verd to the highlands of Abyssinia. This view has met with some opposition, on account of the extremely divergent character of various languages included in the family—e.g. the Mandingo group and those which Sir H. H. Johnston calls "Semi-Bantu" and Dr. Struik "Bantoid". (Professor Westermann, as will be seen, prefers the term "Klassensprachen".) The author, however, has so far seen no reason to modify it in essentials.

The present volume, the outcome of some sixteen years' further

study, carries out the detailed examination of the linguistic area enclosed, roughly speaking, between the Atlantic, the Senegal, and the Niger. Northern Nigeria and the territory bordering on it to the east have been omitted from the survey, as the existing materials are insufficient for satisfactory treatment (Hausa and Fulbe, not being Sudanic, do not come into consideration).

To prevent misconception, we must not lose sight of the fact, emphasized in the very first paragraph, that the Sudanic languages do not form a unity in the same sense as can be predicated of the Bantu.

“Tiefgreifender und während längerer Zeiträume als in der Südhälfte des Erdteils ist die Völkerwelt zwischen Sahara und Aequator durch heute noch nicht abgeschlossene Bewegungen gespalten, zerrissen, über und ineinander gedrängt worden, und von diesen über Jahrtausende sich erstreckende Wandlungen, die Stammeseinheiten umgestalteten vernichteten und neue entstehen liessen, sind die sprachlichen Verhältnisse ein Spiegelbild. Der heutige Zustand ist häufig ein Ausgleich zwischen zwei oder mehr aufeinandergestossenen Sprachen oder Sprachgruppen, deren jede Bestandteile an die neu sich bildende Einheit abgegeben hat.”

Some languages have perished altogether, while scanty remnants of others have been absorbed into surviving forms of speech. If we consider, further, that the modifying influences come, not merely from cognate (Sudanic) languages, but from Hamitic or other contacts on the east and north, it is not surprising that the development of the various groups should have taken such different directions that some writers have refused to recognize, e.g. Mandingo, or the Gur group (Mosi, Grusi, Senufo, etc.), as belonging to this family.

It may be remarked in passing that the position of the genitive (possessor preceding thing possessed), which Professor Meinhof (*Modern Sprachforschung in Afrika*, p. 93) enumerates as an essential characteristic of the Sudanic family, is by no means invariable. Mr. N. W. Thomas has pointed out that the reverse arrangement, that common to Hamitic and Bantu (“the house of the man” as opposed to “the man’s house”, or more literally, “man, house”) occurs almost if not quite as frequently.

Professor Westermann, in grouping the languages, has for the most part followed a classification which he calls “die bisher übliche . . . da sie kurz, sachlich nicht unzutreffend und also keiner Änderung bedürftig ist”. It does not, however, quite coincide with Dr. Struck’s,

as given by Mr. N. W. Thomas in *Bulletin I* (Part IV, p. 120). He assumes six groups:—

(i) The Kwa Languages, including the Ewe-Twi group (perhaps the most typical of the family), the "Lagoon languages" (Mekibo, Kyama, Adyukru, etc.), the Kru languages (also a comprehensive term—see Delafosse, *Vocabulaires Comparatifs de . . . la Côte d'Ivoire*), Yoruba, Nupe, Ibo, Edo—and possibly Idžo (Ijo), but the position of this last is still uncertain.

(ii) The Benue-Cross River Group (Sir H. H. Johnston's Semi-Bantu groups A to G) including Efik, Munshi, Jarawa, some twenty-seven in all.

(iii) "Togo-Restsprachen", the speech of fragmentary tribes surviving in the hill-country between the seventh and eighth degrees of North latitude. These languages are tending to die out and to be replaced by Ewe and Twi. The names by which they are usually known (Avatime, Santrokofi, Kebu, etc.) are mostly those of localities, the people themselves using different designations.

(iv) The Gur Languages.

(v) The West Atlantic Group (a) Temne, Bulom, Limba, Gola, etc.; (b) Djola, Bolama, Biafada, Konyagi, etc.

(vi) Mandingo or Mande.

Of these, ii, iii, iv, and v may be reckoned as "class-languages", the classes being distinguished either by prefixes or suffixes—occasionally, as in the case of Gurma, by both. But—as we find elsewhere—the languages are not contained in watertight compartments. "Das Klassensystem ist teilweise in die Kwa-Sprachen eingedrungen, und die den Kwa-Sprachen eigentümlichen nominalbildenden vokalischen und Nasalprafixe stehen zweifellos teilweise in Zusammenhang mit den Klassenaffixen. . ." It appears that these languages formerly had a greater number of prefixes than they now possess; Mande, on the other hand, shows no trace of such an arrangement.

The fact that Ekoi, Anyang, and some of the members of the second group are now definitely classed as Bantu further indicates the difficulty of exact delimitation.

The class-affixes of the Kwa group are closely related to the Bantu prefixes, but in vocabulary it is much more nearly allied to Mandingo which, as already stated, has no class-system.

In Index B "Sudan-Urbantu" we have a collection of 112 hypothetical ground-forms, showing a remarkable degree of coincidence.

There can be no reasonable doubt of an ultimate relationship: it is likewise evident that such relationship must be extremely remote.

It will be clear from the above that Professor Westermann's work marks a notable advance in a department in which he is the pioneer and—save for a very few elect fellow-workers—may be said to stand alone. It only remains to add that this book should be studied in conjunction with his *Westsudanische Studien* (*Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, vols. 28 and 29) and the late M. Delafosse's *Vocabulaires Comparatifs de plus de 60 Langues ou Dialectes parlés à la Côte d'Ivoire et dans les régions limitrophes* (1904).

A. W.

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JAUNDE-WÖRTERBUCH. Unter Mitwirkung von P. H. NEKES PSM bearbeitet und herausgegeben von M. HEEPE. (Being vol. xxii of *Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde*, published by the University of Hamburg.) pp. 258;  $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ . Hamburg (Kommissionsverlag L. Friedrichsen & Co.), 1926.

Jaunde (Yaunde or Eundu) is one of the languages spoken by the "Fan" (Faj or Pamwe) group of tribes in the Cameroons, who, along with the Duala, the Ekoi, and one or two others constitute the north-westerly outpost of the Bantu-speaking peoples. A grammar of Yaunde was published as long ago as 1911 in the series of textbooks issued by the Berlin Oriental Seminary. It was the work of Father Nekes, who had resided for many years in the country, and who subsequently (as stated on the title-page) assisted Dr. Heepe in the present work. One gathers that Dr. Heepe did not himself work *in situ*, but he had the advantage of consulting several Yaunde natives, whose help is duly acknowledged. While undoubtedly Bantu in structure, Yaunde has been strongly influenced by the speech of neighbouring non-Bantu tribes: this is more especially indicated by the tendency to monosyllabism, by the prevalence of the velar labials *kp* and *gb* (these have been found to occur, however, in one East African Bantu dialect) and the extensive use made of tone. (This last must not be stressed too far as a point of difference between the Bantu and Sudanic families: though, undoubtedly, it is more conspicuous, on the whole, in the latter.)

The Bantu noun-classes from 1 to 11 are quite clearly represented in Yaunde: the prefixes do not show much change, except that *a* has been substituted for *li* (in a few cases the latter has survived in the

form *le*, the symbol *e* indicating a vowel intermediate between Cardinals 2 and 3), *e* for *ki* and *o* for *lu*. There appears to be everywhere a tendency to broaden vowels. The fifth prefix appears as *e-* in Ganda, but *a-* seems to be a novelty. The greater part of the book is taken up with the Yaunde-German dictionary, which is very fully illustrated with idiomatic examples. This is followed by an interesting collection of personal and place-names, for which due credit is given to Father Nekes. The German-Yaunde part, according to the plan frequently followed in works of this kind, is much shorter than the other and serves primarily as an index to the Dictionary. This is infinitely preferable to the practice of filling up a number of pages with words like (to take a few at random) "adequate", "adherent", "adjacent", "admixture", "adumbrant"; the only reason for which could be the existence of large numbers of natives capable of reading ordinary English books and newspapers. Dr. Heepe has also done excellent work in editing the Yaunde texts written by two natives, Karl Atangana and Paul Messi (1919).

A. W.

A GRAMMAR OF THE SESUTO LANGUAGE. By the late E. JACOTTET. With the help of Z. D. MANGOELA and edited by C. M. DOKE, M.A., D.Litt., Senior Lecturer in Bantu Studies, University of the Witwatersrand. Being the Special Number of *Bantu Studies* for January, 1927. pp. xxiv + 209; 7 × 5. Johannesburg (University Press), 1927.

Emile Jacottet's name has been known for many years to all serious students of the Bantu languages and of Comparative Folklore. His death in 1920, under tragic circumstances which need not be particularized here, leaves a gap which cannot easily be filled. Among other unpublished MSS. (most of which, one hopes, will eventually see the light) he left an unfinished grammar, which has now been completed by Dr. Doke and published at the expense of the University of the Witwatersrand. It is a matter for congratulation that so valuable a piece of work should have been rescued from oblivion and presented in a complete form. As the author says in his introduction: "Having lived now for over 36 years in the country, and having had to speak Sesuto every year, I can claim to know it in a practical way." He had published, in 1893, a tentative sketch prefixed to A. Mabile's Vocabulary and in 1907 *A Practical Method to Learn Sesuto* (now in the second edition), which has been found extremely

useful. The present work is of a somewhat different calibre, being intended as a scientific study of the language. It opens with a very careful examination of Suto phonetics, annotated by Dr. Doke, who does not in every case agree with Jacottet's conclusions. (It is somewhat perplexing, in view of, e.g. the notes on pp. 4, 6, 8, etc., to read in the Preface: "No attempt, even in footnotes, has been made to explain Sesuto phonetics on a scientific basis.")

In his introduction the author, discussing the place of Sesuto in the South-Eastern group of Bantu languages (in which he includes Zulu-Kaffir, Thonga, Sesuto-Sechuana, and Venda) gives a very welcome survey of the dialects belonging to the Sesuto-Sechuana group. The area in which these are spoken is bounded on the north by the Zoutpansberg and to the west of this range by the line of 18° S., "on the east by the Drakensberg and on the west by the Kalahari desert. Its southern boundary may be roughly defined as . . . the Orange River." The group is divided into two branches: Sechuana (with the dialects of Serolong, Setlaping, and Sekhatla "which, however, practically comprise one language,") and Sesuto, divided into a Northern and a Southern section. The northern includes numerous dialects, of which Sepeli (Sepedi) is the most important, while "Southern Sesuto, or Sesuto proper, the language which is presented in this grammar, is the Northern Sesuto developed and, to some extent influenced, by Zulu, its nearest neighbour".

The occurrence of a click, not found in the other dialects, is usually attributed to this influence. Jacottet, however, says that "it seems they were introduced" from the old Setlokoa dialects, now almost superseded by standard Sesuto, which, by the by, is rapidly becoming a literary language of remarkable range and flexibility. It may be noticed that this author adheres to the usual spelling Sesuto. It seems that both vowels are the same; it would therefore be more logical to write either (Se) Sutu or, as the Germans do, Sotho (the *t* being aspirated and the vowel Meinhof's *ç*, i.e. intermediate between cardinal vowels 7 and 8). Dr. Doke, while evidently not convinced by Jacottet's objections to a change in the current orthography, makes no mention of this particular point. On the question of division into words, it is difficult to agree with the dictum (p. xxii): "Just as in English we would not dream of writing *Ishallnomorewantyou*, so we ought not to write in Sesuto *hakesatlaubatla*." The two examples are by no means parallel, since neither *ha* nor *ke* nor *sa* nor *u* can be used as independent words; nor can *batla* be used alone, except in

the imperative singular. Dr. Doke does not seem to have taken this into account, but it seems an equally cogent reason against separation with that which he gives, viz. that "the whole questions of the division into words in Bantu languages should be subservient to sound-groups, and . . . *Hakesaubatla* makes up one, or at most two, word-groups." Dr. Doke frequently differs from the author in the marking of the tones; but on this subject, apparently, there is plenty of room for divergent opinions. Mr. G. P. Lestrade, after going through Endemann's *Wörterbuch* with a native Mopeli, came to the conclusion that many of the tones are wrongly marked. Our author in the present instance, while fully appreciative of Endemann's *Versuch einer Grammatik* (a work, in fact, which marks a new epoch in Bantu studies) is somewhat severe on the Dictionary, except so far as it deals with the Peli dialect. Space does not permit of examining the Grammar point by point; one can only say that Dr. Doke, his assistant, Mr. Happington Moshoeshoe, and the Union Government, who, by a research grant made publication possible, are entitled to our deepest gratitude.

A. W.

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ABRIDGED SWAHILI GRAMMAR. PHRASES, STORIES, AND VOCABULARIES.

By G. MURRAY-JARDINE. pp. 63;  $7\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ . London: Sheldon Press (S.P.C.K.), 1927. Price 2s. 6d.

A useful little book, so much so that I cannot refrain from pointing out a few inaccuracies in the hope that they may be corrected in a future edition. It is not correct to say that "the class (of *u*-nouns) is a very small one", since it contains all abstracts as well as a great many others, nor to include in this class *ua* "a flower", which belongs to the fifth: *ua* "a court-yard" (originally *luga*) does, in fact, belong to the *u*-class. The locative construction is entirely ignored and the erroneous statement that "the sixth class . . . is composed of one word only, *mahali*, place or places" is obviously repeated from Steere. On p. 11 we read: "who or which may be expressed by the prefix *o* and . . . refers to all classes and numbers of nouns." This may be the case in the "slipshod methods" of speech which the author rightly reprobrates in his preface: but a reference to Steere would have shown him that, in spite of a certain levelling tendency towards a universal *-o-*, each class has properly its own relative pronoun. A fair number of printer's errors have—no doubt inevitably—escaped correction: but it seems uncertain whether *kope* for *kobe* ("tortoise"), persistently repeated on p. 46, should be classed with these or not.

A. W.

DIE LAUTE DES FUL. VON AUGUST KLINGENHEBEN. (Neuntes Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen.) Berlin (Dietrich Reimer): Hamburg (C. Boysen). 1927.

Dr. Klingenheben, who has for several years specialized in African languages at the Hamburg University, has produced a remarkable piece of work as his thesis for the Doctorate of Philosophy. Though handed in three or four years ago, its publication has been retarded till now, with the disadvantage that two papers which really presuppose it have appeared before it in the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen*. On the other hand, the delay has enabled the author to make use of some recent works, e.g. those of M. Gaden, Mrs. Leith-Ross, and Captain Taylor. Ful, or Fulani, a standing puzzle to philologists, has attracted a good deal of attention in recent years, as evidenced by the works above referred to, and also those of Professors Westermann and Meinhof. The latter classes it among Hamitic languages ("vermutlich älteste uns zugängliche Form einer Hamitensprache"), though occupying a peculiar position among them. The grammatical structure of Ful was long thought to be unique, but some allied idioms have lately been discovered in West Africa, and in Meinhof's view (somewhat resembling that arrived at independently by the late Sir H. H. Johnston), it is to its impact on the speech of the Sudan that we must look for the origin of the Bantu languages. Though starting from the foundation of Westermann's work, Dr. Klingenheben may certainly be said to have added considerably to the structure. He has based his conclusions on original research, but, as this was chiefly carried out with Fulani from the Hausa states, he does not claim to offer a complete conspectus of sounds in all Ful dialects. But a monograph like the present is the indispensable prerequisite to the comprehensive work for which he hopes in the future. An adequate appreciation of his book would task the powers of a specialist in phonetics—and to the attention of such specialists it is hereby cordially commended.

A. W.

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The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, to which we already owe many valuable helps to the acquisition of African languages has lately developed fresh activity in this direction and issued from the Sheldon Press a number of attractive volumes, all welcome and some of them meeting special requirements of this School. We are



particularly glad to see handy reprints of the late Sir Apolo Kagwa's collection of folk-tales: *Engero za Baganda* (with the *erra'a* of the Kampala edition eliminated) and *Bakabaka be Buganda* (History of the Kings of Uganda) to which the chronicles of the Kings of Bunyoro, Koki, Toro, and Ankole have been added. We have further, in Luganda, an elementary Manual of Hygiene, translated by S. W. Kulubya from the English text-book of Dr. Mary Blacklock, and a school reading-book (*Akatabo ak'okusomwanga ab'omugigi II*) together with a version of the Pilgrim's Progress (*Omutambuze*) by the Rev. E. C. Gordon, illustrated with photographs taken by Mr. W. J. W. Roome, on the occasion of a pageant arranged at Kampala. These photographs, in which the characters in Bunyan's allegory appear as characteristic native types, are an additional testimony to the universal human appeal of the book and largely contribute to its popularity. They reappear in Canon Dale's excellent Swahili translation (*Safari ya Msafiri*), which reaches us at the same time. Other Swahili books recently issued by the same Press are reprints of *Mambo na Hadithi* and *Visa na Hadithi*, produced, many years ago, by members of the Universities' Mission, and Nos. 1 and 2 of *Masimulizi ya Mambo Leo*, the work of Mr. Frederick Johnson.

These charming little books, clearly printed and attractively got up, contain stories which have already appeared in the Swahili monthly edited by Mr. Johnson, and, being sold at the low price of twopence each, are certain of a large circulation among a native public which is developing an insatiable appetite for literature. A History of Bunyoro (*Ky'Abakama ba Bunyoro*) by the Prime Minister of that kingdom, Petero Bikunya, is, apart from the value of its matter, a welcome specimen of an interesting language, allied to, but more archaic than Luganda. Finally, we have one book in a South African tongue, a Sesuto version of the Gospel story (*Bophelo ba Jesu Kreste Ka Mokhoa o Bonolo*), translated by a native Canon of Bloemfontein, the Rev. Walter Mochochoko.

From the same publishers we have received :—

*Imihobe nemibongo* (Xosa Poetry for Schools). By S. C. Mqayi.

*Short Chapters of African History*. By H. T. C. Weatherhead.

*Gang Fables*, collected by P. H. Lees, F.R.G.S. (Gang, or Acholi, is a language of the Sudanic family, closely related to Shilluk and Luo.)

*Omutambuze II* (Luganda Pilgrim's Progress, Part II).

A. WERNER.



## OBITUARY

We regret to chronicle the death of the Rev. William Ernest Taylor—the foremost Swahili scholar in this country—which occurred suddenly, at Bath on the 2nd October. Mr. Taylor, a graduate of Hertford College, Oxon, went to Africa in the service of the Church Missionary Society, and remained there till 1896, when failing health compelled him to leave. He afterwards worked in Egypt for two years (1898–1900) and after an interval of clerical duty in England, returned for a short time to Khartum in 1903. The rest of his life was passed at home, the last few years as Rector of Halton Holgate, in Lincolnshire. His linguistic ability was exceptional, and his ear for sounds extraordinarily delicate and sensitive. While his terminology is frequently inexact (the science of Phonetics was in its infancy when he began his studies, inspired by the work of the late Henry Sweet), his conclusions are almost invariably sound. His published work is scarcely proportionate to the extent of his knowledge: it includes translations (into the Mombasa dialect) of the Prayer Book, Gospels, and Psalms and—most important from the linguistic point of view—*African Aphorisms* (1891), *Giryama Vocabulary and Collections* (1891)—prefaced by some invaluable phonetic and grammatical notes on this interesting language, and conveying, incidentally, much important information as to beliefs and customs—*Groundwork of the Swahili Language* (1899) and the annotated edition of the *Inkishafi* poem included in the late Captain Stigand's *Dialect in Swahili*. The *Aphorisms* should never have been allowed to go out of print, both for the sake of the proverbs themselves and the notes, which besides elucidating many obscure points in Bantu grammar are full of interest from other points of view. Mr. Taylor was an enthusiast for the Mombasa dialect, which he considered the purest—at any rate, the one best adapted for Swahili prose, as that of Lamu for poetry and that of Zanzibar for trade. (It has been, perhaps, somewhat unduly depreciated of late.) Professor Meinhof has repeatedly called attention to the value of Mr. Taylor's linguistic and more especially, phonetic work, which, he thought, was insufficiently appreciated in this country. After his retirement from work in Africa, he acted for many years as Examiner in Swahili to the War Office. I had not the honour of being personally acquainted with Mr. Taylor, but found,

in 1911-13, that he was still held in affectionate remembrance by the natives of Mombasa and other places on the Swahili Coast. Thus, Muhammad bin Ma'alim, in relating the local tradition about the Portuguese priest, Dom Miguel of Mombasa, said: "He was just like 'Bwana Tela'—everyone knew him, men, women, and children—and they all loved him." Popular verses, still current in my time, testified to the respect which the Moslems felt for him, while repudiating his theology. For instance—

*Azingazinga na chuo kwapani.*

*Atafuta mema, haoni itada ya Mola:*

*Haiko sokoni, hatwendi, Tela, ziwani!*

A. W.

## INDEX TO VOLUME IV

### A

- Abu'l Fazl, portrait of, 721.  
*Adbhuta-rāmāyana*, 11.  
*Adhyātma-rāmāyana*, 11.  
 Africa, folk-lore of, 247; negro songs of, 827.  
 African languages, Chibemba, 839; Kanuri, 139; Swahili, 247; work of Prof. M. Delafosse, 675; work of W. E. Taylor, 903.  
*Agastya*, selection of Tamil Śaivite hymns, 761.  
 Ajantā frescoes, 493.  
*Akbar Nāmāh*, portrait of Abu'l Fazl, 721.  
 Alampkāra, works on, 279.  
 Alexandre de Rhodes, Father, travels of, 47.  
 American University, Bayrūt, 750.  
 Amir *Khusrau*, first Khari poet, 333.  
 Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *see* Coomaraswamy.  
 Arabic, contemporary literature, 745; infinitives in Urdu, 779; journalism, 751; poetry, Naqqāsh's version of *Kalīla wa Dimna*, 441.  
 Arabs, conquest of Persia by, 732.  
 Aravamuthan, T. G., *The Kaveri, the Maukharis, and the Sangam Age*, 171.  
 Arehbold, W. A. J., *Outlines of Indian Constitutional History (British Period)*, 400.  
 Architecture, Chinese treatise on, 473.  
 Armenians, in Persia, 56.  
 ARNOLD, T. W., *A Portrait of Abu'l Fazl*, 721.  
 Ashur, cuneiform text found at, 70.  
 Assyriology, notes on the "Assyrian Tree", 69.  
 Atiya Begum Fyzee Rahamin, *The Music of India*, 379.  
 Avestic literature, Yama and Gandharva legends in, 703.  
 Awemba, *see* Babemba.
- ### B
- Babemba, war song of the, 839.  
 Baburam Saksena, *The Verb in the Rāmāyan of Tulsī Dās*, 365.  
 Bābū Syām Sundar Dās, *Bhāsa Vidyān*, 331.  
 Baikie, J., *The Amarna Age*, 885.  
 BAILEY, T. GRAHAME, *The Development of English t, d, in North Indian Languages*, 325; *English Words in Panjābi*, 783; *The Gender of Arabic Infinitives in Urdu*, 779.  
 Ballod, F., *The Volga Pompei*, 197.  
 BANARSI DAS JAIN, *Stress-Accent in Indo-Aryan*, 315.  
 BARNETT, L. D., *Jāmkikharana* XVI, 285, 611; *Yama, Gandharva, and Glaucus*, 703; Reviews: *Die Arische Feuerlehre I. Teil*, von J. Hertel, 174; *The Kaveri, the Maukharis, and the Sangam Age*, by T. G. Aravamuthan, 171; *Die Methode der Arischen Forschung*, von J. Hertel, 355.  
 Bengali, ballads, 89; *Rāmāyanas*, 580.  
 Benimadhab Barua and Kumar G. Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, 857.  
 Bennett, C. J. C., *The Amarna Age*, by J. Baikie, 885.  
 Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, 181.  
 Bertram, Sir Anton, and J. W. A. Young, *The Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, 655.  
 Bhagavadgītā, commentaries, 59, 308, 543.  
 Bhāsa, *Scapnārāsaratātta*, 282-3.  
*Bhāsa Vidyān*, by Bābū Syām Sundar Dās, 331.  
 Bilgrani, Sayed Husain, Obituary notice, 431.  
 Binode Behari Dutt, *Town Planning in Ancient India*, 391.  
 BLAGDEN, C. O., Translation of Pater P. Schebesta's *Grammatical Sketch of the Jahai Dialect*, 803, and of his *Jungle Tribes of the Malay Peninsula*, 269; Reviews: *A Comparative Study of the Melanesian Island Languages*, by S. H. Ray, 882; *Natural Man: a Record from Borneo*, by C. Hose, 643; *Sculpture in Siam*, by A. Salmony, 194; *Die Sprachfamilien und Sprachengkreise der Erde*, von P. W. Schmidt, 664.  
 BLOCHET, A., *Deux Residents Mongols en Chine et en Asie Centrale*, 257.  
 Bloch, Jules, *Le Nom du Riz*, 366. "Voir" en Indo-Aryen, 366.  
 Brabui, gender-words, 769.  
 Browne, Professor E. G., Obituary notice, 217; *A Year Amongst the Persians*, 648.  
 BRUCE, J. PERCY, *A Selection from the Tung Shu by Chou Tzu, with Commentary by Chu Hsi*, 97; Review: *A Phonograph Course in the Chinese National Language*, by Yuen Ren Chao, 197.  
 Buddhist, philosophy, 29; remains in Eastern Turkestan, 493; tales, Chinese translations of, 503.

- Budge, Sir E. A. Wallis, *The Book of the Cave of Treasures*, 858.  
 Burushaski, text in, 505.  
 Burzoe, autobiography, 441.
- C
- Caitya*-symbol on Indian coins, 714.  
*Cākya*s, Hindu actors, 295.  
 Caland, W., *Over het Vaikhānasasūtra*, 623; *The Śatapatha Brāhmana in the Kānviya Recension*, 615.  
 Calthorp, Lieut.-Col. E. F., Collection of Japanese books, 679.  
 Campbell, Sir Duncan, *Records of Clan Campbell, in the Military Service of the Honourable East India Company*, 1600-58, 397.  
 Central Asia, Jātaka pictures found in, 493; Mongols in, 257; original home of the Indo-Europeans, 147.  
 Chakravarti, see Prabhat Chandra Chakravarti.  
 Chalmers, Lord, *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, Vols. I-II, 351, 633.  
*Ch'ao hsien kuan i yu*, Chinese-Corean vocabulary, 1.  
 CHARPENTIER, JARL, *The Original Home of the Indo-Europeans*, 147; *Remarks on the Identification of some Jātaka Pictures*, 493; Reviews: *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasiien*, von A. von le Coq, Fünfte Teil: *Neue Bildwerke*, 348; *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, by A. Berriedale Keith, 337.  
 Chibemba, war song in, 839.  
 China, Jesuit mission in, 47; Mongols in, 257.  
 Chinese, architecture, 473; Corean-Chinese vocabulary, 1; *Dsanglun*, 503; philosophy, 97; translations of Indian Buddhist tales, 503.  
 Chingiz Khān, 257.  
 Chou Tzu, *T'ung Shu*, 97.  
 Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, Pt. V, *Rājput Painting*, 861.  
 Corean, obsolete words and dialects in, 9; vocabulary, 1.  
 Coudenhove, Hans, *My African Neighbours*, 418.  
 Cripps, A. S., *An Africa for the Africans*, 892.  
 Crooke, W., *Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, 661.  
 Cuneiform texts, 70.
- D
- Dardic, notes on, 533.  
 DAVIDS, C. A. F. RHYS, *Man as Willer*, 29; Review: *Further Dialogues of the Buddha*, translated by Lord Chalmers, Vols. I-II, 351, 633.  
 DE, SUSHIL KUMAR, *Notes on some Sanskrit Manuscripts on Alamkāra*, 279; *Some Readings of Jānakī-haraṇa XVI*, 611.  
 Delafosse, Prof. M., *La Culture Moderne: Civilisations Négro-Africaines*, 193; Obituary notice, 675.  
 Demieville, P., Review of the *Ying tsao fa Shih*, 474.  
 Dhan Gopal Mukerji, *My Brother's Face*, 180.  
 Diez, Ernst, *Die Kunst Indiens*, 389.  
 Dīnēśchandra, Sen, Eastern Bengal ballads, 91 note.  
 DODERET, W., *Government of "Prepositions" in Gujarati*, 65; *The Grammar of the Jhānēsvārī*, 543; *The Passive Voice of the Jhānēsvārī*, 59.  
 Dodwell, H., *Chronicle of the East India Company Trading to China, 1635-1834*, by H. B. Morse, 393; *A Sketch of the History of India from 1858 to 1918*, 177; *Warren Hastings' Letters to Sir John Macpherson*, 865.  
 Doke, C. M., *The Phonetics of the Zulu Language*, 670.  
*Drakht i Asurik*, Unvala's translation, 69.  
 Dravidian, gender-words in, 769; phonology, 575.  
 Driver, G. R., *A Grammar of the Colloquial Arabic of Syria and Palestine*, 880.  
*Dsanglun*, 495, seq.  
 Du Jarric, Father Pierre, *Akbar and the Jesuits*, translated by C. H. Payne, 639.  
 Duničand, *Pamjābī aur Hindī kā Bhāṣā-Vijñān*, 366.  
 Dutt, B. B., see Binode Behari Dutt.
- E
- Edgerton, Franklin, *Vikrama's Adventures*, Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 26-7, 346.  
 Egypt, literature of modern, 745.  
 Evans-Wentz, W. Y., *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, 845.
- F
- Folk-lore, beast-fables in cuneiform, 70; common source of Yama, Gandharva and Glaucus saga, 703; Khadir, legends of, 715; Kurdish folk-lore, 122; saga of Liongo Fumo, 247.  
 Forrest, Sir George, *The State-Papers of the Governors-General of India: Cornwallis*, 401.  
 Foster, Sir William, *The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to India, 1615-19*, 862; *The English Factories in India, 1668-9*, 867.  
 Frazer, Sir James George, *The Worship of Nature*, Vol. I, 659.

G

- Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, 632.  
 Gairdner, W. H. T., *The Phonetics of Arabic*, 402.  
 Gandharva-saga, 703.  
 Gaselee, S., *The Dīḡar of the Coptic Church*, edited by De Lacy O'Leary, 406.  
 GIBB, H. A. R., *Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature*, 745. Reviews: *An English-Arabic Dictionary of Medicine, Biology and Allied Sciences*, by Dr. Muhammad Sharaf, 876; (with A. Lloyd-James) *The Phonetics of Arabic*, by W. H. T. Gairdner, 402.  
 Giles, Lionel, *Le Kou-uen chinois. Le "Fou" dans le Wen-sinan*, par G. Margoliès, 640.  
 Giridhar Dās, *Jarāsadh Vadh Mahā-kāvya*, Pt. I, 638.  
 Glaucus-saga, 703.  
 Godbole, K. V., see Keśo Vināyak Godbole.  
 Gōndi, gender-words in, 769.  
 Greeks, domination of Persia by the, 727.  
 Green Shields, R. S., *Dastūr-i-'Ushāy "The Book of Lovers,"* 654.  
 Gribble, J. D. B., *A History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, 401.  
 GRIERSON, Sir GEORGE A., *Bihar Peasant Life*, 376; *On the Adbhutārāmāyaṇa*, 11.  
 Grunwedel, Prof., *Altbuddhistische Kult-stätten in Chinesisch-Turkistan*, 493.  
 Gujarāṭi, "Prepositions" in, 65.  
 Gutmann, Bruno, *Das Recht der Dschagga*, 411.

H

- Haig, Sir Wolseley, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, by E. G. Browne, 648.  
 Hājji ad-Dabir, story of Khawāss Khān, 717.  
 Harvey, G. E., *The History of Burma from the Earliest Times to 10th March, 1824*, 179.  
 Heepe, M., *Jaunde-Wörterbuch*, 896.  
 Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 855.  
 Hertel, J., *Die Arische Feuerlehre, I. Teil*, 174; *Die Methode der Arischen Forschung*, 385.  
 Hickey, William, *The Memoirs*, Vol. IV, 395.  
 Hindi, forms of, 331; phonology, 325.  
 Hose, C., *Natural Man: A Record from Borneo*, 643.  
 Hultsch, E., *Inscriptions of Asoka*, 362; *Māghu's Śiśupālavadha*, 630.  
 Hunza, language of, 505.  
 Husain, Sayed Husain Bilgrani, see Bilgrani.

I

- Ibn Muqaffa', *Kalīla wa Dimna*, 441.  
 India, Persian invasion of, 224.  
 Indian coins, 714; drama, 295; music, 105; painting, portrait of Abū'l Fazl, 721-2; poetry, 11, 59, 89, 305, 543, 579.  
 Indo-Aryan phonology, 315, 325.  
 Indo-Europeans, original home of the, 147; religion of the, 158.  
 Indonesia, versions of Rāmāyaṇa current in, 579.  
 Islam, system of taxation in Persia, 732.  
 IVESS, W. G., *A Study of the Oroha Language*, Mala, Solomon Islands, 587.

J

- Jacottet, E., *A Grammar of the Sesuto Language*, 897.  
 Jagannāth Dās Ratnākar, *Bihārī Ratnākar*, 637.  
 Jahai dialect, 803.  
 Jakud'n, of the Malay Peninsula, 270.  
 Jal Dastur Cursetji Pavry, *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, 853.  
 JAMES, A. LLOYD and S. G. KANHERE, *The Pronunciation of Marāṭhi*, 791.  
 Jānakīharana, sarga xvi, 285, 611.  
 Japanese, collection of books in the Library of the School of Oriental Studies, 679; literature of the Yedo epoch, 679.  
 Jarric, Father Pierre Du, see Du Jarric.  
 Jātaka pictures, identification of, 493.  
 Javanese version of the Rāmāyaṇa, 579.  
 Jesuit missions, 47.  
 Jñāneśvara, Marāṭhi poet, 59, 308-9.  
 Jñāneśvarī, grammar of the, 59, 543.

K

- Kalasha, intervocalic dentals in, 533.  
 Kalīla wa Dimna, Arabic and Persian versions, 441.  
 Kanara, gender-words, 769.  
 KANHERE, S. G., *A Prayer of Śankarāchārya*, 301; *Some Remarks on Indian Music*, 105; *Bāman Pandit*, 305.  
 KANHERE, S. G., and A. LLOYD JAMES, *The Pronunciation of Marāṭhi*, 791.  
 Kanuri, phonology, 139.  
 KATS, J., *The Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia*, 579.  
 Keith, A. Berriedale, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, 337; *The Satapatha Brāhmaṇa in the Kāṇva Recension*, edited by Dr. W. Caland, 615.  
 Keśo Vināyak Godbole, *Mahārāstra Śākuntala*, 383.  
 Keysser, C., *Wörterbuch der Kâte-sprache*, 184.

- Khadir, legends of, 715.  
 Khari, origin of, 331.  
 Khawāss Khān, 717.  
 Kinead, C. A., and D. B. Parasnis, *A History of the Maratha People*, vol. iii, 178.  
 King, Sir Lucas White, *Tayyibāt, the Odes of Shaikh Muslih-ud-Din Sa'di Shirāzi*, 652.  
 Klingenberg, A., *Die Laute des Fat*, 900.  
 Kodagu, phonology, 575.  
 Kowalewski's Mongolian Chrestomathy, translation of first chapter, 689.  
 Krenkow, F., Obituary notice of Sayed Husain Bilgrami, 431.  
 Ku, gender-words, 769.  
 Kurdish, text and translation of stories in, 121.

## L

- Labouret, H., *Le Professeur Maurice Delafosse*, Obituary, 675.  
 La Vallée Poussin, Louis de, *Nirvāna*, 357.  
 Le Coq, A. von, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien. Fünfte Teil Neue Bildwerke*, 348.  
 LEENON, G. E., *Bāhū Śyām Sundar Dās's Bhāṣā Viggāṇ*, 331.  
 Lexa, F., *La Magie dans l'Égypte antique, le Linceul Empire jusqu'à l'Époque copte*, 661.  
 Li Chieh, *Feng tiao fa shih*, 473.  
 Lindblom, G., *Jakt och Fångstmetoder bland Afrikanska Folk*, 192; *Notes on the Kamba Language*, 413.  
 Liongo Fumo, Swahili saga of, 247.  
 LOCKHART, L., *De Voulton's Nidam*, 223.  
 LONGRICE, S. H., *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*, 398.  
 LORIMER, D. L. R., *A Barushaski Text from Hunza*, 505.

## M

- Mackenzie, D. A., *The Migration of Symbols*, 640.  
 Macphail, J. A., *Asia*, 628.  
 Mālagāyākara's critical edition of the *Jñānesvari*, 544.  
 Madras, Government Oriental MSS. Library, 279.  
 Malay, the Rāmāyana in, 579.  
 Malay Peninsula, 269, 803.  
 Malayalam, text of *Apimā-mukta-prabandā*, 295.  
 Marāṭhi, forms of the passive, 59, 572; grammar of the *Jñānesvari*, 543; poetry, 306; pronunciation, 791.  
 Margolies, G., *Le "Fou" dans le Wouman*, 640. *Le Kou-wen chenou*, 640.  
 Mayhew, A., *The Education of India*, 402.  
 Meek, C. K., *The Southern Tribes of Nigeria*, 414.

- Mehta, B. N. and B. B., *The Modern Gujarati-English Dictionary*, 182.  
 Melanesian languages, Oroha, 587.  
 Michel, B. et le Cheikh Moustapha Abdel Razik, *Cheikh Mohammed Abdou*, 869.  
 Mills, L. A., *British Malaya*, 1824-67, 647.  
 Muns, E. H., Obituary notice of E. G. Browne, 217.  
 Mongolian, *Dsanqlun*, 503; translation of texts in, 689.  
 Mongols, in Central Asia and China, 257; in Persia, 742.  
 Moret, A., and G. Davy, *From Tribe to Empire*, 659.  
 Morgenstierne, G., *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, 367.  
 Morse, H. B., *Chronicles of the East India Company Trading to China*, 1635-1834, 393.  
 MOSTAFA KHAN FATEH, *Taxation in Persia*, 723.  
 Muhammad Shāh, 224.  
 Muhammad Sharaf, *An English-Arabic Dictionary of Medicine, Biology and Allied Sciences*, 876.  
 Mukunda Ganesh Mirajkar, *Samaśloki Gīṭā*, 637.  
*Mu'nis ul-Ahrār*, MS. of the, 434.  
 Murray-Jardine, G., *Abridged Swahili Grammar*, 899.  
 Music, Bengali ballads, 1; negro songs, 827; Vedic, 105.  
*Mythology of All Rivers, vol. vii, African*, by A. Werner, 187.

## N

- Nādir Shāh, 224.  
 Nagur, language of, 505.  
 Nānālāl Channālāl Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting*, 663.  
 Nāyqāsh, version of *Kalila wa Dimna*, 441.  
 Nāyayana Bhatta, *Apimā-mukta-prabandā*, 295.  
 Negritos, of the Malay Peninsula, 269, 803.  
 Newton, A. P., *Travel and Travellers in the Middle Ages*, 392.  
 Nicholson, R. A., *The Mathnawī of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī*, 290.  
 NIKITINE, RASHE, *Kurdish Stories from my Collection*, 121.  
 Numismatics, 714.

## O

- Obituary Notices—  
 Bilgrami, Sayed Husain, 431.  
 Browne, Prof. E. G., 217.  
 Delafosse, Prof. M., 675.  
 Taylor, Rev. W. E., 903.



- O'FERRALL, R., *An Old War Song of the Babemba*, 839.  
OGURA, S., *A Concise Vocabulary*, I.  
Oblham, J. H., and G. A. Gollok, *The International Review of Missions Special Africa Number*, 447.  
O'Leary, De Lacy, *The Office of the Celtic Church*, 406.  
Omar Khayyâm, 432.  
Orang Utan, jungle tribes of the Malay Peninsula, 269.  
Oroha language, study of the, 587.

13

- PAGE, W. SUTTON, *Bengali Bala* I, 89  
Pahlavi, Notes on the Assyrian *Im* 69.  
Pali, Buddhist terms, translation of, 29  
Pangabi, English words in, 783, phonology, 325  
Pavry, Jid. Dastur, Cursus, or Jid. Dastur Cursus, Pavry.  
Persia, Armenians in, 56, invasion of India by, 224, Jesuit missions in, 47, Mongol invasion of, 742, taxation in, 723  
Persian literature, works by Prof. E. G. Browne, 217, poetry, Omar Khayyâm 433, Qâni's version of *Kabir* and *Demna*, 441.  
PHILLOTT, LEON, Col. D. C., *Asia and the Statistical and Commercial Participation in Hindustan*, 77  
Philology, comparative, 147  
Phonology, Arabic, 533, Dravidian, 573, Hindi, 325, Indo-Aryan, 315, Juhar, 340, 803, Kani, 339, Kodaço, 575, Marathi, 701, Pajabi, 325, Portuguese, 325, Prakrit, 315, Roman, 533, Tamil, 575, Urdu, 335  
Pitt Rivers, G. H. F., *Excavations*, H. L. Pitt.  
Portuguese, *Lezab*, or *Lezab*, 325, 229  
Poussin, L. de La Vallée, *de La Vallée*, Poussin, L. de  
Prabhat, Chandika Chakravart, *History of Speculations of the Hindu*, 776  
*Pratandha*, meaning of the term, 287  
Prakrit, phonology, 315

- Batnākar, J. D., see Jagannath Das  
Batnākar  
Ray, Sudha H., *A Comparative Study of the Mahāvairora Island Kingdoms*, 882, *Wörterbuch der Ind. Sprache*, von C. Keyser, 184  
Reichendorn, H., see Henckell  
Reichendorn  
Reichert, A. and M. Kuster, *Elementary Kabbalah*, 1908  
Reviews of Books, 171-204, 337-419, 615-71, 845-901  
Le Fèvre, Yvonne and Gendreau in the, 793  
Rieu, C., *Kashmir Journal of M. Naqash*, 442, *Idioms*, 454  
Rivers, C. H. L. Pitt, *The Cakes of Culture and the Cakes of Power*, 808  
Rodd, John, see Bennett, *Peopls of the East*, 658  
Roman, 544  
Rosen, Dr., *Recherches*, 435  
Rosen, S. F., DUNIS, S., *The Arabic and Persian Mid. n. Version of Barak's Autobiography from Kāfir and Jinnat*, 441  
Fresh Light on Kāfir, Kāfir, 717, *Omair Khayyam*, 434  
Ruhānīyāt, cf. *Omair Khayyām*, 433  
Sankar, Kameswara, *A Historical Study of the Perera Hanigama and Mahayana in the Region of Mahayana Buddhism*, 856

—

- Sakuma, I. 1911. *Mammals of Japan*, 270.  
Sakuma, I. 1913. *Ichthyofauna Sakaya*.  
Sakuma, I. 1914. *Amphibia of Japan*, 623.  
Saitoh, A. 1935. *Reptiles of Sakaya*, 194.  
Simpson, B. B. 1929. *Amphibia*, 12.  
Stephens, J. 1901. *The Fauna of the Japanese Islands*, 471.  
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Suzuki, T. 1936. *Ichthyofauna*, 315.  
Suzuki, T. 1937. *Amphibia*, 279.  
Suzuki, T. 1938. *Reptiles of Japan*, 611.  
Suzuki, T. 1939. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1940. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1941. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1942. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1943. *Amphibia*, 11.  
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Suzuki, T. 1945. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1946. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1947. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1948. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1949. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1950. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1951. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1952. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1953. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1954. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1955. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1956. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1957. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1958. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1959. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1960. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1961. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1962. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1963. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1964. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1965. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1966. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1967. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1968. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1969. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1970. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1971. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1972. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1973. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1974. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1975. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1976. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1977. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1978. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1979. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1980. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1981. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1982. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1983. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1984. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1985. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1986. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1987. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1988. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1989. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1990. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1991. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1992. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1993. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1994. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1995. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1996. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1997. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1998. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 1999. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2000. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2001. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2002. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2003. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2004. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2005. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2006. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2007. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2008. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2009. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2010. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2011. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2012. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2013. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2014. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2015. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2016. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2017. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2018. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2019. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2020. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2021. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2022. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2023. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2024. *Amphibia*, 11.  
Suzuki, T. 2025. *Amphibia*, 11.

3

- , version of
- $\Lambda_{\text{eff}}$
- . . . . . 441

## 14

- kumari Menckert, *Indica*, 628  
and, in Indonesia, 770, 172-3  
rent in Northern India, 11  
e, R. D. A. *Constructive*, 178-9  
*I. perichorda* *Philosophy*, 624

Shuttleworth, H. Lee, *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, by W. Y. Evans-Wentz, 845.

SMITH, SIDNEY, *Notes on the "Assyrian Tree"*, 69.

Solomon Islands, Oroha language spoken in the, 587.

S.P.C.K., *Publications*, 900.

Stcherbatsky, Th., *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāna*, 852; *Nirvāna*, by L. De La Vallée Poussin, 357; *La Théorie de la Connaissance et la Logique chez les Bouddhistes tardifs*, 627.

Stephens, Father Thomas, S.J., 149.

Susa, inscriptions found at, 723.

Sushil Kumar De, *see* De, S. K.

Suto and Tato, tale of, 121.

*Svapna-vāsaradatta*, 282-3.

Swahili, Saga of Liongo Fumo, 247.

Syria, modern literature of, 745.

Syrian Protestant College, 750.

## T

Tachibana, S., *The Ethics of Buddhism*, 354.

Takakusu, Prof., *History of the Dsanglun*, 503.

Tamil, gender-words, 769; hymns, 761.

*Tanganyika Territory. Report of the Education Committee*, 1925, 416.

TANGHE, J., *Chansons de Payageurs*, 827.

Tawney, C. H., *The Ocean of Story*, Penzer's edition, 441.

Taxation, in Persia, 723.

Taylor, W. E., *Obituary notice*, 903.

Telugu, gender-words, 769.

*Tevaram*, Tamil hymns, 761.

THOMPSON, M. S. H., *The Agastya Selection of Tamil Saivite Hymns*, 761.

Tibetan, *Dsanglun*, 503.

Tiling, M. von., *Somali-Texte und Untersuchungen zur Lautlehre*, 189.

Tocharian, 169, 503.

Torday, E., *Causeries Congolaises*, 191.

Toynbee, A. J., *The Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem*, by Sir Anton Bertram and J. W. A. Young, 655; *Survey of International Affairs*, 1925, vol. i, 872.

Tulu, phonology, 575.

*T'ung Shu*, selection from the, 97.

Turkestan, Jātaka pictures found in Eastern, 493.

TURNER, R. L., *Notes on Dardic*, 533; *Reviews: The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, by J. Sampson, 371; *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, by E. Hultzsch, 362; *Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan*, by G. Morgenstierne, 367.

TUTTLE, E. H., *Dravidian Gender-words*, 769; *Kodagu "peda"*, *Tulu "pudar"*, 575.

## U

Ulu Kelantan and Ulu Perak, Jahai dialect of, 803.

Université de Paris, *Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie*, 889.

Unvala, J. M., *Translation of Drakht i Asurik*, 69.

Upanishads, 31.

Urdū, 331; gender of Arabic infinitives in, 779; particles in, 77; phonology, 325.

## V

Vaiṣṇavism, 12, 764.

Vālmiki, *Rāmāyana*, 11, 579.

Vedas, music in the, 105.

Vedic literature, Yama and Gandharva legends in, 703.

Venkaṭarāma Śarmā Śāstri, *Ajāmila-mōkṣa-prabandha*, 295.

*Verdadeira e Exacta Noticia* of De Voulton, 224.

Vocabulary, Korean-Chinese-English, 1; Oroha-English, 606.

Voulton, De, 223.

## W

Walker, R. J., *Parnassus Biceps*, 360.

Wāman Pandit, life and works of, 305.

WARD, IDA C., *Some Notes on the Pronunciation of the Kanuri Language of West Africa*, 139.

Watteville, Mrs. H. de, *Gift of Japanese books to the Library of the School of Oriental Studies*, 679.

Wawemba *see* Babemba.

WERNER, A., *The Mythology of All Races*, vol. vii, *African*, 187; *Obituary Notice of the Rev. W. E. Taylor*, 903; *The Swahili Saga of Liongo Fumo*, 247; *Reviews: The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, by C. K. Meek, 414; *Das Recht der Dschagga*, von Bruno Gutmann, 411; *Somali-Texte, und Untersuchungen zur Lautlehre*, von M. von Tiling, 189; *Die westlichen Sudansprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu*, von D. Westermann,

Westermann, D., *Die westlichen Sudsprachen und ihre Beziehungen zum Bantu*, 893.

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'ddīn Rūmī*, edited, etc., by R. A.  
Nicholson, vol. i, 200.

X, Y, Z

Yaloutchhou Thsai, 257.

Yama-saga, 703.

YETTS, W. PERCEVAL, *A Chinese Treatise  
on Architecture*, 473.

Yima, *see* Yama.

*Ying tsuo fa shih*, Chinese treatise on  
architecture, 473.

*Yōga-rāsistha-mahārāmāyana*, 11.

YOSHITAKE, S., *Notes on Japanese  
Literature*, 679; *Some Mongolian  
Maxims*, 689.

Yuen Ren Chao, *A Phonograph Course  
in the Chinese National Language*, 197.

Zoroastrianism, 69.



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